

A
CENTURY
OF
JOURNALISM



The Sydney Morning Herald.



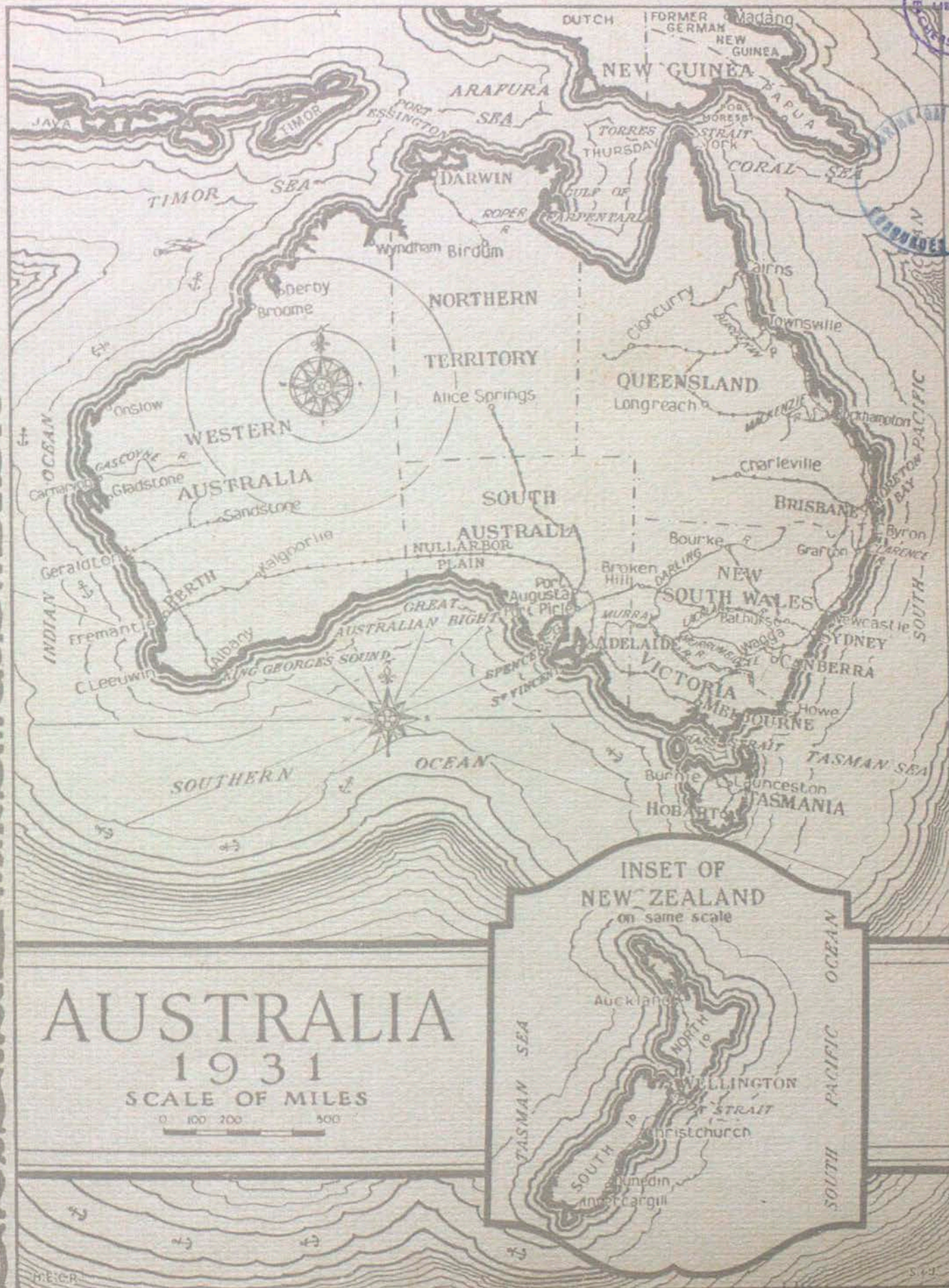
SOUTH EASTERN AUSTRALIA 1788-1851

From date of original settlement to
the discovery of gold

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300

INSET OF TASMANIA on same scale

Wilson's Promontory
BASS STRAIT
Launceston
VAN DIEMENS LAND
(TASMANIA)
HOBART TOWN
PORT ARTHUR



DONATED BY
MRS. A.W. TREGIZE
AND HER DAUGHTER ANNE
JULY 1965

A CENTURY
OF
JOURNALISM

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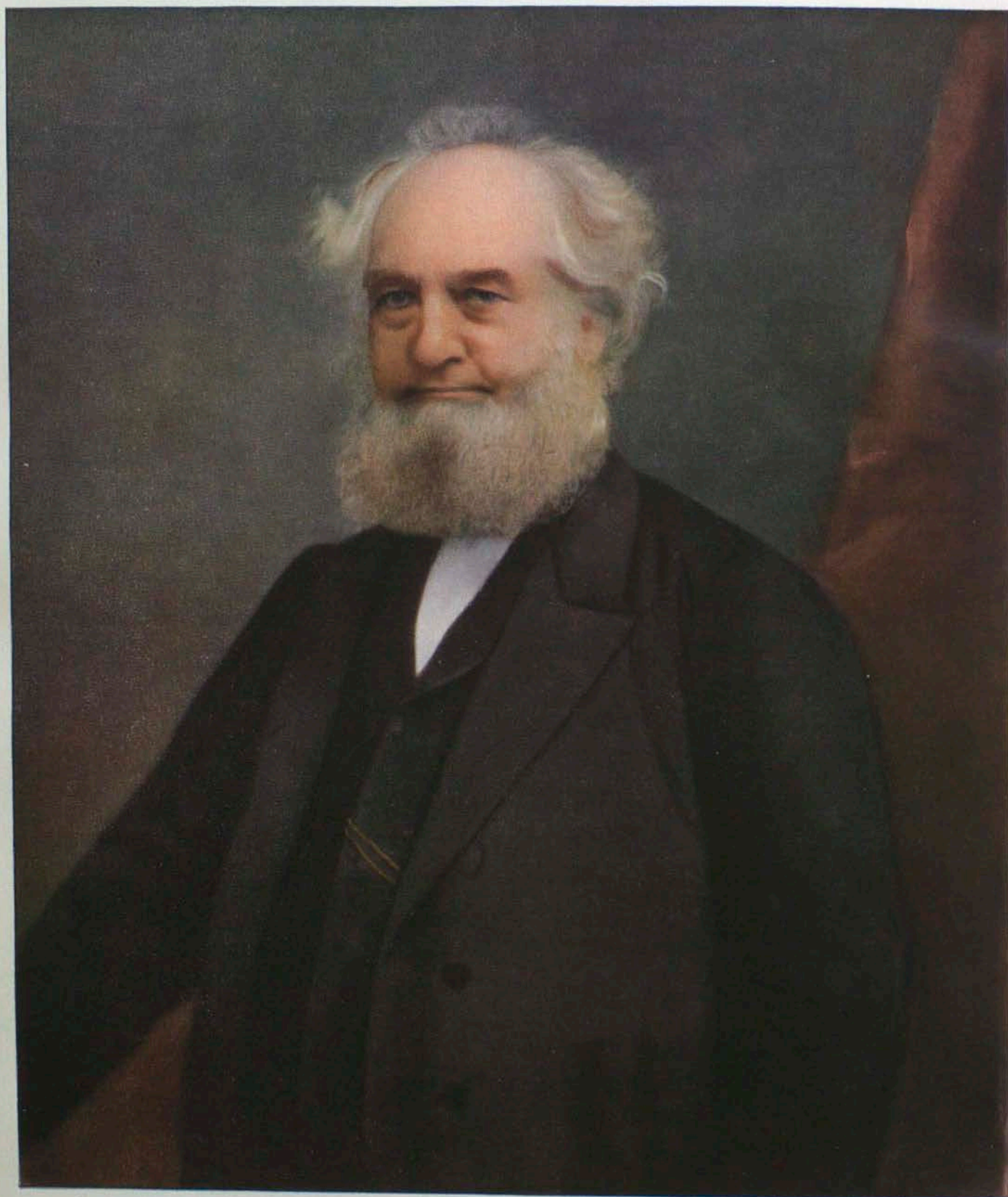


PLATE I.

JOHN FAIRFAX
The Maker of the "Herald."

A
CENTURY
OF JOURNALISM

The Sydney Morning Herald.

AND ITS RECORD
OF
AUSTRALIAN LIFE



1831 — 1931

JOHN FAIRFAX & SONS LIMITED
38 HUNTER STREET, SYDNEY

LONDON OFFICE:
58 FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4

—
1931

A
CENTURY
OF JOURNALISM
The Sydney Morning Herald
AND ITS RECORD
OF
AUSTRALIAN LIFE

1831-1931

AAAB635662

FOREWORD

THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD is the first Australian journal to reach its centenary, which it does on April 18, 1931. It is natural on such an occasion to look back over the years that have passed and to reflect on the long and honourable history of toil, of endeavour and of enthusiasm that has made up the life of a great newspaper. We therefore present to our readers the story of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, from its birth to the present time. We tell of its origin and early days, and of the origin and history of the firm of John Fairfax & Sons which for so long has carried it on. We give, as well as can be given within the compass of one volume, an account of the HERALD's record of Australian life over a period of great changes, and of astounding growth; in short, over the period of the rise of the Australian nation from infancy to manhood. Such a record, traced in the files of a great daily journal, it is hard to surpass either for comprehensive accuracy or for picturesqueness and intimacy. And finally we deal with the HERALD of to-day; its achievements, its status, and its methods of work.

There are still many, both of the public and of our own staff, who will remember the HERALD of fifty years ago and more. And they, more than any, can realise the essential unity of character and purpose and the strong individuality of the HERALD which underlie constant modifications and developments made to meet changing conditions, fresh problems and a larger and growing public. Such a continuity of principle is something more than an equipment of political and social opinions; it is a mental atmosphere, an attitude towards journalism and towards life. Without it there cannot be that deep-rooted and lasting public confidence, over-riding even many widely divergent viewpoints, which has made the HERALD what it has been and what it is. It is difficult to convey this in a book to those who are not familiar with the Herald and with New South Wales; for there is scarcely any exact parallel to the HERALD's almost life-long connection with its parent State and its status in it, past and present. Yet the HERALD's opportunities, however great, have been no greater than its will to use them wisely. Though it is not for us to pass final judgment, we believe that that will has been successful, and that a hundred years of public trust have not been misplaced.

To the production of this book practically every department of this firm has in some way or other contributed. Each one has, of course, provided information throwing light on its own workings and its own problems, and many of the photographs have been taken and much of the process block work done by our own staff.

On the literary side we must, however, especially acknowledge the services of Mr. P. S. Allen and Mr. S. Elliott Napier in the collection and handling of the vast mass of historical material accumulated over many years and upon which this volume has drawn.

In two matters we have not relied solely on our own resources. In the interests of historical accuracy we were fortunate in having the services of Professor S. H. Roberts,

Professor of History in the University of Sydney and the author of several publications on Australian History; and also of Mr. C. H. Bertie, City Librarian and ex-President and Fellow of the Royal Australian Historical Society. Both have read through the proofs and given us much useful advice.

Secondly, in matters concerning art and art work we are indebted for much advice and assistance to Mr. S. Ure Smith, President of the Society of Artists of New South Wales, and to Mr. Albert Collins. Since THE SYDNEY MAIL did not illustrate regularly until 1872, and the HERALD not until much later, we were compelled to use other sources to complete our pictorial record; and the origins of many of the earlier drawings cannot now be traced. We are grateful to a number of private owners and artists for facilities to make reproductions; and to Art in Australia Ltd., through Mr. Ure Smith, and also to Messrs. Angus & Robertson, for the loan of some of the colour-blocks.

We have pleasure also in acknowledging in this connection the courteous co-operation of the Trustees and the Curator of the Mitchell Library and of the Dixson collection.

We do not doubt that there is room for criticism of the selection of material in this book and of its treatment; indeed, we are in a better position than any to realise its shortcomings. Accordingly, having made the foregoing acknowledgments, we remind the reader that full and final responsibility for all that appears and for every opinion expressed, must be attributed to the firm itself.

JOHN FAIRFAX & SONS LIMITED

Proprietors

THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD
THE SYDNEY MAIL

SYDNEY, N.S.W.

APRIL 18, 1931.

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M A P S

(As End-Papers)

No. 1.—SOUTH-EASTERN AUSTRALIA (1788-1851).

No. 2.—AUSTRALIA (1931).

THE "HERALD" FILES

We turn the yellow'd pages, and a host—

A motley host, half-heard, half-seen—appears:

The phantom figures of a hundred years.

Once they pulsed high with life; but now, at most,

Are half-forgotten; each a grey-clad ghost,

Bearing his buried hopes and joys and fears,

His long-lost laughter and his time-dried tears,

Loos'd at our touch from Limbo's shadowy coast.

Beneath our eyes the faded forms revive;

We see arise, in turn—from what weak seed!—

The Settlement, the City and the State.

We mark the Pioneer and Statesmen strive,

The Patriot burn; and, from injustice freed,

A People—and a Herald—both grow great.

S. ELLIOTT NAPIER.

ERRATA.

Page 53, line 22, for "elegaics" read "elegiacs."

Page 76, line 4, for "37,000" read "137,000."

Page 372, line 35, for "1890" read "1891"; and in line 41, for "month" read "year."

Page 479, line 8, for "1914" read "1918."

Page 619, line 40, for "1899" read "1889."

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTORY

1770-1831

SINCE the prime object of a newspaper is to chronicle current events, its own history must necessarily be very similar to that of the country of its domicile. Except for the purely personal and business affairs of the paper, the two stories run on courses which, sometimes parallel to one another, sometimes inextricably woven together, can never be far apart. This is true of all newspapers. It is especially true of those newspapers which, by their influence and association, may be regarded as the main arteries whereby the news of the world is directed into the heart of the community and disseminated among its varied members. And again, while this is true of all such newspapers, it is especially true of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, a paper which was born when the community it has served so long was itself but in its tenderest infancy. The HERALD* and New South Wales, and, to a large extent, Australia, are so related in their births and in their lives, that to tell the story of the one is but to tell it in terms of the other. It is this peculiar association, this close blending of the fortunes of the State with the fortunes of the paper, that makes the chronicle of the HERALD unique probably in the history of journalism. In no other country in the world has such an association ever existed; in no other country in the world is it now possible for such an association ever to be known again.

When the HERALD was born, Australia was little more than a name; the whole continent was empty, save for a few settlements along or near its south-eastern coast, in Tasmania, and at Perth. Sydney was the only town of any importance; and the extent of that importance may be measured from the fact that it was still regarded by the authorities in Downing Street, as it had been regarded for the forty previous years of its existence, as a very considerable nuisance, whose sole merit lay in its capacity to receive and hold the criminal refuse of the Homeland. The city had few amenities; and it is almost the literal truth to say that, outside the city, no amenities of any kind assuaged the hard and toilsome lot of the settler. It is true that under the energetic administration of Governor Macquarie, the Colony, which in its first infancy had been saved from extinction by the self-sacrificing industry of Phillip, had begun to show an expansion in area and fortune alike; and that the colonists of Sydney and the lesser settlements had already given proof of the ambitious initiative and restless activity which have ever been the keynotes of the Australian character. But, even so, at the moment of the HERALD's birth, he would have been a bold man indeed, and an optimistic one, who would have dared to say that in the seed of those poor days there lay the harvest of a Commonwealth which, before a century had passed, would take her place among the nations of the world; and take it as her right.

* The paper whose fortunes are the subject of this history has borne two names—THE SYDNEY HERALD for the first eleven years of its existence, THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD thereafter. But it has ever been known popularly as the HERALD, and by that name, in order to avoid redundancy, the authors have referred to it throughout, unless the context has made its full title advisable.



There is a world of difference between the biography of a person and that of a paper like the *HERALD*. In this respect, the biography of the individual begins and ends at certain definite periods; but the biography of the paper, like that of its country, though it has a certain beginning, has no end. The road goes on and on, winding over hill and valley, and the biographer, toiling through the passes and climbing over the summits, still beholds before him the long, long ribbon of the highway stretching onwards to an ever-receding horizon. There is no definite goal to which he may attain. But, all the same, there is a fascination in these biographical tasks which is peculiar to them. It lies in the fact that, ever and anon, as the hills seem to be closing in and the road to be coming literally to a dead-end, *we* know what they who trod the road could not have known, that the seeming conclusion is not really to be a conclusion at all; that through some devious turn or unexpected twist the path will open out again and the dramatic catastrophe will be averted. Having this knowledge, the speculations and the apprehensions concerning the future of those with whom our story is concerned add largely to our interest, and intrigue us with a curious excitement. We know the route that things will take; but they do not; and our superiority in this regard endows us with a kind of godlike omniscience which both gratifies our vanity and spurs us to endeavour.

Although, as we have said, Australian settlement was in its infancy when the *HERALD* was born, yet during the forty-three years of the Colony's existence many things had happened which it is necessary should be shortly summarised if the reader of this chronicle is to understand the position of affairs at the moment that chronicle opens. This first chapter, then, will be devoted to a brief survey of the period which elapsed between the landing of the first settlers under Captain Phillip at Sydney Cove on the 26th January, 1788, and the founding of the *HERALD* on the 18th April, 1831.

Eighteen years had passed since the discovery of the eastern coast of Australia by Captain Cook in the "Endeavour," before Phillip and his pioneers arrived; and, although during that time many suggestions had been made for the utilisation of the new possession, so many events of major importance were compelling the attention of the Home Government that it was unable to consider Australia at all. The result of the American War of Independence, however, brought matters to a head. Some locality outside the boundaries of the newly-formed United States had to be made available for such of the loyal supporters of Britain as were still living there and now found their status impossible. The credit of being the originator of the idea that the place for the new settlement of these unfortunates should be the land discovered by Captain Cook belongs to James Maria Matra, an ex-midshipman of the "Endeavour." In 1783 he suggested to the authorities that the loyalists should be allowed to settle in New South Wales—the name given by Cook to the whole eastern side of the Australian continent—and that the necessary manual labour should be provided from China and the South Sea Islands.

The scheme was carefully considered, but the difficulties in the way of it were many. The ill-assorted Coalition Government of Portland, Fox and North, which had recently assumed office, was already tottering to its fall; and affairs at Home were quite sufficient to occupy all its attention without worrying about the institution of a distant colony whose fate and value were equally problematical. And so the suggestion was shelved for two years. By this time a new and powerful influence, which was to dominate the affairs of the Empire for twenty years, had sprung into existence. The younger Pitt was at the head of the British Government, and he was disposed to make use of Matra's plan as a means of solving a new difficulty. The American colonies had long been the dumping ground for the criminals of the Home Country. They had been transported there regularly, and the process had been as doubly blessed as that quality of

mercy which was so conspicuously absent from it. It had cleaned out the refuse of the Old Land and it provided labourers for the New. But that grateful avenue was now closed, and it had become essential that some new depository for criminal rubbish should be found. So, in January, 1785, Admiral Sir George Young took up Matra's suggestion, remodelled it to fit the new conditions, and laid it before the Government. Young was a friend of Sir Joseph Banks, who, from that April day in 1770 when he had arrived with Cook in Botany Bay, had never ceased to sing the praises of the newly discovered land, and who was later on to do so much for the original settlers there; and it was largely to his great influence and persistent advocacy that Sir George Young's scheme was elaborated and accepted. For accepted ultimately it was. The Government saw the double advantage to be derived from it—the loyalists would have a harbour where they might safely take up their new life if it so pleased them; the authorities would have a depot for the deposit of their criminals even more advantageous than the old. But despite its recognition of these facts officialdom took so long to act that, when at last it did so, one of the main factors of the argument had been practically eliminated. The loyalists, tired, many of them, with waiting; preferring, many of them, the devil they knew to the devil they did not, had either grown reconciled to becoming citizens of the new nation or, crossing the border, had settled down to the northward of the Great Lakes and become Canadians. But the convict question remained, and that was sufficient in the end to sway the decision. In August, 1786, Viscount Sydney—who was at the Head of the Colonial Administration at the time—formally directed that a fleet should depart for New South Wales with a number of convicts and the necessary military and civil personnel to control them, the whole body being under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip.

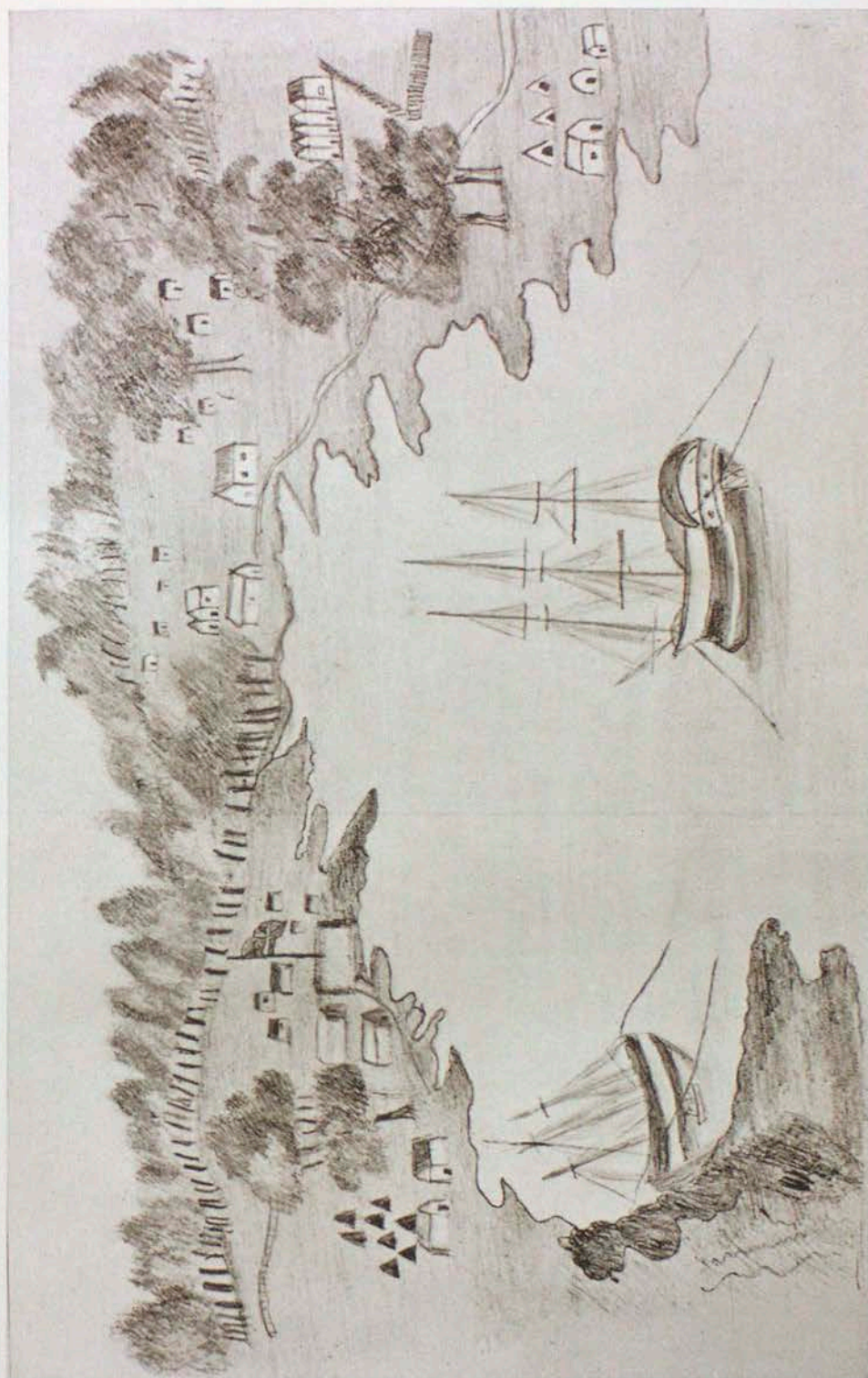
It is unnecessary here to detail the delays that detained the expedition; it is sufficient to say that nearly twelve months passed before the final arrangements were made; and that, even then, the equipment and supplies for the new colony were grievously short of their proper requirements. On the 13th May, 1787, the fleet—that famous "First Fleet" from whose arrival in Port Jackson our Australian chronology takes its starting point—sailed from England. Proceeding by way of Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope, it reached Botany Bay on January 18th, 1788, and Sydney Cove—where Phillip, finding Botany Bay unsuitable for the purpose, decided to found his settlement—eight days later. On that day (the 26th) the formal founding of the new Colony was effected, and by the 7th February the landing was complete and the settlement had duly entered into existence under the name of Sydney.

The first fleet carried in all a little more than a thousand souls, of whom a little over seven hundred were convicts. The majority of these convicts of both sexes were debased criminals; but a fair proportion of them were men and women who in a more fortunate and less savage age would have made excellent citizens. It must be remembered that at this time offences which to-day would be awarded but the lightest punishment exposed those who committed them to the severest penalties. Men, women, and even children, were transported for petty misdemeanours: often they were hanged for them. Some of the convicts, too, wore their felon's garb for having been concerned in some one or other of the many political troubles of the time; and it is on record that quite early in our history a number of them were even transported for having conspired to cease work as a protest against the conditions of their employment—or, as we would call it to-day, for having participated in a strike. But, whatever their offence, they were in the eye of the law and of the authorities to whose charge they had been committed,

felons to be subjected to the decrees of the savage penology of the age; men and women whose outlook on life was often necessarily hopeless and never anything but sombre.

These were the principal tools with which Phillip had to construct his settlement; for the majority of the remainder of the citizens were composed merely of the instruments with which he had to keep the convicts in order—his troops and other officers of authority. The free settlers comprised a very inconsiderable portion of his little band; and many of them were lacking in all experience of the conditions under which they were now forced to live. The supplies, too, as we have said, were sadly inadequate; and for some years after its inauguration, the spectre of famine stalked the settlement and privation was its daily lot. But in Phillip the Home Government had chosen a man ideally apt for his position. It is due to his wise control and thoughtful consideration that the colony not only weathered those first sad years, but began even to prosper and expand. This is not the place to say much about his work; but it would be easy to wax enthusiastic over it. It is enough to say that his position was a difficult, even at times a desperate, one. He had to bring civilisation to a land where the meanest amenities of civilisation were entirely lacking, to a land of which nothing whatever, as to its capabilities, or even as to its physical conditions, was known. And though his powers were almost absolute within the borders of his vast domain, he had to contend against the neglect of authority, the sullen apathy of many of his own officers and the helplessness of the vast majority of his "subjects." And further contingents of settlers—principally of the convict class—were continually arriving. But the fact remains that he did his work, and did it well. When he obtained leave of absence towards the close of 1792 and sailed for England—never to return—he left the colony out of danger so far as famine was concerned; the subsidiary settlement at Rose Hill (the name then applied to the area around Parramatta) had so prospered that it supported nearly two thousand persons, while Sydney still maintained a population of twelve hundred; Norfolk Island, which had been incorporated into his kingdom and turned into a penal settlement for the worst offenders, had almost the same number; and along the valley of the Hawkesbury, which had been explored from its mouth to the foothills of the Blue Mountains, a chain of settlers were successfully engaged in agricultural pursuits. Shortly after his arrival one of his officers had bitterly declared that in a hundred years the country could not support the little band who first had landed on its shores. Phillip had made the colony almost self-supporting in less than five years, and that with a population that had grown in the interval to five times its original size! It was a great achievement; an achievement which places the name of Phillip high upon the list of the great administrators of history. He was the first of Australian governors in point of time; and it is hardly to be doubted that he is first also in point of merit.

The British Government were for some time in hopes that Phillip would return to New South Wales and his old command; and for nearly three years the control of the colony was entrusted to the acting governorship of two military officers of the regiment which had been sent out to replace the original marines of the first fleet. The effect of this was disastrous. Although Phillip was a captain in the Navy, he had had too much sense to play the martinet; and, indeed, had studied so to use his convict material as to make the settlement attractive to free labour. But Grose and Paterson, who ruled from 1792 to 1795, inaugurated that system of military control which for nearly twenty years made the colony simply the demesne of the New South Wales Corps. The officers of that regiment—or the majority of them—had taken service in what they not unnaturally regarded as outlandish parts with the sole idea of making what they could out of the place as quickly as possible; and it was one of their grievances against Phillip that



THE FIRST PICTURE OF SYDNEY.

This view was drawn by Captain John Hunter on August 20th, 1788, i.e. seven months after the first landing in Sydney Cove. The path on the right is the George Street North of to-day. The flagstaff on the left stood in the vicinity of the intersection of Loftus Street and Macquarie Place, and the house on the left of the flagstaff is probably the canvas house of Governor Phillip.



SYDNEY IN 1809.

The view is from the eastern side of Sydney Cove. On the left is Government House (which stood on the corner of Phillip and Bridge Streets). On the water's edge (now the corner of Macquarie Place and Loftus Street) is a storehouse, and in front is the Governor's wharf (Alfred Street to-day runs over the end of the wharf). The row of buildings on the skyline is the barracks, and to the right old St. Phillip's Church (the reserve at Lang and Grosvenor Streets marks the site).

[From paintings by John Eyre]

[Original print in the possession of John Fairfax & Sons Ltd.]



SYDNEY IN 1809.

On the water's edge on the right are the wharf, storehouse and residence of Robert Campbell; adjoining is the Naval Officer's house, and to the left the row of buildings, stretching to the street leading to the water, comprised the General Hospital and Medical Officer's quarters. In front of the two red roofs was the dockyard, and to the left of that is the Hospital or General Wharf. The windmill stood on the site of the Observatory. The two pictures, joined, make a complete panorama.

[From paintings by John Eyre]

[Original print in the possession of John Fairfax & Sons Ltd.]



CAPTAIN ARTHUR PHILLIP,
R.N.,

*The founder of Sydney and the
first Governor of New South Wales
(1788-1792).*

COLONEL LACHLAN MACQUARIE,
*One of the greatest of the early Gov-
ernors of the Colony (January, 1810,
to December, 1821).*

*[From the painting by Read in the Mitchell
Library]*



he set his face determinedly against such an exploitation. But neither Grose nor Paterson had the personality or the ideas of Phillip, and the other officers of the Corps were not slow to take advantage of the fact. They managed to obtain large grants of the best land and the free services of convicts to work them. Gradually they took over from the civilian appointees of Phillip all the administrative offices not already under their control—they were mainly minor ones, such as storekeepers and the like—and they used the moneys they obtained through these and other devious methods to monopolise the markets of the community. They bought goods abroad cheaply and sold them in the colony at enormous rates of profit. In particular they made the sale of spirits a monopoly so profitable that the scandal of it tainted the whole early history of the colony. The rum trade, as it was called, permeated everything; it was a curse to the whole settlement and constituted the gravest problem with which the governors who came after Phillip had to deal. Rum became almost the only medium of exchange; and as the officers of the New South Wales Corps took care to keep the trade within their own hands, the result can well be imagined. When Governor Hunter, who was the next official occupant of the post after Phillip, arrived in Sydney, he found the hateful business so firmly established that, despite all his efforts, it continued to flourish like a noxious weed, and to cumber and destroy the wholesome soil.

Captain Hunter, who was a naval officer, was succeeded in 1800 by another naval man in Captain King, who, under Phillip, had been appointed to occupy Norfolk Island and control its affairs. And it speaks well for the innate virtues of the settlement and its citizens that, despite the evil domination of the rum trade, the colony progressed, if not as rapidly as it should have done, at least with steadiness and certainty; and both in area and in population. But two things hampered its development. The one was the indiscipline and exploitation indulged in by the officers of the Corps; the other was the fact that both Hunter and King, being naval men, had little desire to extend their control over the land. Both of them rather opposed exploration of the interior than helped it. Hunter, indeed, definitely declared that he had enough trouble with the small area already known, and refused point blank to utilise or consider the utilisation of certain discoveries in and beyond the foothills of the Blue Mountains which had been made as the result of private enterprise. It is true that during this period Bass and Flinders did wonderful and valuable exploratory work; but it was done along the coast, and that, of course, was different. The naval governors could understand and appreciate the usefulness of such labours; but inland work was quite a different proposition—and, so far as they were concerned, a dangerous and useless one. It is true also that King was forced to extend his settlement, or rather to make new ones, partly as the result of Flinders' work, but mainly because the French had been showing a disturbing interest in the southern coastal areas of the continent, and King believed that if he did not at once take steps to forestall them, the tricolour would shortly flaunt defiance from a dozen different spots around Australian shores. It was for these reasons that Tasmania—then and for many years thereafter known as Van Diemen's Land—was occupied in 1803, and an attempt was made in the same year to occupy Port Phillip. But apart from these activities, little was done or attempted in the way of extending the area of the Colony during the Hunter-King regime. King, moreover, was very perturbed over the nefarious energies and hardly concealed opposition of the officers of the New South Wales Corps; and when a number of convict risings took place and revealed to him how absolutely he was in the power of that body—for failing them he was helpless against any rebellion of the felony—he decided to bear the yoke no longer and resigned his office in 1806. Mainly owing to the activities of Sir Joseph Banks, Captain William Bligh, at once the hero and

the victim of the famous Mutiny of the "Bounty," was appointed to the succession. His reign was short and ended ignominiously. He was constitutionally a martinet, and his imperious soul could brook no opposition. Consequently he found himself at once at odds with the contumacious military caste; and between them and himself the gloves were off from the very moment he took office. Discipline was his god; and when the privileges of the Corps ran counter to it, he started out to make short work of both privilege and Corps. But he over-estimated his strength. In the struggle which followed, the more important of the free settlers sided with the Corps, while the lesser fry and that considerable body of one-time convicts who were now emancipated in reward for their good conduct, ranged themselves with Bligh. As the result of a quarrel, which involved both the eternal exclusionist-emancipist—or "free *versus* freed"—question and the disastrous rum-trade, John Macarthur, one of the exclusionist leaders, an ex-member of the recalcitrant corps, and an aggressive personality, whose subsequent influence upon, and good work for, the Colony as the founder of the wool industry, can never be too highly esteemed, was arrested by Bligh and imprisoned. Major Johnston, the senior officer of the Corps, immediately had him released and demanded the Governor's resignation. When it was refused, Johnston marched his regiment to Government House, arrested and deposed Bligh by *force majeure*, and took into his own hands the sole administration of affairs.

This was in January, 1808, and when the news reached England, the Government took swift and decisive measures. Colonel Lachlan Macquarie was sent out to take over control of the Colony; but, in order to sustain the prestige of outraged authority, he was ordered not to assume the Governor-ship until Captain Bligh had held it again for one day, after which the latter was to return home. Johnston also was to be sent to England to be dealt with according to the verdict of a Court Martial, while Macarthur was to be tried before the Criminal Court of the settlement. Macarthur, however managed to get away to England, where he remained for many years, rather than return to the Colony and face the trial which awaited him there. Bligh, who in the meantime had been released by Johnston and had gone to Tasmania, was unable to reach Sydney in time to be re-instated. He went home, however, and was created a rear-admiral; while Johnston was dismissed from the Army.

With the arrival of Macquarie, a new and better era dawned for the young Colony. The fifth Governor of New South Wales assumed office on the 1st January, 1810, and proved himself to be a tireless worker, and a fine administrator. To his energy and initiative Australia is indebted for much; for so much, indeed, that it is difficult to estimate the sum. Many items contributed to the efficacy of Macquarie's regime. In the first place, he was a military man, and in consequence the jealousy which existed between the two branches of the service, and which had done so much to increase the trouble during the naval regimes of Hunter, King and Bligh, was now at an end. In the second place, the Home Authorities began at last to support the ideas of Phillip that the Government should aim at founding a colony of free settlers rather than a prison for criminals; and they promised to send out a regular supply of worthy emigrants. In the third place, the New South Wales Corps and its disruptive officers were sent back to England, and the plan was adopted of sending out other regiments in regular rotation, so that none should acquire that detrimental vested interest in the Colony which had been obtained by the original Corps. But it was Macquarie's own zeal and capability that provided the main factor in the advancement which almost immediately set in after his arrival; and, although he certainly was enabled to act with greater freedom

than his predecessors, it must stand for ever to his credit that he used his opportunities to such good effect.

The beneficence of his regime became almost immediately manifest. Settlement quickly increased; and, every effort being made to encourage exploration, the known boundaries of the territory extended with almost equal rapidity. Macquarie himself visited every part of his little kingdom that he could reach, and everywhere he went he founded townships and built roads. The Blue Mountains were crossed in 1813, and the magnificent Bathurst Plains beyond were discovered and settled. Oxley, Evans, Cunningham and the brothers Hume pushed their way far into the interior and claimed so great an expanse of territory from the unknown that when, in 1821, Macquarie left the Colony, it had increased from a little group of settlements upon the coast, aggregating not more than two thousand square miles, to an area measuring four hundred miles by three hundred, or one hundred and twenty thousand square miles in all. So far as Sydney itself was concerned, there, too, Macquarie's influence was marked. When he arrived he found the town "a collection of miserable huts, scattered about after no particular plan." Under his direction it soon began to take shape as a city worthy of the name. The old streets became comparatively well-ordered, and many new ones were constructed. Substantial public buildings were erected of pleasing Georgian style, which exercised so strong an influence on Australian colonial architecture that it has perpetuated not only the Governor's name, but also that of the architect responsible for them. This was Francis Howard Greenway, an English architect who had been transported to Sydney in 1812 for having, on his bankruptcy, concealed certain of his effects. He had known Captain Arthur Phillip, who recommended him to Macquarie, and that Governor, much taken with his evident ability, employed him in connection with the many building schemes which were so dear to the hearts of both. In December, 1817, on the occasion of the completion of the Macquarie lighthouse, on South Head, which had been built to Greenway's design, Macquarie emancipated the architect, who continued for some time to render his patron excellent service. In 1821, however, largely through outside influence, a quarrel arose between Macquarie and Greenway, and the latter was forced to rely entirely upon private practice. This was poor indeed and for the remainder of his life Greenway was in indigent circumstances. He died obscurely in 1837, but many of the buildings which he designed and supervised remain in active use to-day—notably, St. James's Church and the old Hyde Park Barracks, now used as the District Court.

Macquarie also divided the city into districts and police were appointed to control them. Schools were established and commerce was encouraged. The population of the settlements, which in 1788 had amounted to but 1,024 souls, and had increased to just under twelve thousand at the time of Macquarie's arrival, multiplied more than three-fold during his regime, and when he handed over his charge in December, 1821, it was estimated to total a little under 39,000. During the same period the area of land under cultivation was more than quadrupled; live stock increased almost twelvefold, and the revenue rose from £8,000 to £30,000 per annum.

But perhaps the most memorable feature of Macquarie's reign was the sympathy which he extended to the emancipist class. "My principle is," he wrote on one occasion, "that when once a man is free, his former state should no longer be remembered or allowed to act against him; let him then feel himself eligible for any situation which he has, by a long term of upright conduct, proved himself worthy of filling." It was a humane principle, and eminently worthy of the man who formulated it. Nor was it merely a theory with him. He lived up to it consistently—so consistently, indeed, as to

bring down upon himself the anger and the opposition of a large and influential section of the community. His consideration for the ex-convicts—the emancipists, as they were called—very gravely displeased the more important of the free settlers and, in particular, the military officers of the regiment assigned to the Colony. These latter were not unnaturally bitter against one who wished them to regard as equals men who had at one time worn the livery of the felon. Macquarie appointed ex-convicts to responsible positions, made them magistrates, insisted on their being allowed to practise before the Courts, and even sought their company in social life and invited them to dine at Government House. Whether the recipients of these favours were worthy of them or not made no difference to the “exclusionists”; it was enough that they had once borne the criminal stigmata; and the disgruntled officers expressed their disapproval of the Governor’s attitude in many ways, both direct and indirect.

From this time forth for many years, the struggle between the “Emancipists” and the “Exclusionists” was to divide the social life of the Colony. It was to be the breeder of party and private quarrels and it was to cause the downfall of Governors. Indirectly it caused the downfall of Macquarie. For so many and so strong were the complaints received by the Home Authorities from the exclusionist party against him, that eventually they sent out a Commissioner authorised to inquire into his administration generally. And although Mr. Commissioner Bigge approved of many of the Governor’s activities, he commented very brusquely indeed on other aspects of the Macquarie regime, including, in particular, his emancipist attitude. Macquarie had resigned before the report was made public; but the attitude of the Home Authorities had been a bitter blow to him; and there can be no doubt that he was unfairly treated. He was a vain and obstinate man who made many enemies, and in several ways he acted inadvisedly and rightly incurred the strictures with which Bigge interlarded his report; but, in spite of all his faults, no other Governor, save Phillip, had so splendidly served the Colony. He left Australia in December, 1821, after holding the office of governor for a period of twelve years; and he died in London less than three years later.

The name of Macquarie bulks largely in the history of Australia. And not only metaphorically, but literally. One of the evidences of his personal vanity was his habit of naming places after himself, or of complacently allowing others to do so. As a result, New South Wales teems with such nomenclature. Rivers and roads, ports and forts, townships and even lighthouses bear Macquarie’s name to-day, even as the chronicles bear the stamp of his great and numerous activities. But the name of his successor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, is hardly known, either on the records, or, with one exception, on the map. He was a scientist rather than an administrator; he preferred his observatory at Parramatta to the public activities of his office; he was so anxious not to be mixed up in the emancipist-exclusionist quarrel that he would commit himself to nothing; and he left the political affairs of the settlement to “run themselves” as much as possible.

But, colourless as his regime has been generally regarded, there is little doubt that his searching and observing brain helped the Home Authorities greatly in effecting that important constitutional change which occurred during his term of office, and to which we shall refer in greater detail presently. His departure, however, in 1825 was hardly noted; it caused no greater disturbance on the community than does the passing shadow of a cloud upon a sun-swept field.

The regime of Sir Ralph Darling, who followed him, was as full of excitements, of all manner of alarms and excursions, as that of Sir Thomas Brisbane had been empty of them. From the moment of his arrival, almost, and to the very day of his departure, literally, Darling was participating in violent quarrels with someone. Never

did Governor have a more unhappy time of it. Certainly he was largely to blame; for he was a martinet of the first water, a man incapable of taking advice or accepting a compromise. Having had a long service at the Horse Guards, his love for routine was invincible, and regulations and red-tape were sacrosanct in his eyes. He would have nothing whatever to do with the emancipists, and inaugurated his term by getting rid of every one of them who held office in the public service. This certainly pleased the exclusionists; but the influence of the emancipists was growing every day, and the gubernatorial frenzy against them worked its own revenge upon him in the end. The storm broke around the Governor's head in 1826 as the result of his unwarrantably harsh handling of two ex-soldiers—Sudds and Thompson—the former of whom died within a few days as the direct result (or so it was alleged) of the treatment to which he had been subjected. The Governor's enemies made the most of the opportunity thus offered to them; and, in particular, one of them, William Charles Wentworth, whose name was already becoming famous in Australian history, was provided with a highly efficient weapon. He lost no time in turning it against a Governor whose methods and outlook were alike repugnant to him. Wentworth was the son of D'Arcy Wentworth, Assistant Surgeon to the Colony and Superintendent of Convicts, and had been born at Norfolk Island in 1793. After receiving his education in England, he returned to Sydney in 1811, and two years later came prominently before the public eye as one of the three explorers who achieved the first crossing of the Blue Mountains. Thereafter, his passionate patriotism for the land of his birth engaged him in a constant campaign for constitutional freedom, and for the alleviation of the emancipist and the free settler. He lived to see the consummation of his desires; but at the period under review he was still only at the entrance to the fight. His particular quarrel with Darling, however, has so important a bearing upon the history of the press in Australia, in general, and that of the *HERALD* in particular, that we must defer the story of its vicissitudes until we have completed the brief survey of ante-*HERALD* Australian history at large. Darling and his squabbles continued to blister the chronicles of the settlement until just after the founding of the *HERALD* in 1831, and it is enough to say here that Wentworth was "in at the death." The fight between them was carried on to the very ship that bore the Governor—choleric, mistaken, but very often gravely misunderstood—away from Sydney for ever.

As the result of Commissioner Bigge's report, a number of reforms were inaugurated in Governor Brisbane's time which almost at once began to bear important fruit. And it is only fair to the great memory of Phillip to say that they embodied in part the recommendations made by that far-seeing administrator nearly forty years before. Transportation was to decrease; the emigration of free settlers, which had been considerably increased during Macquarie's term, was to be the prime policy for the future; and though convicts were still to be sent out, they were to be sent rather as the providers of labour for the free settlers than as refuse to be shot on to a rubbish-tip. Moreover, the Colony was to be allowed a certain relief from the absolute powers possessed up to Macquarie's time by the Governors. A measure of responsible government, so small indeed as to be almost negligible, but still an admission of the Colony's growing rights, was to be granted; and the judiciary was to be reformed. These reforms were put into effect almost at once; and it is important now briefly to consider them and their results. In the first place, free settlers, who had hitherto been discouraged by officialdom at home, began to pour in in ever-increasing, and, indeed, embarrassing numbers; and grants of land were made to them upon arrival to a degree which soon effected the settlement of the greater portion of the explored areas of the Colony. In the second place,

the autocracy of the Governor was limited by the appointment of a Legislative Council, which, though simply an advisory body, and unable to over-ride the Governor's wishes, was yet a step in advance. The new Council consisted of seven members; and as they were nominated by the British Government upon the advice of the Governor, the advance was not a great one, certainly; but the mere fact that the Governor could now consult with somebody (instead of issuing his own fiat subject only to an authority twelve thousand miles away in distance and six months in time) was something. It may have been only a sop to the Cerberus of colonial demand; but it was at least a sop, and the Cerberus received it with considerable gusto.

In the third place, the reform of the judiciary established a considerable advance. Until 1814 the Governor had had almost supreme power in the administration of justice. He was assisted, it is true, by a lieutenant-governor and a judge advocate; but both these officials were subject to his authority. Moreover, he had the nomination of all magistrates in his hands; was himself the only court of appeal, and could summarily punish or pardon at his own discretion. The court of criminal jurisdiction was a court martial consisting of the judge advocate and six naval or military officers. The civil court consisted of the judge advocate and two others, who were, in practice, invariably a military officer and a civilian or a naval officer. In 1814 the civil and criminal courts were placed under separate authorities and the civil court was divided into a supreme court and a governor's court. The former consisted of a judge appointed by the Home Authorities and two magistrates appointed by the Governor; and its jurisdiction covered all cases wherein a sum exceeding fifty pounds was in dispute. Appeal lay to the Governor and judge advocate where the amount did not exceed £3,000; above that the appeal was to the Privy Council. The Governor's court consisted of the judge advocate and two civilians, and its jurisdiction was limited to causes wherein not more than £50 was involved. It will thus be seen that there was no civilian jury system, and the judge advocate was often called upon to decide an appeal wherein he had appeared as advocate in the first instance. By the reforms now introduced a new Supreme Court was set up under a Chief Justice—aided, two years later, by two puisne judges; civil cases, upon the application of the parties, could be heard by a jury of twelve citizens, although in criminal cases seven military officers must still constitute a jury. But the main reform consisted in the provision that the Chief Justice was also given a quasi-political power, in that no law proposed by the Governor to the Council could be passed, or even considered, by that body until the Chief Justice had certified that it was not contrary to the existing laws of England. The full effect of that provision was soon to be shown in its relation to the censorship of the press, a restriction which had been maintained by all the Governors previous to Brisbane, who endeavoured to curry a little favour with the community by abolishing it. As a result the one newspaper which the Colony boasted—*The Sydney Gazette*, established in 1803, under the permission of Governor King, by a convict named George Howe, and which was rather an official publication of Government notices and so forth, than a newspaper as generally conceived—almost immediately found itself opposed by two rivals, *The Australian*, started in 1824 by Wentworth and his friend, Doctor Wardell, and *The Monitor*, established two years later by one Edward Smith Hall. Darling was by this time in the saddle; and both *The Australian* and *The Monitor* attacked his administration, particularly in regard to his attitude towards the emancipists, with such vigour that, smarting under their assaults, he endeavoured to introduce a law that would annul the liberty granted them by his predecessor. But Francis Forbes, who had been appointed first Chief Justice by the Colonial Office; refused to certify that such a law would not be contrary to the existing laws of England;

but a more temperate measure being introduced by Darling a little later, Forbes gave it his certificate, and it became law in April, 1827. Darling then instituted under this Act a series of actions for criminal libel against the journalists who dared to criticise his actions, which kept him—and them—uncomfortably busy during the rest of his regime. As these actions had to be tried before a jury of military officers, the Governor generally won them; and, as a result, Hall spent no less than three and a half years in confinement, and was forced to pay several hundred pounds for his audacity. He appeared, it is said, no less than seven times in the dock, and each time it was in consequence of his attacks upon the Darling administration. Wentworth had foreseen the probable effects of the Act and, having parted with his interest in *The Australian*, not only eluded them, but was able to assist with his advice outside the Court and his eloquence within it, his former and less fortunate brethren of the pen against the constant attacks of the Governor. The only marked effect of these prosecutions—the Governor's enemies called them persecutions—was to make the demand for civil juries in criminal cases so persistent that in the end this last refuge of the exclusionists was taken from them. But when in 1831 the *HERALD* was established and Darling left the Colony, the fight between the two parties was being waged as bitterly as ever.

Captain Cook in 1770 had taken possession, in his own words, merely of "the whole Eastern Coast" of the continent. The wording of Phillip's commission, as first Governor of the Colony of New South Wales, gave him authority over "the country inland westward as far as 135 deg. East longitude, as well as over the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean," between the latitudes of the southernmost point of Van Diemen's Land and Cape York. New Zealand, it will be noted, was not specifically named; but the earlier Governors included it within their jurisdiction. Macquarie went so far as to appoint magistrates for the Bay of Islands, and a British Resident was appointed, subordinate to the Government of New South Wales. New Zealand was generally regarded as a dependency of New South Wales at the time of the commencement of our story, but it acquired no definite status under the British Crown until 1841, when, by Royal Charter, it was proclaimed a separate Colony under the Governorship of Captain Hobson. But to return to the occupation of Australia. By Darling's commission, the western boundary was, in 1825, extended to 129 degrees East longitude, while in 1826 the district round King George's Sound on the west of the continent was formally annexed. Finally, when in 1829 a settlement was made on the Swan River, and, together with the King George's Sound area, was proclaimed as the Colony of Western Australia, that Colony was made to stretch eastward to the western boundary of New South Wales, thus making the whole continent a British possession.

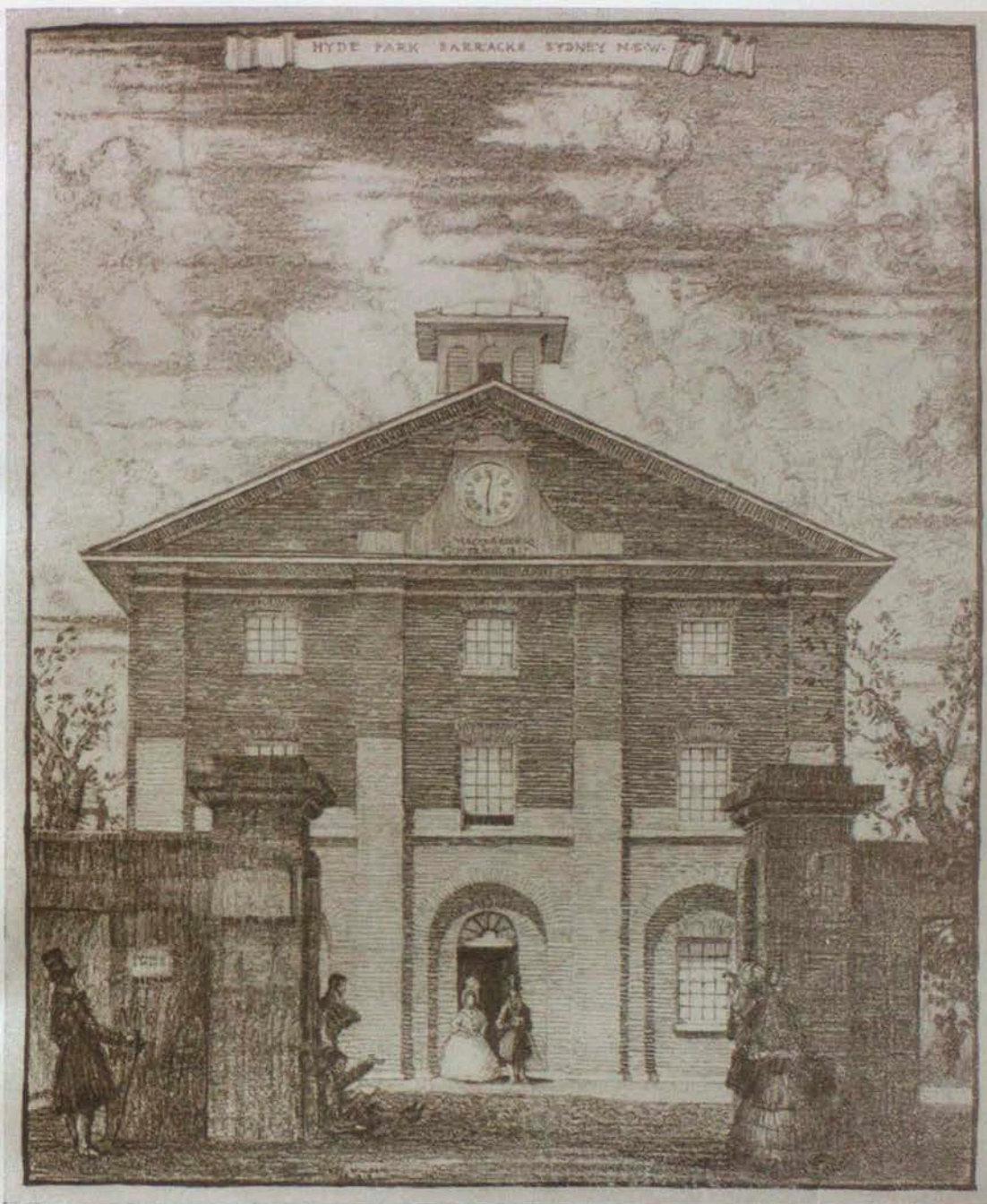
By an Act of the Imperial Parliament passed in the year 1825, Van Diemen's Land, or Tasmania, as it came to be called in 1856, was to all intents and purposes separated from New South Wales; for, although its Governors were for some time thereafter still nominally only "Lieutenant-Governor in the absence of the Governor" (that is to say, the Governor of New South Wales), as the latter remained conspicuously absent from the island, the separation was practically complete. Australia was thus divided into three parts: New South Wales, comprising the whole of the continent east of the 129th meridian; Western Australia, comprising the whole of the continent west of that meridian; and Van Diemen's Land, comprising the whole of the island now known as Tasmania. Norfolk Island, of course, and a few other smaller islands in neighbouring waters, were also included as part of New South Wales. The colonies of South Australia, Victoria and Queensland were still *in futuro*, although the separation of the first-named of the three from New South Wales was to be accomplished within a few

years. It may be added of the Colony of New South Wales itself that in 1831 it contained some fifty thousand persons, of whom about twenty thousand were convicts, and of whom some fifteen thousand resided in Sydney and its immediate neighbourhood. The towns and villages of the Colony numbered less than a dozen, inclusive of the capital, the principal ones being Liverpool, Port Macquarie, Maitland, Newcastle, Parramatta, Richmond, Windsor, Campbelltown and Penrith. Parramatta, with a population of little over two thousand, was the largest of these; Maitland and Windsor, with populations of about a thousand each, being next upon the list. The rest were mere villages carrying populations of from five hundred to seven hundred persons respectively.

Exploration during the regimes of Brisbane and Darling had added considerably to the knowledge of the interior; and in this connection the discoveries of Oxley in the north coastal areas, during which he hit upon the site of Brisbane; Hume and Hovell, in that southern area which afterwards was to become Victoria; and of Sturt in the vastnesses of the unknown West, are especially to be mentioned. But, despite the efforts of these brave and persistent inquirers, the huge continent was but a vague mystery to the world at large, except for that small south-eastern fringe of it where Sydney and its neighbouring settlements were growing into greatness.

Sydney itself, the main focus of these activities, although it had assumed the status and the self-importance of a metropolis—and did indeed exhibit a surprising advance from the settlement of Phillip's day—would, to our modern eyes, have presented a very rough and ready appearance. But it possessed some fairly large and substantial buildings—notably, the Military Hospital, afterwards to become the Fort Street Public School; the Court House, St. James's Church, the Barracks—all still in existence—and such like public or semi-public buildings.

Outside the city, too, the more important personages of the colony had built themselves fine residences of brick and stone, set often, as in the case of the Honourable Alexander Macleay, amid gardens that evoked admiration even from sophisticated travellers from the Old World. Hyde Park had been set apart by Macquarie, and, together with the Domain, provided the city with "lungs" which ever since have greatly helped to maintain the health and happiness of its citizens. But, despite these evidences of growth, the general amenities of the settlement were poor enough. The roads outside the narrow boundaries of the city were rough and dusty in summer and so muddy as to be almost impassable during the winter rains; while in the city itself the streets were badly lit, even in those few places where they were lit at all. Transport was difficult and postal facilities were negligible. There was, of course, no gas; and the day of steam had hardly dawned. The eye was shocked everywhere—unless, indeed, as seems to have been too often the case, custom had made of the horror a spectacle of easiness—by the sight of the iron-gang, the triangle and the public execution. Stocks stood in the centre of the city, and were continuously occupied; the treadmill worked ceaselessly its hopeless round; the "assigned servant"—otherwise the convict handed over for a term to work in legalised slavery for some free settler or public official—laboured everywhere against odds for his ticket-of-leave. Schools there were; and a library of considerable size; the gaieties of the theatre were by no means unknown, and in many ways culture and refinement were permitted to spread. But in the main such things were the monopoly of the "upper classes," whose privileges, indeed, were many and varied, and who may well have found life amid the sordidness around, as pleasant as an oasis in a desert. But for the rest, the daily round must have been a somewhat dreary business; and to many a hopeless one. Its only mitigation was the softness of the air and the brilliance of the Austral sun; and



*Hyde Park Barracks (now the District Court building),
built by Greenway in 1817, during the Macquarie regime;
a drawing by Hardy Wilson.*

[Reproduced by permission from "Old Colonial Architecture"]



Elizabeth Farm, Parramatta, where Macarthur, who received the land grant in 1793, laid the foundation of the Australian wool industry.



George Street North in 1829. The house adjoining Kemp & Dobson's was the first post office. Mary Reibey's house is next. The Fire Station stands to-day on the latter site.

often—too often to make the reflection anything but a bitter one—that temperate air can but have mocked the misery on which it blew, that brilliant sun can but have warmed a body whose heart was cold beyond recovery.

A curious thumb-nail picture of the Sydney of the time of the *HERALD*'s birth, and one which significantly stresses the painful contrasts which the settlement then presented, is given by Judge Therry in his well-known volume of "Reminiscences of Thirty Years in New South Wales and Victoria." It is true that the date of His Honour's description is 1829, but the difference between the Sydney of that year and the Sydney of 1831 cannot have been much. Certainly it was not sufficient to distort the portrait to any material degree. Judge Therry writes:

"Sydney then contained about 15,000 inhabitants. The streets were wide, well laid out, and clean. Two regiments—the 39th and 57th—the headquarters stationed in Sydney, were then on duty in the Colony. This considerable regimental force, with a large commissariat establishment, imparted quite a military aspect to the place. The houses were, for the most part, built in the English style, the shops well stocked, and the people one met in the streets presented the comfortable appearance of a prosperous community. The cages with parrots and cockatoos that hung from every shop door formed the first feature that reminded me I was no longer in England. . . . Ground was not then so valuable there as it soon afterwards became, and commodious verandahed cottages, around which English roses clustered, with large gardens, were scattered through the town. There was scarcely a house without a flowerplot in front. A band of one of the regiments, around which a well-dressed group had gathered, was playing in the barracks-yard, and every object that presented itself favoured the impression that one had come amongst a gay and prosperous community. . . . When, however, day dawned in Sydney, the delusion of the evening was dispelled. Early in the morning the gates of the convict prison were thrown open, and several hundred convicts were marched out in regimental file and distributed amongst the several public works in and about the town. As they passed along—the chains clanking at their heels—the patchwork dress of coarse grey and yellow cloth, marked with the Government brand, in which they were paraded—the downcast countenances—and the whole appearance of the men, exhibited a truly painful picture. Nor was it much improved throughout the day, as one met bands of them in detachments of twenty yoked to waggons laden with gravel and stone, which they wheeled through the streets; in this and in other respects they performed all the functions of labour usually discharged by beasts of burden at home."

In these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that such relaxations as were available for the masses were hardly notable for their refinement. The race-course and the regatta, the cricket-match—nearly always for a wager—the "pic nic," provided the more "genteel" circles with their enjoyments; but the cruel excitements of the prize-fight, the cock-fight and even of bull-baiting were, if not the regular recreations of the "general," at least indulged in far too frequently. Drunkenness was as common as the grog-shops wherein it was bred; and the papers of the day provide sad comment, not only on the prevalence of petty and major crime, but on the savagery with which both alike were punished. The bushranger and the escaped convict—and the two were usually one—spread terror through the scattered population of the outer districts; the constant outrages upon the aborigines for which these outlaws were for the most part responsible, inspired revengeful attacks upon the part of the blacks, wherefrom the innocent settler suffered more than the guilty. The economic troubles of the earlier days, moreover, though diminished, had been by no means dissipated. Agriculture was between the devil of under-production created by droughts and other maleficent climatic conditions, and the deep sea of over-production following on good seasons, when, as export was impracticable, the surplusage was wasted and prices fell to such a degree that the grower was but ill-compensated for his labour. The pastoral industry was growing rapidly; but it, too, suffered from the difficulty of export and the chances and changes of the wool market. And, finally, the constant land troubles, arising from the difficulty

of solving the settlement problem in a way that would at once prevent huge accumulations of property in the hands of individuals and yet allow every individual a fair opportunity of obtaining a sufficiency whereon to maintain a home in comfort, added their heavy quota to the burden that the settlement was called upon to bear. Indeed, these days of early New South Wales were stressful at the best and harsh and heart-breaking too often. They were full of toil and apprehension; privation was their common accompaniment, and the brush with which the faithful historian must paint them is for the most part to be dipped in red and black. But, withal, there was eagerness in the air, and optimism; our pioneers were sturdy folk and hard to turn from their resolve—and it would be unfair to them and to their times if, with the black and red, the picture showed no silver hues of tenderness and hope, no golden gleams of progress and success. A spirit of "divine discontent" was abroad; there was an active movement on foot to erase the hated blot of transportation from the escutcheon of the growing nation, and to aid the growth of constitutional reform. Commerce had quickened into lusty life; the golden fleece was giving ever-increasing proofs of the aptness of its adjective; the port was lively with shipping, and the hammer and trowel of the builder were heard in the land. Year by year, and month by month, the sombreness of origin was fading, to be replaced by the riper, richer hues of cleanly growth and fine achievement.

Such, then, was the general position of the affairs of the little colony—unique alike in constitution, history and outlook, lost in an antipodean ocean, set upon the rim of a vast and unknown land—into which the HERALD was born upon an April day in 1831.

SECTION II.

THE INFANCY OF THE "HERALD"

1831-1841

THE original proprietors of the new paper—and according to its imprint, its editors, printers and publishers as well—were three young men: Ward Stephens, Frederick Michael Stokes and William McGarvie. The sequence of events which led to their combining in the venture has been briefly set out in a letter, written on 3rd February, 1888, some three years before his death, by Frederick Stokes. The letter was addressed to his eldest son, Charles; and was, indeed, written at the latter's request for particulars of those early days.

"When I arrived in Sydney," writes Mr. Stokes, "I went as a book-keeper to *The Sydney Gazette*, of which the Rev. Ralph Mansfield was Manager and Editor, having for a fellow clerk, Ward Stephens, who had been in the office some time before me. Stephens was intimate with William McGarvie, a bookseller in George Street, and the brother of the Rev. John McGarvie, a Presbyterian Minister, contemporary with Dr. Lang. While in the office, Stephens and William McGarvie sent to England for a small printing plant, which arrived in Sydney some months after I was there, but as neither of these were printers, they did not know what to do with it, and upon talking over their dilemma with me, found out that I was a practical printer, and as I had saved some money they agreed to give me a joint interest upon paying my quota of the cost, which I gladly did, and we established the office under the title of Stephens, Stokes & McGarvie, in Redman's Court, Lower George Street.

"At this time there were three newspapers in existence—*The Sydney Gazette*, an official Government organ conducted by Mansfield; *The Australian*, a violently written newspaper; and *The Monitor*, the proprietor of which had been very harshly treated by some officers of the Government and was very violent also. The subscription to *The Sydney Gazette* was £5/17/- per annum.

"Soon after our office was established, we found that orders for printing did not come in very freely, and, as politics were running very high, we thought there was a good opening for an independent, moderate and useful commercial newspaper, and we commenced the *HERALD* as a weekly paper; the Rev. Mr. McGarvie furnished the leading articles, and as I had had considerable experience with newspapers, I was a sort of sub-editor as well as printer. We made a capital start. . . ."

Mr. Stokes then goes on to relate some of his recollections of the early history of the new paper; but, before quoting him again, it is necessary to give a few biographical details about these three young musketeers of journalism, all in their early twenties, and of Dr. McGarvie, but a few years their senior, who thus set out with little but a confident enthusiasm to open with their pens the oyster of the Australian journalistic world.

Mr. Ward Stephens, the senior partner of the young firm, was born at Portsea, England, in 1804, and arrived in New South Wales in his twenty-fifth year. Soon after his arrival he entered the office of *The Sydney Gazette*, and, as we have learned from Mr. Stokes's letter, he was still engaged there when it was decided to publish the *HERALD*. His later history is soon told, as, unfortunately, he died at the comparatively early age of forty-eight. William McGarvie sold his interest in the *HERALD* to Stephens and Stokes after the appearance of the fifth number, and the paper was then carried on by these two until 31st October, 1836, when, a "little difference" arising between them, Stokes

sold his half share to Stephens and "retired into private life" for a period of a little more than three years. On the first of January, 1840, Stephens, "desiring to go squatting," resold his entire interest in the *HERALD* to Stokes, who retained the sole proprietorship in the paper until the 6th February, 1841, when he finally severed his connection with it in circumstances that will be related presently. Meanwhile, Ward Stephens, who, in the furtherance of his desire, had already purchased land at Dartbrook, Scone and Murrurundi, now selected Runnymede, Lismore and Stratheden stations, on the Richmond River, in the northern area of the State.

The phrase "desiring to go squatting," used above, is quoted from Stokes's letter; and it demands, perhaps, a word or two of explanation. The term "Squatter" was originally applied to those graziers who occupied or "squatted upon" those large areas in the far western districts of the Colony, for which no system of tenure had then been devised. Their occupation was illegal and they were, in fact, trespassers on Crown lands; but they knew very well that the Government would not endanger the future of the wool industry by prosecuting them. Their position was legalised by Governors Bourke and Gipps in the late 'thirties and early 'forties; but the term by which they had been known still stuck, and for many years all graziers, wherever their "runs" or "stations" might be situated, were referred to as "squatters." Indeed, the term is often applied to them to this day.

After a few years' "squatting," Mr. Stephens' health gave way. A domestic affliction added its burden of sorrow, and the combination brought on a long and painful illness from which he died in Sydney on the 29th July, 1852. On the following day the *HERALD* concluded a lengthy obituary notice of its one-time proprietor with the following appropriate words: "Few men in town were more respected, his judgment and experience in public affairs being generally admitted to be both sound and extensive."

As to Frederick Michael Stokes, we have already learned from his own letter the main incidents of his life up to the date of the founding of the *HERALD*, and, from our references to Ward Stephens, a summary of his further associations with that paper. But there naturally remain some gaps in the narrative, and to fill them we must again have recourse to the letter of 1888, from which we have already quoted. Continuing from the reference to the *HERALD*'s first appearance, the letter runs thus:

"THE SYDNEY *HERALD* was a great success, and at the end of six months the circulation was more than all the others put together! Stephens and I bought out William McGarvie by paying him his portion back, which he required for his stationery business. We then engaged as a writer Mr. Edward O'Shaughnessy, but the Rev. J. McGarvie continued his editorials.

"We then commenced a warfare against the introductions of prisoners and thus enlisted the sympathies and assistance of a number of influential colonists, and I believe the *HERALD* was instrumental in procuring the cessation of transportation.

"It would not be fair to mention the names of the gentlemen who backed up the *HERALD*, but we gave great satisfaction, and the *HERALD* gained a name for independence, moderation and usefulness which has continued throughout its career. We found after a time that the *HERALD* was so popular that we began to publish it twice a week, and soon after three times a week."

Mr. Stokes then makes reference to the transfers of the proprietorship between himself and Stephens which we have already detailed, and thus continues:

"I had very favourable contracts with the Government to do all their job printing and *The Government Gazette* for five years. To enable me to fulfil my contract, I was obliged to take apprentices, as compositors were not to be got, when my calculations were all thwarted by a strike amongst the men I had, and although they received very high wages, something like £3/15/- average, they refused to work unless I abandoned taking apprentices. This I declined to accede to, and I was placed in a very awkward predicament. The Government threatened to come upon my sureties, and I had to carry on the *HERALD* for some weeks with only one man and myself.

I did so by putting the advertisements in over and over again free and only setting a little fresh matter. I then suggested to the Government that, as I could not get compositors to do the work, they should establish a Government Printing Office and send to the neighbouring Colonies and the penal settlements for any printers, which they did. I sold the Government the necessary material, and they had my overseer to commence with. I could not get men for my office, so took a number of educated young fellows and taught them composing, and they soon picked up enough to enable me to continue the publication of the *HERALD*, which I soon brought out as a daily paper. The worry and the hardwork of all this I found telling upon my health, and I felt myself unable alone to contend with these troubles, besides the difficulty in obtaining literary talent, commensurate with the growth of the colony. I had the assistance of the Rev. R. Mansfield, it is true, and I had the services of Mr. Charles Kemp, who had been my law reporter and who also assisted in the sub-editorial work. I also engaged the services of an eminent professor, but I found I could not contend against the many cares, and as Mr. Fairfax was a practical printer and Mr. Charles Kemp was well up in the literary management of a newspaper, I sold the whole affair to them at long credit upon interest, and they have made the *HERALD* the magnificent newspaper it is with the natural growth of the colony.

"Mr. John Fairfax was acting as Librarian at the Australian Subscription Library, and, being a printer, gave me his assistance in composing in his leisure time, and I sent him cases of type to the Library and sent for the matter when set up."

This extract has taken us a little ahead of our story, so far as it directly concerns the *HERALD*; but it has been thought better to complete the quotation of the letter at this point, since it is material to the biography of the man with whom we are now concerned. After his final severance from the *HERALD*, Mr. Stokes purchased a number of city and suburban properties, retired into private life and died at Marrickville, a Sydney suburb, on the 11th November, 1891, "full of years" and respected by all who knew him.

The third of the original proprietors of the *HERALD*, Mr. William McGarvie, was born in Glasgow in the first decade of the century and was for some time attached to *The Glasgow Herald*. After an early marriage, he came out to New South Wales in 1828 and almost immediately took over the control of the stationery and bookselling business of the Robert Howe to whom reference has already been made as editor of *The Sydney Gazette*. Howe himself retired from the management of this portion of his business and confined himself to his editorial duties. Mr. McGarvie's association with the *HERALD* has been already noted; the association was a short one, lasting but six weeks in all; and after being bought out by Messrs. Stephens and Stokes he resumed—if, indeed, he had ever quitted—the bookselling business with which his interests were more nearly bound up and which, it may be noted, seems to have been the only one in the colony at the time. He went to England in 1832 and returned next year; but on one occasion during the voyage home the vessel on which he was travelling shipped a heavy sea and so drenched him in his cabin that, being at the time in delicate health, he contracted an illness from which he never entirely recovered. On his return to New South Wales he settled in the Port Macquarie district, but for the last few years of his life he was forced by sickness to inaction. He died in Sydney on the 1st April, 1841, a comparatively young man. The *HERALD*, in noticing his death a few days later, thus speaks of him:

"Mr. McGarvie was universally esteemed as a most upright, strictly honest, and honourable man of business. He was amiable, generous, and pious, faithfully discharging the duties of husband, son, and brother, and was esteemed and is regretted by a numerous circle of friends. He has left an amiable widow, an infant son only three weeks old, and a disconsolate brother to deplore their irreparable loss."

It will interest Sydney residents to note that the "amiable widow" of whom this notice speaks, subsequently married Dr. Frederick Mackellar, the father of the late Sir Charles Mackellar and the grandfather of Miss Dorothea Mackellar, the singer of that dear "brown country" which gave her birth.

It was Mr. William McGarvie's elder brother, the Rev. John McGarvie, D.D., to whom Mr. Stokes refers in his letter of 1888 as having written the first leading articles which appeared in the *HERALD*. Dr. McGarvie was born in Glasgow in 1795. He was sent out to Australia by the Presbyterian Church, and arrived in the colony in 1826. On April 12, 1853, he died, aged 58, after a ministry of twenty-one years at St. Andrew's Church, Sydney. He had previously been in charge of that Ebenezer Church at Portland Head, on the Hawkesbury River, which has the distinction of being the oldest Presbyterian Church in Australia—it was erected in 1809-10—and the first church of any denomination to be built here entirely by voluntary contribution. Dr. McGarvie was a highly educated man, and held many important offices in the Church. His sermons were distinguished for their literary merit, and the same quality is easily observable in the leading articles which he contributed to the *HERALD* week after week for so many years.

It is said that the mottoes of the new paper—

“In moderation placing all my glory,
While Tories call me Whig—and Whigs a Tory”

(taken from the second book of Pope's *Imitations of the Satires of Horace*), and

“Sworn to no Master, of no Sect am I”

(also taken from Pope, but this time from his *Imitations of the Epistles of Horace*)—were selected by Dr. McGarvie; while its actual title was suggested by his brother, as reminiscent of that other *Herald* with which he had been previously associated in Glasgow.

THE SYDNEY *HERALD* originally appeared as a weekly, its day of publication being Monday. The first issue—18th April, 1831—contained four pages of four columns each, and so excellent was the printing and the general make-up of the paper that to-day, after the passage of a century, every letter is as clear as on the day it first appeared. A close inspection reveals no typographical errors, a fact which, considering the lack of technical experts at the time, is as surprising as it is creditable to the reputation of the readers and compositors. The condition of the actual paper, too, is extraordinarily good, considering the years that have elapsed since it first issued from the embrace of the press. The paper used at that time, and for many years thereafter, was what is technically known as “rag.” This accounts for its durability, and it affords a striking contrast in this respect to the wood-sulphite paper so general in use at the present time.

Of the four pages of this first issue, the first—with the exception of the title, the “Whig-Tory” motto beneath it, and the date and terms of subscription—is entirely devoted to advertisements. These consist mainly of Government notices and “sales by auction.” Advertisements of a more general nature, ranging from the excellencies of cheap waterproof hats to the advantage to be obtained by attending a Mr. Miller's dancing lessons “in the most fashionable styles” also take up a column and a half of the third page. The remainder of the paper is devoted to news and literary and editorial matter, the last page “featuring” the inevitable Poet's Corner—occupied by “S.S.M.,” whose stilted and evidently “inspired” Muse appropriately hymns “The Press”—but being otherwise exclusively reserved for local intelligence of every kind, from markets to marriages. The leading article, on page two, sets out in considerable detail the aims and “platform” of the paper, and takes up three columns in doing so! Three-quarters of a column of sale advertisements, a score or so of notices to correspondents, and half a column of English news complete the leader page, while the rest of the news from overseas fills all the columns on page three which are not occupied by the advertisements already referred to.

The "leader" is headed by the paper's second "sectless" motto, and was the work of Dr. McGarvie. It is an excellent example of his forceful and somewhat florid style. In essence it declares for that "independent, moderate usefulness" to which Mr. Stokes alludes in his letter to his son, and which the mottoes chosen for the paper so clearly acclaim. It is unnecessary here to reproduce the article in full, the greater portion of the first half of it being devoted by the writer to decrying the methods of so many journals of the day. But in his last paragraphs he summarises so well and so succinctly the aims and intentions of the paper that it is essential that they should be freely quoted. Thus, then, with certain unimportant breaks, runs this later portion of the article:

"... But there is another class of editors to whom we are desirous of assimilating our practice. Whilst we are bound to respect Government and its measures, we are entitled to be independent in thought and speech. When these measures are evidently devised and executed for the general welfare, we shall promote and recommend them. When they are of a questionable character, or work evil, we shall neither fear nor refuse to state our sentiments. But we shall employ sound argument to convince, and not ribaldry to confound. We shall draw a broad line between suggestion and dictation; between wholesome restraint and ruinous oppression; between reasoning, founded on truth, and declamation reared upon fiction. If we do not serve as beacons above, we shall become buoys beneath. We shall consider the high road of political life, like the patent way over the high seas, that surround our adopted country; where men may anchor or sail, furl or unfurl their canvas, trim and repair their barks, may enjoy the pure sky and gentle breeze, a calm or the gale, as profit or pleasure or caprice may dictate—each consulting the general welfare whilst he promotes his own; and all sailing as well as ourselves, under the broad banner of British freedom, protection and law, which no one shall be permitted to attack with impunity, or insult without redress. . . .

"Our Editorial Management shall be conducted upon principles of candour, honesty and honour—respect and deference shall be paid to all classes. Freedom of thinking and speaking shall be conceded, and demanded. We have no wish to mislead; no interest to gratify by unsparing abuse—or indiscriminate approbation. We shall regret opposition when we could wish to concur, and bestow the meed of praise. We shall dissent with respect and reason with a desire, not to gain a point, but to establish a principle. By these sentiments we shall be guided, and, whether friends or foes, by these we shall judge others; we have a right, therefore, to expect that by these we shall be judged."

It may well be added here that the aims and methods of the paper as outlined above have never varied from that day to this.

Much has been said of the mottoes of the paper, and much was made by the proprietors of their efforts to live up to them. But, truth to tell, although "moderation" might be the paper's "glory," and although it might declare for no Master or Sect, there is ample evidence that its feelings often got the better of its resolutions. Thus, on the 20th March, 1840, immediately under its blazoned motto, the HERALD, after commiserating certain Government clerks who had been, in its opinion, victimised by an order declaring that their salaries should be paid quarterly instead of monthly, thus apostrophises the "Whiggish" rule of Governor Gipps, whose methods it most cordially detested:

"Oh, Whiggism—which is only another name for corruption and negation of principle. Does this order extend to all the higher Government officers? No, we will be sworn it does not. But it is ever so with your Whig economists. They invariably begin at the wrong end. From those who have little they take much; to them who have much they give more. It is said that the reason of this regulation is with a view to saving the eight months' interest in the amount of the clerks' salaries. O, how contemptible! O, how mean!"

As ten days' later the paper headed one of its columns with the glaring lines, "Whig Deceit—Whig Jobbing with the Land Fund—Whiggism as it is and Always Was," and devoted another to an attack upon what it called in highly inflammatory letters, "Whig Impudence," it is clear that, while Whigs might very well call it a Tory, even the blindest Tory in his dotage could hardly regard it as an ally of the Whigs.

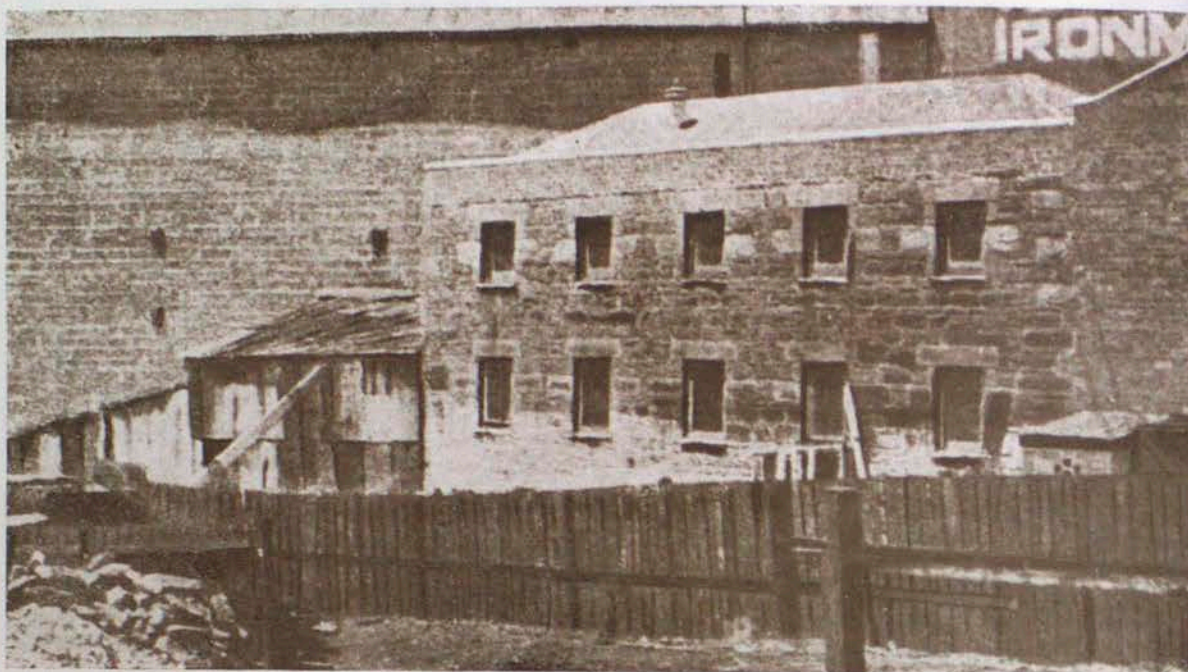
But these attacks upon the Gipps administration belong more properly to a later date, and are only mentioned now to show how far short of its chosen objective even a sectless moderate paper may fall when its emotions become too much for it.

At the foot of the last page of the paper appears, in accordance with the law, the imprint of the publishers and proprietors. There would be no necessity to mention this imprint were it not that its wording helps to remove a mistake as to the "editorship" of the early HERALD which has been perpetuated, through a misapprehension of the facts of the case by many writers of Australian history. It has been stated that "the first editor" of the paper was that Mr. O'Shaughnessy mentioned by Stokes in the letter already quoted; it has also been stated, still more frequently, that the position was held by the Reverend R. Mansfield, a gentleman who was undoubtedly responsible later on for many of the HERALD's leading articles. Dr. John McGarvie, and the "eminent professor" mentioned by Stokes, and to whom considerable reference must presently be made, have also been credited with the honour. But the actual fact is that there was no such person as an official "editor" on the staff of the paper until the year 1854, when, as we shall see, the Rev. John West received the appointment. The wording of the imprint confirms this statement. In every issue of the HERALD, from its initial appearance until the date of Mr. West's appointment, the imprint states that the paper is "*Edited, Printed and Published by*" the respective proprietor or proprietors of the day. From every imprint since that date the word "Edited" has been carefully omitted. That the omission was deliberate, and records the actual change which had occurred in the conduct of the paper, is so evident that further comment upon the matter is hardly necessary. The work of conducting the literary side of the HERALD was not, until the middle of the century, sufficiently onerous to warrant the special engagement of so important an official as an editor. But with the coming of the 'fifties and the discovery of gold in that decade, the growth of the State and its population advanced so suddenly (and the circulation and influence of the HERALD with it) that the appointment became imperative.

We know from Stokes's letter, and again the imprint confirms the fact, that the HERALD was first printed and published in "Redman's Court, George Street, Sydney." Where then, and of what appearance, was this birthplace? It will be of interest to answer the inquiry in the light of the evidence; and fortunately there is sufficient of this available to enable us not only to identify the site, but also to see something of the HERALD office itself and its appurtenances. Opposite the spot where Essex Street—once known, for reasons both obvious and sinister, as "Gaol" or "Gallows Hill"—debouches into George Street, now stand the extensive premises of Messrs. Nock & Kirby. On the site of the southern two-thirds of these premises there stood in 1829 the residence of John Redman or Redmond. To his occupation of Chief Constable Mr. Redman added that of innkeeper, and his house was known as the "Keep Within Compass." This inn fronted George Street, and at the rear, approached by a lane on the property, were some cottages and a two-storied stone building with ten windows. This area at the rear was known as Redman's Court, and it was in the stone outbuilding that the HERALD first saw the light of publication. In 1916 an old building which occupied the site of the northern third of Messrs. Nock & Kirby's premises was demolished, and the removal of this building disclosed to the eye of the casual passer-by the first home of the HERALD.

There is an interesting reference to this hotel of John Redman's in *The Sydney Gazette* of June 11th, 1829:

On Saturday last, after the prisoners were returning from the Supreme Court to the Gaol,



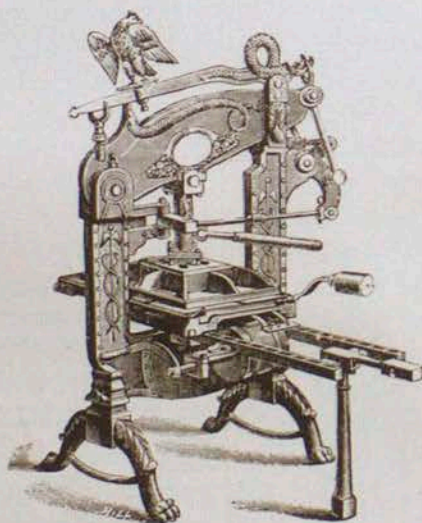
FIRST OFFICE OF THE HERALD.

*The old stone building in which the Herald was born in 1831.
It was in Redman's Court, Lower George Street.*



FREDERICK M. STOKES.

*One of the three original
proprietors of the Herald.*



*The Columbian Press was
used to print the Herald
for the first few years*



REV. DR. JOHN MCGARVIE.

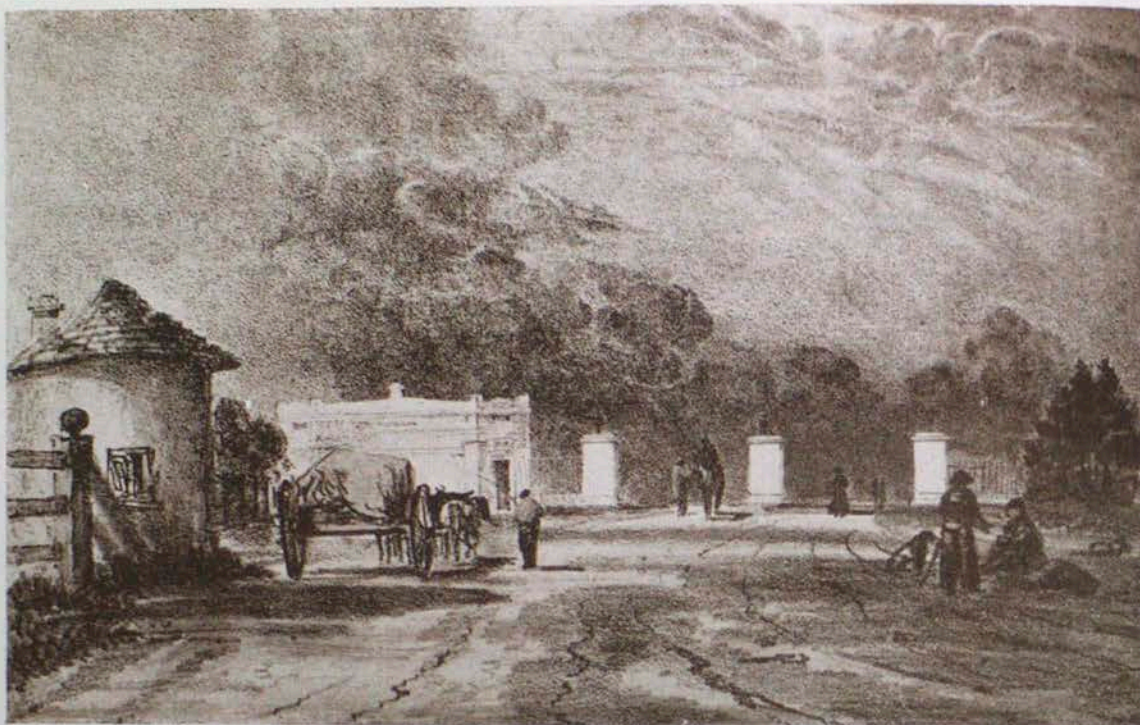
*Earliest editorial writer and
brother of William McGarvie.*



A cricket match in Hyde Park in 1842. Cricket was played here as far back as the 'twenties. The great matches in the early days were between military and civilian clubs.



The Haymarket in 1858. It stood in the space between George, Elizabeth, Hay and Campbell Streets. The Peacock Inn, on the left, was at the corner of George and Campbell Streets.



A toll gate on the Parramatta Road in 1836. The toll system was not abolished in Sydney till the 'seventies.



George Street looking north from Grosvenor Street in 1826. On the left is the Main Guard House, four doors from which, lower down, the Herald had its office for several years.

after receiving sentence, one of them in passing, looking at the sign over Mr. Redman's door in George Street, "Keep Within Compass," observed: "Ah, it's too late now, Mr. Redman."

It is also of interest to read in Mr. Chas. H. Bertie's "Story of Old George Street" that:

"... When the store (*i.e.*, the old building in which the HERALD was born) was demolished in December, 1916, a small stone jetty with two flights of steps, and a wooden mooring pile at the bottom, were disclosed. These were much below the present level of the street and were a reminder of the time when the waters of the cove occupied the site of Pitt Street north. . . ."

This reference shows somewhat startlingly how far the Sydney of to-day has varied from the Sydney of the era of the HERALD's birth.

It is possible that the stationery and bookselling business of William McGarvie—which was described, like Redman's Court, as of Lower George Street—was conducted in the George Street frontage of the HERALD building. Certainly such an arrangement would be both natural and convenient. We can, however, only make conjecture on the point; all who worked upon the HERALD in those first dim days of its history are long since gathered to their fathers, nor have they left us any record of the actual workings of the paper at this time, beyond those few short references in Frederick Stokes's letter to his son which have been already quoted.

The original price of the HERALD was 7d. per copy, or, for subscribers, five shillings per quarter; and at this figure it remained for a little over a year. But within six weeks there was a change in the proprietorship, Stokes and Stephen repaying to McGarvie, who required it for his stationery business, his original investment in the paper. Thereafter, although there is no doubt that he lent his former partners all the assistance he could, and his brother continued to write for the paper as before, William McGarvie had no connection with the HERALD, and his name drops out of the chronicle entirely. But before we lose sight of him, it will be of interest to dwell a little longer upon the first few issues of the paper which appeared while he was still a part-proprietor.

The first number chronicles the news from England up to the 4th December, 1830—a little over four months previously—refers in some detail to the defeat of the Wellington-Peel Ministry and its succession by that of Earl Grey, the leader of the Whigs and the party of Reform, gives in full the Speech of King William IV. at the opening of his first Parliament on 2nd November, 1830, and adds a column of "Mulum in Parvo," comprising general selections from the English papers just received. The disturbances among the farm-labourers in the South of England which accompanied the industrial revolution and the initiation of reform, are briefly alluded to, and there is some comment upon the probable recall of Governor Darling and the possible identity of his successor. Dealing with the purely local news, we find references to the depredations and audacity of the blacks, to the arrival of the ship "Hashmy" (*sic*), which was, some eighteen years later, to be the storm-point of a scene in Sydney Harbour which practically put an end to transportation to the eastern Colonies; and to that useful and universally engrossing subject, the Weather. Indeed, the HERALD, from the very beginning of its career, made a strong point of its Weather reports. It published in every issue, at the foot of the last column of the last page, a "Meteorological Table," showing the state of the weather, the prevailing wind, and the variations of the thermometer as at 6 a.m., noon and 6 p.m. each day. This was compiled by one, William Cape, who, or whose daughter, at that time kept a school in O'Connell Street, near the site of the present HERALD building. Associated with this table during the time the HERALD was a weekly, was a "Diary of Memoranda for the Present Week," wherein such interesting topical and calendrical events as "O. Cromwell born 1599" and "2nd Sunday after Easter" were duly recorded for the edification of all concerned.

Of the hundreds of originals of this first issue of the *HERALD*, only eight are known to exist to-day. Two of them are in the bound volumes of the paper for the year 1831, which are jealously preserved in the *HERALD*'s archives; one is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney; one in the Public Library, Sydney; one in the Sydney School of Arts; one in the National Library at Canberra; one in the Public Library at Melbourne; and one in the possession of the representatives of the late Mrs. Moore, a niece of William McGarvie, who resided at Miller Street, North Sydney, until her death in 1929. There are many "reproductions" of the first issue, and many persons treasure them in the belief that they are originals. But the test of genuineness is easily made, and so far only the eight copies mentioned have been able to satisfy it. The size of the originals is 16½ inches by 10½ inches; all the reproductions so far seen measure but 13½ inches by 9 inches. If there are any other copies beyond those referred to which conform to the larger dimensions the proprietors of the *HERALD* would be glad indeed to know of them.

In the third issue—May 2nd, 1831—the proprietors took the opportunity of pointing out the advantages of advertising in the *HERALD*. The notice reads quaintly enough to-day; but it shows how the new paper was already beginning to forge ahead. These advantages, says the notice, must be evident to the public when they are informed that the *HERALD* has

Seven hundred and fifty Subscribers,
which is
Considerably more than any other
Sydney Journal
and the prices for the paper and advertisements
are the lowest in the Colony.

From time to time this notice was repeated with increasing figures as the circulation grew, and it may almost be said of the *HERALD*, as Pope said of himself, that it "lisp'd in numbers, for the numbers came."

The paper, in these early days, was very fond of the term "intelligence," and used it as a heading to quite a number of its columns. Thus we have "English Intelligence" and "Law Intelligence" and "Shipping Intelligence" and "Domestic Intelligence," and so on. The term takes on an added significance to-day. For, indeed, it is the "intelligence" which we derive from these early files which vies with the despatches of the various Governors in forming the main source for the history of the period. Running one's eye over the old files, one easily gathers a picture of the social and industrial life of the period, and especially useful in this respect are the "Domestic Intelligence" columns and those devoted to "Police Incidents"—the latter a regular feature of the paper for some years.

Thus we find that "the roads between Liverpool and Sydney are so heavy from the late rains that the Royal Mail was obliged to come into town with six horses on Monday"; that "it is a curious fact that persons sent to the treadmill, who have been in the habit of faring hard, always increase in weight before leaving it; on the other hand, those who have been living luxuriously (*sic!*) decrease in weight"; that "the streets of Sydney are in a most miserable state . . . it would not be amiss to adopt the same plan of paving, watching and lighting as is pursued in England"; that "the inhabitants of Sydney complain of the lamps being very unfairly distributed"; and that "a twopenny post has just been established for the delivery of letters in Sydney twice a day." In the issue of the 16th May (No. 5) the *HERALD*'s readers were informed that "some of the debtors in the Sydney Gaol have during the last week been very outrageous, so much so, that it became necessary to give them a lodging in the Black Hole to allay the fever of their blood"; that oranges were 9d. and apples two shillings per dozen; that wool was

4d. to 1/- per lb.; that thirteen prisoners had arrived from Norfolk Island to be tried on capital charges, and that fifty-six unfortunates were "forwarded" to Parramatta under military escort to be distributed among the various iron gangs.

Sydney, as Mr. Bertie has well said, was in those days "an armed camp, the foe being represented by gangs of convicts, who were to be overawed only by exhibitions of armed strength." Hence the Guard-houses, and the military escorts and the iron gangs with reference to which these old files teem. Nothing, perhaps, exhibits more clearly the inhumanity of the times than the comments gathered together in the *HERALD* under the heading of "Police Incidents." Here was a well-appointed paper, published by men of intelligence and sympathy and enterprise; a paper which in nearly every other way proved over and over again the sincerity of its desire to elevate the community into which it had been born; here was this paper, we say, exhibiting towards the unfortunate victims of the law and of their own passions a callousness and a spirit of mockery which shock the normal reader of to-day. In every other department of the paper the style adopted was serious and clean; in this alone—its "Police Incidents"—the style was worthy of the gutter. The reporter entrusted with the task of filling this column thought it fine fun to mock at these poor wretches whom the broom of the law had swept from the streets into an unhappy publicity. His references to the lash and the stocks and the tread-mill must often have set his fellows "on a roar." But not one spark of decent horror at their foulnesses, nor any sympathy at all with their wretchedness, even if he had felt it, was he permitted to show. The persistent spectacle of human degradation had blunted the susceptibilities of the majority and doubtless there is, therefore, good excuse for this reporter's heavy jocularities. But it is difficult to excuse the young proprietors of the *HERALD* for permitting it to sully their columns. The following examples, culled at random from these first few issues, will illustrate not only how far this unhappy levity was allowed to run; but will also give a very good idea of the inhuman penal system of the period.

Mary Ready, for being so confoundedly giddy that a wheelbarrow had to be put in requisition to convey her to the watch-house, was ordered to be secured in the stocks for two hours.

Frederick Kello, assigned to the 39th Regiment, charged with absenting himself for two days, exclaimed: "Ah, your Honour, it's all the effect of licker." Sentenced to ten days on the treadmill.

Lawrence Brennan, assigned to the A.A. Co., charged with coming up from Port Stephens on the plea that he was a free man . . . sentenced to 100 lashes.

Thomas Barry, assigned to Mr. Wood, charged with neglecting his work, was sentenced to receive twenty-five lashes.

Rose Brian, a stunt little dame with the corner of her apron applied to her eye, from which the pearly drops fell freely, was charged with absenting herself for a week. Sentenced to six weeks in the factory.

Richard Bell, for jumping over his master's gate for the purpose of going to a "hop," was ordered to hop for seven days on the mill.

James Gill, a man far advanced in years, was charged with not having mustered his ticket-of-leave. Sentenced to be milled for fifteen days.

George Curtis, for lying and snoozing of a morning between the blankets instead of cutting wood, was sent to the mill for a month to learn industrious habits.

Jeremiah Gerraty, in possession of a proboscis highly carbuncled, was charged with revelling in Bacchanalian joys till Somnus muzzled him and laid him on his back in the middle of George Street. 'Two hours' lounge in the stocks.

Catherine Minchin, for calling her master "Silly Sammy" against the form of the Statute . . . six weeks to the factory.

Richard Fetch, for insolence, or, as he termed it, "to queer his master," was ordered to receive 25 lashes.

To meet these cruel, would-be witticisms polluting the otherwise sincere and sober columns of the *HERALD* is to receive something of the shock with which one would

come across a painted harri-dan of the streets amid the serene surroundings of a nunnery. Fortunately the incongruity was brought home to the proprietors after a year or so; but as one peruses these coarsenesses week after week in the early files, the wonder grows that they should have been allowed to blacken the 'scutcheon of the paper for even so long as they did.

Here is another item culled from the same column, which, although it lacks the "humour" of the preceding extracts, is yet equally significant of the callous methods of the day. It appears in the issue of March 5th, 1832:

The pillory was put into requisition in the market place, Sydney, on Thursday. The culprit was John McGuire, convicted of perjury in the Court of Requests. At 11 o'clock he mounted the platform with a placard on his breast, on which was inscribed in large letters "For Perjury." After remaining with his neck confined in an iron collar for two hours, he was taken down.

The paragraph concludes with the statement, written apparently in a spirit of surprise: "The populace did not pelt him."

The attitude of the early *HERALD* towards the aboriginal inhabitants of the country is another matter which the reader of to-day must find it hard to understand or to forgive. Doubtless the blacks did commit outrages—many of them. But that they were the main offenders, or even the original offenders, is certainly untrue. Without comprehending in the least the status which the white man had assumed; without being given any opportunity of acquiescing in the white man's occupation of their country, without having the slightest idea of the laws of property and social life which were supposed—and very often against all evidence—to bind not only the invaders of their territory but themselves as well; they found their hunting grounds ruined, their traditions and tribal laws mocked at, their women carried off, themselves most cruelly abused; their very existence as a people most dreadfully in peril. In such circumstances as these it would have been extraordinary if the aboriginals had not attempted violently to preserve the things that violence threatened. But the atrocities to which they were subjected whenever they endeavoured to effect this natural preservation; the villainies committed against them by escaped convicts turned bushrangers, and the infamous example so often set them, even by free settlers, who thought that the isolation of the interior gave them both an excuse for savagery and a protection against the punishment such savagery deserved—these things, there can be no question, provoked the blacks to deeds their natural habits would have kept them from. Such atrocities as they were guilty of were but the fruit, in the vast majority of cases, of action taken in revenge or in attempts at self-preservation. These are facts that are almost universally conceded now. But in the 'thirties of last century there were very many who regarded the blacks as responsible for all the outrages that occurred; and as pests deserving of no more consideration than the dingo or the rat. Unhappily for the reputation of the *HERALD*, this was its attitude at the time we speak of. Over and over again the paper makes this clear beyond all argument. Let the following extract be quoted as an example. It is taken from an article in the issue of the 8th October, 1838, which, headed "The Blacks," purports to set out the opinion of the paper on a proposal then before the authorities to remove to a reservation in New South Wales, in an endeavour to preserve them from rapidly approaching extinction, "the remnant of the aboriginal natives of Van Diemen's Land."

"... We are opposed," says the paper, "to the introduction of these people, or to any charge being made on the Colonial funds for the support of such officers as those of Chief and Assistant Protectors of the Blacks. We in this Colony are unhappily made to feel that it is the whites and not the blacks that require protection; and under such circumstances we must continue to protest against this Colony being made chargeable with the cost of further officials for the protection, forsooth—of a horde of savages. The colonists require an efficient itinerant mounted police force

to preserve their property from being plundered and destroyed by these 'interesting' creatures, as the canters call them; instead of which they are to have, it seems, a whole tribe of 'protectors' quartered on the Colonial funds. . . . The whole gang of black animals are not worth the money which the colonists will have to pay for the silly documents upon which we have already wasted too much time. . . ."

And a little further down the page, in referring to the letter from a correspondent on the same subject, the paper adds:

"We are old-fashioned enough to prefer our European fellow-subjects to savage barbarians in whatever quarter of the globe they may be found. First secure the settlers from violence and rapine, and then they may have leisure to devote to the civilisation—hopeless task!—of the savages of New Holland. We have no patience with *vagrant sympathy* when we learn that our cattle and our servants"—the order of priority is significant—"have been speared by the *unsophisticated* blacks."

When in May, 1839, Governor Gipps re-issued a humane order of Sir Richard Bourke regarding the protection of the blacks, and threatened prosecution against all who should be concerned in the "abominable and unchristian-like proceedings" specified as offences in the order, the HERALD upbraided the Governor for publishing a notice which it described as replete with "the drawling philanthropy and mawkish sentimentality of his Whiggish patrons."

Finally, in this connection, we may refer to the dreadful outrage of June 9th, 1838, which blackens our history books under the name of the "Myall Creek Massacre." Details are unnecessary; it is sufficient to say that of a party of forty blacks peacefully encamped beside the homestead on that station, twenty-eight were cruelly and deliberately done to death by a party of white men, without excuse and without mercy. Men, women and children—all were tied together and then cut down or shot in cold blood. The murderers attempted to conceal their crime by burning the corpses of their victims; but in the event the remains of the bodies were discovered in the ashes. Eight white men were charged with the crime, and after a series of trials, seven were convicted and executed. Yet, despite the dreadful cruelty of the deed and the justice of the sentence, the HERALD, the day after the trial was completed, came out with a leader demanding that the murderers should not be permitted to suffer the penalty of their crime.

It is only fair to add, however, that on at least one occasion, the paper was moved to point out that there was something to be said upon the other side. In an article appearing in the issue of the 25th April, 1831—that is to say, so early as its second number—the writer, referring to the Maoris, says: "We have done sufficient injury by the introduction of firearms, spirits and European maladies."

Fortunately, again, as in the case of the "Police Incidents," this unworthy attitude was not maintained beyond the close of the first decade of the HERALD's existence. When in 1841, the proprietorship passed entirely out of the hands of the original owners, a new order came into existence, and thenceforth the reader of the HERALD has no complaint to lay against it on the grounds of lack of sympathy for the underdog—whether he were black or white, bondman or free.

Certain regulations issued by the Imperial authorities necessitating the payment of a fixed sum per acre for all lands granted by the Crown in future, and the payment of all arrears of quit rents by those who had already received grants, caused considerable agitation in the Colony about this time and the HERALD warmly opposed the innovation, on the grounds that it would not only prevent poor but worthy settlers obtaining land at all, but would "dry up the sources of colonial prosperity and destroy emigration." The Crown authorities were exonerated from the charge of having originated the scheme, but the HERALD confessed its inability to comprehend who could have been at

once so ignorant of the state of affairs in the Colony and yet so influential with the authorities as to be able to induce them to take so grave a step. But in the issue of the 19th September, 1831, it was announced that the theories promulgated by that famous "Letter from Sydney" which two years before had caused so much stir in England, had, despite the opposition of those who knew their Sydney better than the author of that pamphlet, won the day; and that the system of colonization therein outlined was to be given a trial at the expense of the inhabitants of New South Wales. The "Letter from Sydney" had been published in London, in 1829, as "edited by Robert Gouger," but it was plainly the work of someone else, and many anxious attempts to ascertain the identity of this anonymous theorist were made both in England and in Australia. The *HERALD*, in its issue of 19th September, 1831, confessed its inability either to guess at the writer or to understand his arguments.

"Who the writer of this work is," says the article guardedly, "it were perhaps dangerous to say, if he is a resident amongst us; and inexpedient if he have such a stake as 20,000 acres for his own share of the surface of our country, as he has averred in his book. In high quarters, the honour is given to an M.P. dwelling in a square in London, whose name is the patronymic of the House of Bedford. If this supposition be correct, this gentleman may have some pretension to write upon the Colony from intuition; but he has not acquired, by a voyage across the line, the usual privilege of old stagers of adding fifty per cent. to their foreign statements; although it is not to be denied that he frequently usurps the privilege. Another gentleman is spoken of as lending a 'right hand' at least to promote disaffection by indirect means amongst his fellow countrymen. The whole, it is averred, was revised by a political economist who knew more, perhaps, of 'British India' than of 'Eastern Australia.'"

The paper then goes on to examine the text of "this reprehensible work" and to combat its arguments at considerable length and with a skilful touch that proves the writer to be a master of his subject. The article takes up over a page of the paper and ends with an appeal to the Home Authorities to consider carefully before they put into force "a system which cannot fail to bring disgrace on their agents and ruin on us colonists." The system which the *HERALD* thus attacked was never very clearly enunciated; but, put shortly, it was based upon two main planks. The first was that all the available lands of the Colony should be sold at a certain "sufficient price" (which was to be the same for all localities, whether close to the settled areas or far distant from them). The second was that the receipts from these sales, to be called the "Land Fund," were to be utilised, preferably, but not necessarily, in assisting emigration by bounties and so forth. The *HERALD*'s consideration of this scheme, of which the following extracts will give the general nature, shows how capably and clearly the writer had hit upon its weaknesses:

"The writer of the work in question proposes that all the land in the Colony shall be sold, and that a quit-rent shall be placed upon it—that the proceeds from these sources shall be formed into one fund, under an emigration committee, to be expended in the transportation of paupers, who shall be kept for one year after their arrival by the Government; free of expense, and, in addition, that money be raised on the credit of the quit-rent, by way of sinking fund.

"This is no doubt plausible. But does not every man see, that this is the introduction of the poor, and County rates of England? That though the passage money only, is brought into view, as paid by the tax, yet we shall be taxed for one year also for the maintenance of the paupers, and that, whilst we are nominally encouraging emigration, we are virtually taking upon our shoulders a part of that heavy burden, under which England staggers, and are relieving her landholders by paying for the passage and support of her paupers. This is the plain and obvious result of the measure, which we are called upon to effect; and we ought not, by any means, to be wheedled into an approval of the system. We should manifest our hostility to the measure by every possible contrivance; for every penny of purchase money, and quit-rent, laid out on such purposes, is virtually a tax laid upon this country, to put an equal amount in the pockets of English payers of poor rates in the mother country. . . .

"By this preposterous measure, if land is purchased, we pay for it out of our capital, and not

out of our profit, which is a drawback of the most burdensome character; we pay instantly and not by instalments; and after payment we shall witness with regret, the sums transmitted to British shipowners, for the freight of men, who may never be of use to the country, and if set down as landholders, must, still more than ever, lessen our colonial prices, by increasing our products, and by not establishing a more extended market for their consumption.

"But, though no fault were found with these points, is it not monstrously inconsistent to impose a perpetual, constantly increasing, and odious tax, upon an impoverished country, for a specific and temporary object. This tax is not to be laid out in the improvement of roads, bridges, harbours, colonial militia, the legislature, public works, or survey of lands. We want capital in this country equally as much as people. We require improvements more than extension of territory. No settler would feel alarmed at the amount of quit-rent, if it were expended in local permanent improvements. . . ."

The "Letter from Sydney," as the near future was to disclose, was the work of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a man whose life in its contrarieties of fortune was one of the most extraordinary of modern times. Wakefield had never been to Australia; had never, indeed, been further away from England than Italy; he wrote the letter while serving in Newgate Gaol a term of three years' imprisonment for having abducted a schoolgirl heiress named Ellen Turner. But through a long course of reading, his mastery of the position of affairs in Australia was so complete and he possessed such essential graces of literary style that his work compelled the attention of the authorities, and the admiration even of those who were opposed to its theories and could well perceive their fallacies. The after life of Wakefield—curious as it was, and in many ways brilliant—does not concern this chronicle directly, although his association with the foundation of South Australia in 1836 had indirect repercussions upon the whole of the continent.

With this same number the HERALD published the first of those supplements which became more and more frequent as the paper grew in importance, and which were soon to necessitate an increase in its size. In the next issue—that of September 26th, 1831—the notification of Governor Darling's recall and of the appointment in his place of Sir Richard Bourke, had come to hand, and naturally the leading article was devoted to a consideration of the situation that had thus developed. Sir Ralph Darling had been the nominee of the Tory Government of Wellington and Peel, and, though ostensibly of no party, the views of the HERALD were on the whole conservative. But the Whigs had promised Reform, and were endeavouring to carry it; the HERALD was strongly for reform—in colonial administration, if in nothing else—and hoped to gain it through the new Government. Therefore, although on the whole it had supported Darling, despite his quarrels with the press, it was glad enough to extend a greeting to the new Governor and to anticipate with his coming, "notwithstanding the darkness of our horizon at present, . . . many bright and happy days of prosperity and peace."

The departure of Darling was marked by a series of incidents which the HERALD rightly termed "disgraceful." *The Australian* and *The Monitor* combined in a valedictory attack upon the Governor that lacked nothing in virulence whatever it may have lacked in good taste, and the outburst culminated in a display of vindictive satisfaction at his recall which nothing can excuse. While Darling's ship lay in the harbour, awaiting the hour of departure, Wentworth invited a large party of guests to his home at Vacluse to rejoice over the event. Over four thousand persons of all degree accepted the invitation, and, as the entertainment was free and there appears to have been "lashins and lavins" for everybody, it is hardly to be wondered at that a number of the guests got out of hand. There was a bullock roasted whole on the lawn; and there were bonfires at night, and flaming mottoes inconsistently asking Providence to save the King and to bring to naught the tyrant who was the King's representative. Inspired doubtless by the latter adjuration and carefully forgetful of the former, a number of Wentworth's adher-

ents set off in a boat to where the Governor's ship, "The Hooghly," was lying in the stream. Mrs. Darling and her daughter were already on board; and the boat-load of "gallant gentlemen" serenaded them with derisive cheers and execrations. The bullock's head had been placed on the boat, and this pretty trophy, decorated with ribbons, they exhibited to the ladies and then rowed back exultantly. It is said that Wentworth himself was not a party to this affront; but that he was privy to it can scarcely be doubted, and that he could have prevented it seems certain. That he did not do so must ever remain a blot upon the reputation of a great Australian. But, like so many others of his strength and station, he could be a very bitter enemy when the mood was on him.

Naturally the HERALD had a good deal to say about this incident; and it did not hesitate to speak its mind in terms of generous indignation. The leading article of the 24th October, 1831, begins thus:

"It is with sorrow and reluctance we are called upon, from a sense of public duty, to enter our decided protest against the very reprehensible conduct of certain individuals who have attempted to embitter the last days in Australia of Governor Darling, by every device of contumely and abuse. Every honest, upright man, possessed of generous sentiments, must pass a sweeping and condemnatory sentence against all such displays. . . ."

It is sufficient to say of the later years of this much-worried Governor that when, upon his arrival in England, his enemies made complaint against him, he was able to satisfy the Government with his answer. He was knighted for his services by King William, but was not again employed. He died at Brighton in 1858 at the great age of eighty-three.

In mid-November of 1831 the HERALD moved from Redman's Court to new premises. These were situated, according to a notice published in the issue of the 14th of that month, "at No. 5 King Street, in the house formerly occupied by Messrs. Bell & Farmer, next door to the residence of Mr. William Hutchinson." The George Street premises had become inconvenient in location and unsuitable for the use of a printing press; and the association with William McGarvie having been broken, there remained no reason why the occupancy should continue. There is little more that we can learn of these King Street premises, except that, according to a memorandum left by the late Mr. J. Finch Heney, who, some little time after this removal, joined the staff of the HERALD (and whose grandson subsequently became its Editor) they were situated "near the site of Blackman's Auction Room; later on, of Stubbs." This helps us but little, however, as this site can no more definitely be traced than that of Messrs. Bell & Farmer's premises. But we know that Mr. Hutchinson's residence was on the south-east corner of George and King Streets, and we may be sure, therefore, that the HERALD's new office was situated somewhere in the vicinity of the spot where to-day the pedestrian enters the Sydney Arcade.

In the beginning of December the usual advertisement as to the growth of the paper informs us that it now numbers "nearly 1,000 subscribers," and on the first of January, 1832, in furtherance of a promise repeatedly made during the previous three months, the size of the HERALD's pages was considerably increased, although their number remained the same. There were now five columns on each page instead of four, and the columns were some two inches longer. Otherwise the paper retained its old appearance and its old price. The "leader" announcing the innovation is alive with a very pleasant complacency and is of an inordinate length. It again sets out the "platform" of the HERALD, reviews its accomplishments during the past year, gives a highly informative summary of the journalistic activities of the Colony from the establishment



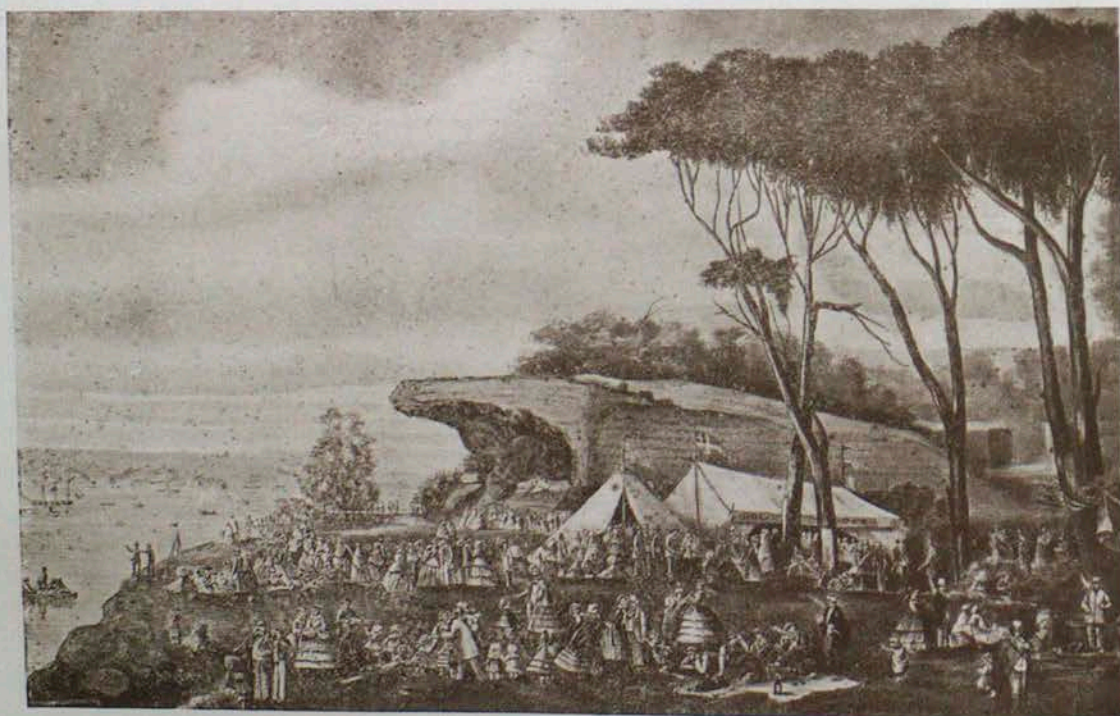
St. James' Church and Supreme Court in 1836, from Queen's Square, with Hyde Park on left. The foundation stone of the Church, a Greenway design, was laid in 1819.



George Street and the General Post Office about 1850. The coaches in use at that period are well depicted.



George Street, looking south from Martin Place, in 1842, from a painting by Allport. The Post Office is on the left and David Jones & Co.'s original store on the right.



Picnic scene at Mrs. Macquarie's Chair in early 'sixties. This was the day of the crinoline, which, however, does not seem to have unduly interfered with the wearers' capacity for enjoyment.

of *The Sydney Gazette* in 1803, and concludes by asking for a continuance of the "patronage" which had been accorded it during the first year of its existence.

There is an article on "Wool" in this first issue of the year 1832 which deserves particular notice, for, after reviewing the growth of the industry in the Colony, it proceeds to make the following fine prophecy:

"Great Britain obtains nearly the whole of the finer qualities of wool consumed in her manufactures from the Continental States of Europe. By promoting its growth in New South Wales she will become independent of foreign aid, and will enjoy the advantage of deriving from one of her own settlements a certain and secure supply of this most valuable raw material, a certain proportion of which will always be returned to this Colony in its manufactured and ornamented state; thus establishing an intercourse, beneficial to the grower, to the shipowner and to the manufacturer. . . . With the superior advantages we possess in climate and in our immense tracts of unappropriated pasture, can it be considered unreasonable to look forward to a period when the British woollen manufacturers will derive their chief supply from this Colony; and at a lower price than it can be imported from countries where the severity of the winter renders artificial treatment necessary and causes much additional expense? . . . How vast a field is thus laid open to the Colonies. The germ is already sown, which nothing but blindness and obstinacy on our own part can prevent from ripening into a rich harvest of future prosperity. . . ."

The *HERALD* was gaining ground so rapidly now that the increased size, plus supplements, was not sufficient to cope with its growth. Consequently, in May, 1832, it became a bi-weekly, the first issue under the new arrangement appearing on Thursday, the 17th day of that month, and the leading article therein is written in a strain of modest pride that is at once natural and effective.

At the same time as it thus increased its "appearance," the paper also decreased its price from sevenpence to the handier sum of sixpence per copy, in this way bringing a double advantage to its growing band of subscribers.

The leading article of the 26th October, 1832, is worthy of note, as showing that the *HERALD*'s attitude towards the Reform Bill (the news of whose passage through the British Parliament had just been received) was considerably saner than that expressed about the same time by many of its English contemporaries, who regarded the Bill either as the forerunner of the millennium, or as an instrument which would precipitate the ruin of the country. The article asserts the necessity for the reforms covered by the measure, and although it cautions its admirers not to regard it as a complete panacea for economic distress and other social problems, it refers to the Bill as a measure "on which the hopes of the English people depend." In adopting this attitude, the *HERALD* certainly stood up to its motto.

It is also of interest to note the *HERALD*'s method of obtaining foreign news (other than British) about this time. It was, of course, long before the era of regular communications, and the paper had therefore to rely upon the occasional letters of private correspondents. These, arriving at irregular intervals from the United States, New Zealand, "the Fee Jees," "the Islands," or elsewhere, provided the source from which the *HERALD* drew such items as were, in its opinion, worthy of publication. Occasionally the letters were quoted in full; but, as a rule, brief extracts were deemed sufficient.

The next year or so of the *HERALD*'s history was one of general progress marked with few events of outstanding interest. Bourke's administration was, on the whole, acceptable to the paper and to the majority of the colonists; educational and social matters received considerable attention, the first School of Arts being established in January, 1833, and a national system of education was mooted. Constitutional matters were also on the carpet; and an interesting proof of the *HERALD*'s interest in such matters appears in the issue of 28th January, 1833. A public meeting to further the interests of a

petition for a Legislative Assembly had been held a few days before and Wentworth had seized the occasion to deliver a violent attack on the then existing Legislative Council. He declared its members to be "subservient creatures, with only one honest man among them." The HERALD's leading article, while deprecating the tone of this address, applauds the objects of the meeting. On the subject of self-government, it refers to a suggestion in favour of granting that right to Canada, and says: "We are six times further from England than Canada, and, therefore, have a six times better claim to it." And it concludes with the prophecy: "Some distant day we shall be independent."

Owing to a shortage of paper during the early part of this year, the proprietors were forced for a considerable period to rely upon that stiff, unwieldy parchment-like paper known as "cartridge." The files of the other contemporary papers of the time show how often a similar dilemma befell them, and how curiously and ingeniously that dilemma was met. Paper of all colours, from buff and brown to green and blue, and of all variety of texture, is met with; and it was a common occurrence for the proprietors of a journal to be compelled to carry on with such incongruous material until the ship bearing the eagerly-awaited supply of the rightful article should reach port.

During the last week in January, 1834, the HERALD made its second move. The actual date is believed to be the night of the 29th-30th, but as the issue of the 27th states in a notice to the public that the HERALD "is" removed to George Street, while the imprint shows no change until the issue of the 30th, the matter remains somewhat doubtful. However, there is no doubt as to the location of the new office. Once more Lower George Street was the chosen scene of operations, the exact site being given as "on the west side of the street, between Church Hill and Essex Street, a few doors below the office of *The Sydney Gazette*, and having an outlet by a right-of-way into Harrington Street, next to Mr. Webb's house." The building thus occupied by the HERALD has long since disappeared, but it is described as having been an old building situated a little way back from the street. It was "the fourth house from" the building known as the Main Guard, where "the guard mounted every morning, the band playing gaily on Church Hill and the soldiers in full uniform marching to and from the barracks further up."

Mr. Finch Heney had by this time joined the staff of the HERALD, and he has left us a very graphic account of the new office:

"In the George Street frontage there was a front office," he says, "with a room above used as a sub-editor's room, and behind it a long building with two floors, the upper floor being the composing and the lower the press room. The composing room held on one side about eighteen double frames with a small space for an imposing stone, used for *The Government Gazette* and any poster or job that might be required. The room was too narrow for more than one row of frames. The lower room, the press room, was occupied at the extreme end by the double-royal Columbian press on which the HERALD was printed; then by a royal press on which *The Government Gazette* was printed, and any work besides the newspaper. Near the door into the passage was placed an imposing stone sufficiently large to hold the two pages of the paper. The remainder of the room was filled by bookbinder's presses, etc. A small proprietors' room, about eight feet square, took up the whole of the remaining ground floor space, excepting a small kitchen at the back of the building."

The references to *The Government Gazette* in the above extract are explained by Mr. Stokes's letter of 3rd February, 1888.

Mr. Heney also throws an interesting sidelight upon the news-collecting methods of those days:

"At that time there were no mail steamers and no electric telegraph, so readers had to wait for the uncertain arrival of slow sailing ships for the few newspapers they brought from the old world, and for those few papers a boat (the "Typo") had to be kept, with a crew ever in readiness to

board any vessel signalled with the red burgee from London, so as to be first in the scramble for information. Occasionally, if the captain of the ship had been here before, a packet of papers might be handed to the HERALD reporter, but more frequently it was the first on board who got the news."

A writer in the HERALD of the 26th June, 1893, may be levied upon for a few additional details regarding the publication methods of the period under review:

"... There are several gentlemen whose term of service on the HERALD has reached more than the span of an ordinary life; and one, who is still hale and hearty, has been associated with the paper very nearly sixty years. He joined in that day when the Tank Stream was still a stream with real water in it, upon which boats could come up as far as the site of the present HERALD office, when the heights of Darlinghurst were still unreclaimed and Hyde Park was in a state of nature. He remembers well the old Columbian Press, which took three men to work it, and which would only print two pages, of half the paper, at a time. The press had to be raised, the type pulled back and inked, the sheets inserted and pressure applied. The process was a long one, taking at least a minute for each sheet. Consequently, going to press was a tedious operation, and, after the paper was put to bed, the printers would often be at work all day and far into the night getting out the issue. There was no talk of second editions, and if there really was any news of importance in the sheet, it must have been pretty well stale by the time it reached the subscribers. . . . At first such a thing as a literary staff was unthought of; the proprietors usually did the editing themselves, and the reporting staff consisted of two members, one who attended to the general news and the other to the shipping. The second gentleman was by far the most important of the two; it was his duty to keep his eye on the flagstaff and, whenever an incoming ship was sighted, to dash off in a whaleboat and secure, before his rivals could reach the scene, the latest English journals. . . ."

When the jubilee of the HERALD's occupation of the old Hunter Street premises was celebrated in June, 1906, an article appeared in the issue of the paper of the 30th of that month, giving reminiscences of "Fifty Years of Journalism"; and, although this period would, if it had been strictly adhered to, have necessarily excluded the days with which we are now concerned, the writer allowed himself sufficient latitude to include certain interesting memories of still earlier days. From these an appropriate quotation may well be made:

"... Specially-built boats, manned by six pairs of sculls and handled with rare skill by the coxswain, met vessels arriving off Sydney Heads and, having obtained news and papers, were driven at racing speed to the shore, where the precious packet was delivered to a horseman in waiting and conveyed without loss of time to the office. . . . Vessels coming up the coast were similarly met off Botany, and great was the glee of the HERALD's shipping reporter when he was rowed ashore, secure in the knowledge that he hadn't left a single paper behind for his rivals. The rowing feats of those oarsmen were something to be proud of. They put up many a fine record for speed and faithfully observed the pressman's tradition of loyalty to his paper. . . ."

Finally, while on this particular subject and era, we may quote one more extract from the memories of Mr. Finch Heney:

"Looking at the completeness with which every department of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD is furnished in the present day" (the writer is referring to the year 1895), "it may be interesting to recur to the difficulties experienced sixty years since in the production of the HERALD. In 1835 the compositors were paid by time, the hours of work being from nine a.m. to six p.m., one hour being allowed for dinner; no overtime was charged; and to arrange such a system with publication nights, every compositor came after six p.m. and worked until the paper was ready for press and then absented himself the next day until the extra time he had worked on the preceding night had transpired; the men generally making the time equivalent to a clear day off after publication. The Monday's publication was finished on Saturday, and on Sunday one employee merely set up the shipping arriving on Sunday, corrected the few proofs sent by Mr. Ward Stephens and made up the inner forme of the paper. About Christmas time the advertisements were usually on the increase, and several times a few lines were inserted under the minor head, stating that, in consequence of the press of advertisements the news matter had to be omitted 'until our next issue.' . . . In the press work, which was very laborious and required three of the strongest men in the establishment to work it, the outer forme (consisting of advertisements mainly) could be worked off

overnight or the day before; but the inner forme generally got to press about six o'clock on the day of publication and was completed as soon as possible, sometimes being mid-day before the number was finished.

"The men employed in the lower portion of the office—the press room—had to undertake the delivery of the papers, and a run was allotted to each man; but Sydney did not extend then so far as it does now. George Street was the longest run, from Church Hill to Shepherd's Nursery, at the corner of the Newtown Road. A few houses were on the North Shore; Balmain was not built on, Pyrmont did not exist, nor Woolloomooloo, Darlinghurst or Surry Hills. In William Street there were but three small houses; . . . the rest of the space from the water's edge to the Old South Head Road (now Oxford Street) being bush. Consequently the town delivery did not take very long; the Parramatta papers were taken early in the morning and arrived in Parramatta mostly about twelve o'clock noon. . . ."

On the third of March, 1834, the *HERALD* again increased its size, appearing on that date as a double demy sheet of four pages, with seven columns to a page. The price was also increased to 9d. per copy. The leading article celebrates the change with justifiable jubilation:

"Our present enlargement of size," it says, "will convince both our friends and our enemies that any efforts to destroy us have failed. . . . We shall discuss without fear public questions in that impartial manner which has secured for *THE SYDNEY HERALD* in this Colony and in the Mother Country, as well as in the other colonies and presidencies of the British Empire, a large share of general attention and patronage."

The title-heading of the paper was also changed on this date from the plain Roman capitals of the former issues to the more ornamental Old English Text, in which, with slight alterations, it has ever since appeared.

The reference to "enemies" in the article lastly quoted shows that the paper was not having an entirely unruffled existence. And, indeed, the tendency of the times made it impossible for any journal of vigour to avoid contest, either with the authorities or with the opposition papers. Libel writs, as we have seen, were strewn thick as leaves in Val-lombrosa during the latter years of Darling's administration; and although the *HERALD* had fortunately been born just too late to mingle in those troublous times, and the Bourke administration had up to this date gone fairly smoothly, yet it was impossible that the paper could escape trouble for long. The trouble very nearly arrived in the early part of this year. The administration of justice formed the subject of a leading article in the issue of March 17th. The appointment of a Solicitor-General and Crown Solicitor "to assist the Attorney-General," at a cost of £1,400 per annum, was most scathingly referred to, and a direct charge of neglect of duty was made against some of the officials. *The Sydney Gazette*, in its capacity of Government organ, defended the appointments and hinted at the desirability of prosecuting the proprietors of the *HERALD* for criminal libel. However, in the event, no action was taken by the authorities, a fact which in itself shows how far along the road towards freedom of utterance the press of the Colony had been allowed to march since the departure of Governor Darling.

One or two trivial legal activities were forced upon the *HERALD* in the civil courts, but it was not until the end of 1834 that it had to fight a libel action of any importance. The trouble in this case arose over the trial of a man named John Houston, *alias* Cunningham, for stealing a horse; the defence was that the prosecutor and accused were friends and that the animal had only been taken "for a lark." The accused was defended by George Robert Nichols, a local solicitor, and one of the owners of *The Australian*. A few days after the trial that journal published an article trenchantly commenting upon the magistrates who had committed Houston for trial, on the Crown Law Offices, and on the legal system of the Colony generally. The *HERALD* attacked this article in turn, and declared that Houston's acquittal was due to the fact that, between

the committal and the trial, the accused had been able to suborn the prosecution. Naturally an action followed, Houston issuing a writ for libel. But it was really a case of *The Australian* versus the *HERALD*, and this being so, it is interesting to note that the learned counsel for the plaintiff were Francis Stephen (also one of the proprietors of *The Australian*) and the G. R. Nichols aforesaid, while the great W. C. Wentworth—who had, as we know, been one of the original proprietors of the same paper, but who had long since severed his connection with it—appeared for the defence. Wentworth pleaded that the article had been published in the public interest and that it was only fair comment on what certainly appeared to be a very grave miscarriage of justice. The jury returned a verdict for the defendants on all counts, and, although a new trial was applied for, the application was not gone on with and the matter dropped.

Reference to *The Australian* in the above paragraph renders it advisable to say a word or two upon the contemporary Sydney journals. Quite a number appeared about this time; but most of them were as ephemeral as Mayflies. *The Monitor* and *The Australian* were still "going strong," although both were now in different hands. *The Sydney Times* started in 1834, seemingly for the defence of certain officials. It was owned and edited by one Nathaniel Lipscombe Kentish, "a person of a particularly violent disposition"—according to one who knew him well—whose grievances occupied public attention for many years. His favourite motto, if we may judge from its association with his name upon the title-page of a pamphlet which he published in 1849, was "*Nemo me impune lacessit*"—and finely he lived up to it. As a natural result, he was incessantly involved in law-suits of one kind or another. Three years of this was sufficient for *The Times*, which expired in 1837. *The Colonist*, as appears from an advertisement in the *HERALD*, was started by the famous Dr. John Dunmore Lang on the 1st January, 1835, and as the Doctor's methods were nothing if not forthright, its lively columns of attack soon proved highly attractive to the public. The Doctor had no end of grievances to ventilate, no end of enemies to tilt at, and a number of journalistic rivals whom he wished to annihilate. We shall see directly how he proceeded to his attack on one at least of these. He was "a bonny fighter"; but he was at times as unscrupulous in his assaults as he was, as a rule, patriotic in his ambitions. It is highly probable, indeed, that the real cause underlying the majority of his various verbal and legal hostilities was the opposition, expressed by those whom he attacked, to one or other of his many altruistic schemes. No doubt most of these were worthy—the declared "object" of *The Colonist* was "the promotion of the moral welfare and general advancement of the Colony"—but the *HERALD* thought that the militant Churchman's methods of furthering their aims were hardly in keeping with the cloth he wore. His paper had a way of asserting that the *HERALD*'s criticisms on its educational and emigration policy—criticisms which implied that the grants which the Doctor had obtained from the Crown, had been so improperly used that the public had come to have "no sort of confidence whatever in any establishment of which he had the control"—were not written by the *HERALD* at all, but by outsiders having their own ends to serve. This naturally annoyed the *HERALD* to wrathful recrimination, in which it frequently expressed itself in terms that might very well have come from the pen of Mr. Slurk himself. For example, here is a reference which the *HERALD* makes to its "vile contemporary" in the issue of the 8th March, 1838. It commences thus: "It is wearisome work; but when we find a *pious* print lying twice a week, it is our duty to put the public on their guard . . ." and ends in equally trenchant fashion: "The pious conclave who get up the religious journal know better; . . . persons who care not what falsehoods

they tell—persons whose organ is *The Colonist*—a journal devoted to a clique of the most bigotted and clannish people in New South Wales.”

A week later the *HERALD* returns to the attack with renewed vigour:

“We observe that the Jesuitical conductor of that would-be pious print, *The Colonist*, has been at his old trick, lying, in his last number. . . . This journal, ‘devoted to religion,’ has been a fraud from the commencement. . . . The conductors of that superlatively *impious* print may be assured that the eyes of the public are upon them. . . . Such conduct will end probably in a contest between lying and the law—between blackguardism and public decency.”

There seems to be something almost *Æschylean* in the fate which eventually overtook *The Colonist*. It was swallowed, body and bones, by its rival. On the 1st January, 1841, the tragedy was consummated, and we find this bald announcement of it in the columns of the *HERALD*:

“Having purchased the copyright and materials of *The Colonist* paper, the proprietor of THE SYDNEY HERALD begs to apprise the public that the two papers will be incorporated; and it is hoped that the subscribers, advertisers and correspondents of *The Colonist* will favour THE SYDNEY HERALD with their support.”

In view of the language “the proprietor” had been applying to these same subscribers and correspondents so shortly prior to the expression of this hope, it is evident, either that he must have been an optimist of the first water, or that the memories of the other parties were notoriously unsound.

In addition to the papers already mentioned, *The Commercial Journal* was established about this time by William Jones (who subsequently started *The Goulburn Herald*). It continued under that name until the beginning of 1841, when it passed into other hands and was rechristened *The Free Press*. In the mid ‘thirties, therefore, there were no less than seven newspapers being produced in Sydney, and all of them were published within almost a stone’s throw of one another. *The Sydney Gazette*, the *HERALD* and *The Monitor* were issued from Lower George Street; *The Australian* from Robin Hood Lane, which opened into George Street, almost opposite Margaret Street; *The Colonist* from Jamieson Street, and *The Sydney Times* and *The Commercial Journal* from Bridge Street. This propinquity, however, in no way helped to make of them a happy family. Nor was it so remarkable a circumstance as it may seem to us to-day. For the area in which these papers were published was then the main centre of Sydney—and Sydney at this time was still but a little town.

In the early part of the year 1835, the proprietors of the *HERALD*, finding it necessary to obtain further assistance on the literary side of the business, engaged the services of that Mr. Edward O’Shaughnessy to whom Frederick Stokes refers in his letter to his son. O’Shaughnessy was a man of great ability, and his career throws so curious a light upon the social conditions of the time that it becomes necessary to give at this point a few biographical references to him. Some twelve years or so prior to the date at which we have now arrived O’Shaughnessy had been convicted in Dublin of some offence of which the details are not now discoverable, but which was sufficiently serious to lead to his transportation to New South Wales. Arriving in the Colony in the early ‘twenties, he had very soon thereafter been “assigned” to Mr. Robert Howe, at that time the editor and proprietor of *The Sydney Gazette*. Although on his own showing, O’Shaughnessy had never been inside a newspaper office prior to his arrival in Australia, his natural journalistic abilities were so great that it was not long before he became a member of the staff of the paper; and upon the expiration of the term of his sentence—if not, indeed, actually before that expiration—he became its virtual editor. Certainly by 1834 he was so regarded; for in that year he incurred the hostility of Dr. Lang, who attacked

him violently, both in print and on platform, declaring that no man with such a base record should be allowed to hold the responsible position of editor, and alleging against him that he was a person whose heart was still "just as bad as when he was lagged (*sic!*) in Dublin."

So virulent was the Doctor in his charges that O'Shaughnessy brought an action against him for malicious libel. The suit lingered on, and eventually, in June, 1835, it petered out inconclusively; but not before O'Shaughnessy had left *The Gazette* and joined up with the *HERALD*. Dr. Lang subsequently boasted that he had driven O'Shaughnessy out of his job; but if indeed he had done so, he had thereby conferred a benefit upon the man whom he had attacked; for O'Shaughnessy certainly gained by the change. He was a highly respected member of the *HERALD* staff for several years, holding until his death a position practically equivalent to that of editor, although not officially so termed.

Ward Stephens, as we have seen, had been a member of the staff of *The Sydney Gazette* at the same time as O'Shaughnessy; and, though naturally opposed to the influence which many convicts and ticket-of-leave men seemed to be gaining with the authorities, he was not blind to the attainments and character of one who had retrieved his position and had proved his ability to take and reputably maintain so important a post as had been O'Shaughnessy's. At any rate, whatever may have been the moving cause, the one-time assigned servant to Robert Howe, having accepted the offer to join the *HERALD*, well justified the choice of the proprietors. On the 3rd May, 1840, Mr. O'Shaughnessy died at his residence in Prince Street, Sydney, and in the *HERALD* of the following day there appeared a brief reference to the event.

The chief event of the year 1836, so far as Australia was concerned, was the initiation of settlement in the Port Phillip area, which next year was to be visited by Bourke and named Melbourne, in honour of the then Prime Minister of Great Britain. But Sydney regarded this movement with suspicion, and the few references to it which the *HERALD* gives are written with a somewhat derisive pen, as though the subject were of little importance.

The issue of the 26th October of this year (1836) is notable for containing what may be regarded as the first illustration that ever appeared in the paper. It is true that so far back as October, 1833, it had printed the diagram of a cream-separating apparatus to accompany an article submitted by a contributor, and that for some years it had been using wood-cuts in its shipping advertisements; but these can hardly be regarded as exceptions to the claim made for the illustration to which we have referred. And a rather curious "first illustration" it was; for it represented an idol's head surrounded by the twenty-four skulls of Europeans who had some time before been wrecked and eaten by the savages of the South Sea Islands. This gruesome trophy had been brought to Sydney a few days previously, and had created considerable morbid interest in the community. The authorities ordered the skulls to be detached and buried in a vault at the entrance to the now-vanished cemetery in Devonshire Street.

As a result of the *HERALD*'s outspoken opposition to transportation it aroused the anger about this time of that considerable section of the community who desired the continuance of the importation of convict labour on account of its cheapness. As the administration was largely under the domination of this section, the *HERALD* was necessarily brought more and more into conflict with Governor Bourke, "this misguided representative of Royalty," and "the filthy minions who have been fattening under his administration." As a result, a series of leading articles attacking his Government continued to appear until his departure at the end of the following year.

On the third of November, 1836, Stokes sold out to Stephens in consequence of that "little disagreement" to which reference has already been made, and for two years the name of Ward Stephens appears upon the imprint of the paper as sole proprietor. The resignation of Bourke, owing to a quarrel with Mr. Riddell, the Colonial Treasurer, and the arrival of his successor, Sir George Gipps, were the main events to which the attention of the *HERALD* was turned during the year 1837, but an agitation in favour of the admission of strangers to the proceedings of the Legislative Council, which bore good fruit within a few months, naturally found support in its columns. The *HERALD* also reviewed the Bourke administration with considerable harshness; and this attack upon the emancipist party—for so it was regarded—brought down upon it the anger of *The Monitor*—now under the control of a nephew of Mr. E. S. Hall, the original proprietor—and *The Australian*. A newspaper war between the three, which lacked nothing in vigour and directness of speech, was thus revived, and continued with varying fortunes until, during the next decade, the disappearance of its rivals left the *HERALD* master of the field.

A crusade against the lax administration of justice was also carried on at this time, the particular subject of attention being the alleged misdoings of Chief Justice Forbes. Certain political appointments, moreover, incurred the paper's ire, and allegations of nepotism and "backstairs influence" were made with reckless courage. The *HERALD* had by now become the avowed organ of the "emigrant settlers," and thus managed to win the wrathful attention of Wentworth, whose addresses to a gang of "shoeless and shirtless rascals" it proceeded to review with some bitterness and considerable caustic humour in return.

Evidently the paper was also having the usual trouble with its subscribers that waits upon all such journalistic enterprises; for, in a notice appearing in the issue of the 7th December, 1837, we read the delicately-conveyed intimation that "Persons in Sydney indebted to the paper will please take notice that the next sittings of the Court of Requests will be held on the 5th January, 1838." The same issue also announces that a Mr. Hugh Taylor had been instructed by the proprietors "to itinerate the Colony" and sue all persons who were indebted to them.

Despite these laxities on the part of subscribers, however, the paper continued to go ahead, and on the 14th May, 1838, its first "double issue" of eight pages instead of four, was printed. Similar issues continued to appear at odd intervals thereafter until the end of June, when, in order to cope with the pressure of the demand, the *HERALD* became a triweekly journal. The days of issue were fixed at Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and the price per copy remained as before.

A notable circumstance in connection with the early issues of the *HERALD* is the absence of all reports of the proceedings of the local legislature. For, limited as were its powers and the basis of its representation, the work of the Legislative Council was certainly important enough, and interesting enough, to the citizens of the Colony to warrant the devotion of considerable space to reporting it. But the absence of these reports is explained by the fact that Darling, in his conflict with the local press, had refused to allow the Council's business to be made available to any paper save *The Sydney Gazette*, to whose editor a formal summary of it was regularly handed for publication. No press representatives were at this time—nor for some considerable time thereafter—permitted to enter the sacred precincts of the Council Chamber for the purpose of reporting the debates, and consequently the dissemination of this important item of news was almost entirely precluded. One of the first acts of the new Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, however, had been to issue instructions that a report should, as the *HERALD* gratefully puts it



BRIDGE STREET IN 1839.

This view is taken from a point near the intersection of the present Bridge and Pitt Streets, looking towards Bent Street. Behind the old cottage in the foreground is the Tank Stream, with women washing clothes. In the centre is the Parsonage at the corner of Gresham and Spring Streets; to the left is the old Treasury Building, at Bent and O'Connell Streets, and to the left again the Pulteney Hotel, afterwards the Australian Club.

[From the Painting by Conrad Martens in the William Dixon Collection, Public Library of New South Wales.]

in its issue of the 23rd January, 1832, be "furnished to the press of the Colony generally, without any reference to party or politics, thus putting an end to that exclusive favouritism which has not only caused dissension, but has prevented the circulation of those measures most important to the country at large." The short summary of the proceedings of the Council at its previous meeting of the 19th January, which had been handed to the *HERALD* in pursuance of Sir Richard Bourke's order, follows this intimation; and the paper, from this time forward, not only prints these summaries regularly, but comments with considerable freedom upon the measures and the debates to which they refer.

In June, 1838, the Legislative Council agreed to admit strangers to witness and report its proceedings, the conditions of such admission being very much the same as at present—with this signal difference, however, that all such strangers were compelled to withdraw during the progress of a division. The concession was at once taken advantage of by the *HERALD*, but, owing to the difficulty of obtaining competent longhand reporters—shorthand being at that time practically unknown—it was some time before the proceedings were reported at any length. It is necessary, however, to note that, in anticipation of the permission being given, the proprietor of the *HERALD* had some few months previously increased the literary staff by the engagement of that Mr. Charles Kemp who was himself subsequently to become one of the proprietors of the paper. His services were not required as a Parliamentary reporter, however, until towards the end of this year (1838); for it was not until then that the proceedings of the Council began to occupy any considerable space in the columns of the *HERALD*. Comment there was in plenty; but no detailed report.

An interesting association may well be noted here. Some ten years prior to the granting of this concession by the Legislature, there had arrived in Sydney a gentleman named Charles Windeyer, who, as a member of the staff of *The Law Chronicle*, of London, had been the first journalist to be permitted by the House of Lords to report its proceedings. Although ever since the days of Pitt arrangements of a sort had been made for the accommodation of reporters in the House of Commons, it was not until about the year 1820 that the House of Lords followed the example of the Lower Chamber. Up to that date, according to Wade's curious "British History Chronologically Arranged":

"If a young or forward reporter ventured to display the implements of his trade to the eyes of their Lordships they were immediately struck from his hand by one or other of the messengers. The first person who ventured to rest his book on their Lordships' bar is said to have been Mr. Charles Windeyer. . . . His example was followed; and, only two sessions after, the robe of Lord Eldon . . . having accidentally caused Mr. Windeyer to drop his book within the bar, the noble Earl checked his onward step, picked up the fragments of the passing debate, and presented them with an engaging smile to their collector."

Mr. Richard Windeyer, the son of this lego-journalistic pioneer, was born in England, but later on became a highly respected resident of the Colony. His son, in turn, was that William Charles Windeyer whose legal, political, and judicial life in New South Wales is well remembered. Judge Windeyer for some time followed the journalistic examples of his father and grandfather by writing in the middle 'fifties the law reports for *The Empire* newspaper, then conducted by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Parkes.

The dearth of compositors was very greatly felt by the *HERALD* in 1838, as many advertisements attest. Thus, on the 7th June, 1838, appears this notice:

"Wanted six compositors at the *HERALD* office. To emigrants of sober habits and good workmen constant employment will be given. Wages from 40/- to 60/- per week. None need apply who are in the habit of working two days a week and being drunk the other four."

About this time, too, occurred the only serious industrial disturbance that has ever blackened the relations between the proprietors and the employees of the HERALD. The compositors demanded an increase of wages from £2/2/- per week and 10d. per hour overtime to £2/8/- per week and 1/- per hour overtime. Mr. Ward Stephens refused the demand and the men went out on strike. They were assisted to some extent by the employees of the other papers, although the wages paid at the HERALD were higher than those paid anywhere else at the time. While the strike lasted the paper was brought out by the men who remained on duty, aided by the apprentices, but the work proved too severe for the limited staff and the proprietor was forced to yield to the demands made by the strikers. The promoters of the strike were, however, dismissed soon afterwards, although the old trouble of shortage of labour remained acute. A standing advertisement appeared for months in the HERALD offering "good wages to sober men," but apparently with but little result. The tri-weekly issues naturally increased the work—and the trouble.

An additional worry was the conduct of the assigned servants, of whom there were a number in the employ of the HERALD until the change of proprietorship to Messrs. Kemp and Fairfax in 1841, to be referred to presently. Apparently the conduct of this particular brand of "assignee" had long been notoriously bad; for as far back as the 16th May, 1833, we find the HERALD referring in its "Police Incidents" column, to the appearance of one Wm. Flannigan, "assigned to the Editors of the HERALD," before Captain Rossi, a leading magistrate of the day. Flannigan was charged with "absenting himself during the whole of the previous day," and the magistrate was moved to considerable wrath at his expense.

"This is not the first, second, or third time you have been before me," he said. "You know I don't care for the Press, or any paragraph you may write about me. You printer's devils give me more trouble than any other assigned servants. Most of the street robberies are committed by convict printers. I tell you publicly *I don't care for the press!* I sentence you to receive 25 lashes."

And now again, on 8th February, 1839, these assigned servants of the HERALD are still found to be troublesome and in trouble. For in the issue of that date, we read the following notice:

"Whereas certain of the assigned servants of this establishment are in the habit of absconding themselves at night for the purpose of visiting the theatre, a reward of 10/- each is offered for the apprehension of such assigned servants. If any constable will call at the HERALD office the men will be pointed out to him."

This was an era of exploration, and naturally the HERALD was greatly interested in the splendid work that was being effected in opening up the vast interior of the continent. From its first appearance, indeed, this side of the colony's activities had received constant attention from the paper, which ever lent the encouragement of its columns to anything that would tend to advance the growth and prosperity of the community. Captain Charles Sturt's great expedition of 1828-1830 had, of course, come to an end before the birth of the HERALD, but he was later on to figure largely in the columns of the paper in connection with what was perhaps his even greater expedition of 1844-1845, to what has since been called the "Dead Heart of Australia." But even in the 'thirties the HERALD had something to say of Sturt, and said it well. On the 30th January, 1834, it devoted a leader to a complimentary notice of his recently published account of his first journey, and drew attention to the urgent necessity for an expedition to ascertain the source of the Murray, which "might open up rich tracts of country to the colonists." . . . "When a colony shall be established," it adds, "at the mouth of the Murray, or what is more probable, at the entrance of St. Vincent's Gulf, the tide of emigration will flow

rapidly thither, till the whole sea coast and banks of the river are covered with settlements."

In October, 1834, the paper printed a most interesting description of the recently opened "Manoro Plains"—in whose vicinity the Federal Capital now stands—and on the 21st February, 1840, it devoted considerable space to an account which it reprinted from *The South Australian Register*, of an overland trip from the interior of New South Wales to the settlement at Adelaide, which had been established at the end of 1836.

In the issue of the 27th April, 1840, the following announcement appears:

"Information has been received in town of the discovery of a vast tract of the finest well-watered grazing country in the north-western part of the colony. We understand that Patrick Leslie, Esq., is the gentleman who has achieved this important object, and that he intends to locate it immediately in conjunction with a number of the most important settlers from the districts of the Upper Hunter. The country thus opened up by an enterprising settler is in the vicinity of the Darling River, and is stated to be of great extent and of easy access."

This "information" was either a little out in its geography or unfortunate in its wording. The new tract of good country was situated on the river known as the Condamine, in the vicinity not of the Darling (though the Condamine is one of the names of a long northern tributary of that stream) but of the famous Darling Downs, which had been discovered by Alan Cunningham in 1827; and Patrick Leslie, a Scotsman who had arrived in Australia in the late twenties or early thirties and had taken up land in the Cassilis district, will ever remain notable as the first white man to settle in this area. His wife—a daughter of Hannibal Hawkins Macarthur—was the first white woman to enter the Darling Downs. The name of Leslie is therefore inseparably associated with the Condamine and the Downs, and the fact lends additional interest to the paragraph we have quoted.

Four days after the appearance of the paragraph lastly quoted, the *HERALD* published an article in the leader column, giving a full detailed account of Leslie's journey. We quote its final paragraph as showing how truly the paper had estimated the value of the discovery:

"The advantage this fine district possesses must speedily render it an object of attraction to settlers; and we entertain no doubt that before a year elapses we shall see its best sites occupied. Independently of its high character as a grazing country and its immense extent, it possesses an advantage enjoyed by few still unoccupied localities—that of facility of access, as stores landed by the Brisbane, Logan or Richmond would be within 50 or 60 miles of the new stations, while by land there is a sound and level dray road by Mr. Dangar's cattle on the Big River, a point at which the direct route for stock from Bathurst and the South Big, Mokai and Namoi Rivers would also terminate."

The "Big" River here referred to is that which was then also—and now exclusively—known as the Clarence, the noblest stream on the eastern slopes of the Australian continent. A reference in the *HERALD* of a few days later makes this clear: "Three gentlemen named Wilson," says this paragraph (8/5/40), "are busily engaged in surveying the fine tracts of country in the neighbourhood of the Big or Clarence River."

In this same year (1840) the Polish Count Strzelecki, who had been for some time engaged in investigatory work in Australia, completed a journey of exploration through the south-eastern area of the colony. He gave the name of Gippsland to the district, and in the supplement to its issue of June 26th, the *HERALD* quotes a lengthy extract from *The Port Phillip Journal*, giving an account of the expedition. It was during this journey that the Count and his companions discovered the mountain which holds the altitude

record for Australia. Strzelecki named it Mt. Kosciusko, in honour of his great compatriot, of whom he was a fervent admirer.

In December, 1839, Ward Stephens re-sold his entire interest in the *HERALD* to Stokes and, in the beginning of 1840, the latter initiated a novel effort to overcome the shortage of labour difficulty. He caused to be inserted in the *HERALD* the following advertisement in large type:

"To Young Men of Education. In consequence of a scarcity of compositors and a combination among many of those in the trade, the undersigned will be happy to engage twelve respectable young men and teach them the business of compositors. Liberal encouragement and permanent employment will be given. F. M. STOKES.

As a result, a number of applicants presented themselves, and six were engaged at a salary of £1/10/- per week. In the course of a few months they were able to work fairly well; but, as may well be imagined, they were not received with any great degree of friendliness by the regular compositors. They were generally referred to, with heavy irony, as "the Gentlemen of Education." But, despite the friction which their presence in the office caused, Stokes persisted with them. He also had recourse to another plan. He printed an appeal in the *HERALD*, addressed to "The Printers of Great Britain," and couched in the following terms:

"For the information of letter-press printers desirous of emigrating to New South Wales, we hereby make known that there are seven printing establishments and fifteen newspapers produced weekly in Sydney alone. We should be glad to engage twelve compositors at 40/- per week and tenpence per hour overtime. Parties proceeding hither can obtain a free passage for themselves and families. We beg that the newspapers of Great Britain will make this publicly known."

What response, if any, this appeal created, does not appear; but whether the proprietor obtained the men or not, the progress of the paper was not allowed to be stayed. Supplements were now added to almost every issue; the presses were hardly able to cope with the increase in the circulation, and the additional work necessitated the importation of additional machinery. The arrival of this and the pressure of advertisements—on one occasion in May of this year the paper was *all* advertisements, the news having to be contented with a supplement—induced Stokes to bring into effect a project he had for some time contemplated, and on the 1st October, 1840, the *HERALD* became a daily paper. But the change, coupled with the loss occasioned by the recent death of O'Shaughnessy, evidently proved too much for Stokes to cope with. For on the 21st December we find the following notice appearing in the paper:

"The Proprietor of THE SYDNEY HERALD has much pleasure in announcing to his subscribers that in a few days the editorial management of this paper will be assumed by Mr. Jas. Rennie, M.A., formerly a professor in the King's College, London, and who is well known in the literary and scientific world."

This notice would seem to contradict the statement already made that no official editor was appointed until 1854, were it not that we find that the ex-professor made so poor a showing with his first editorial that, not only was he never confirmed in his appointment, but that he left the staff of the *HERALD* within a few weeks. The name of Mr.—or Professor—Rennie figures in several issues of the *HERALD* prior to the announcement of his engagement by the paper; and always as the deliverer of verbose and extraordinarily comprehensive lectures. Indeed, these deliverances were so uncommonly encyclopædic that the report of one of them—and that merely set out in "heads"—occupies two columns of the *HERALD* of the 4th November, 1840! A veritable Hydra of a lecture, ranging from a consideration of "Malacostracology" and "ringed worms," to

that of "Government, Chronology, History, Moral Philosophy and Logic." As with the conversation of Praed's Vicar, the oral output of the worthy Professor seems to have been

" . . . Like a stream which runs,
With rapid change from rocks to roses;
It slipped from politics to puns;
It passed from Mahomet to Moses."

Except, of course, that—as he himself would have expressed it—there were no paronomastic levities in the sesquipedalian prolixities of the Professor.

Dreary and dreadful reading these discourses make; and why so discerning a man as Frederick Stokes had proved himself to be should have thought that Rennie would make good as an editor passes all comprehension. The man had had no journalistic training whatever, and his only literary qualification seems to have been his ability to pour forth these interminable profundities like milk from a jug. However, be that as it may, it appears that the Professor's first attempt at a "leader" took up nearly six columns in proof, and the emendations and additions that the learned gentleman saw fit to make to it were so numerous that the revises and re-revises occupied the attentions of the printers for a week. The appropriate and "elegant" theme of this inundation of erudition was "Music," and it is sad to relate that, after all the mountainous labour associated with its birth, the "ridiculus mus" never achieved publication. We trace the professor's pen in other articles, though, about this time—the touch is unmistakable—and we note, by an advertisement appearing in the issue of the 3rd January, 1841, that, presumably in view of the position he had so recently acquired, the misguided gentleman had entered into the bonds of matrimony only a few days before. "Misguided," we say, because his journalistic efforts were so sadly unappreciated that they petered out within a month or two. We would very much like to quote a few samples of these polysyllabic disquisitions of Professor Rennie; but space—a thing for which he himself had a most uneditorial contempt—prevents the enjoyment of that desire. We can only add that, on one occasion, he perpetrated a "leader" on "Agriculture," which, owing to its inordinate length, had to be divided up, like a serial story, into seven parts! Each part filled two columns of the paper and appeared upon a different date! Later on we find him occupying the office of Secretary to the Sydney Debating Club—how he must have revelled in his opportunities!—and eventually he passes from our observation as the proprietor of an educational seminary for unfortunate small boys.

The Reverend Ralph Mansfield, whose name has already appeared in this chronicle, also began about this time to contribute leading articles; but although for many years he continued to write for the paper—and more frequently during this particular period than anyone else—he was no more the "editor" of it than O'Shaughnessy had been, or the Rev. John McGarvie. Indeed, Mansfield did not limit his activities to his HERALD duties by any means. He was a Pooh-Bah *in excelsis*; a man who had so many irons in the fire that one feels that he himself must have been in a constant fever from the friction evolved in rushing round from one to the other of them. He was a land agent; he was an auctioneer; he "ran" a stationery depot and a registry office for servants; he found time to project—even if he did not actually publish—a paper of his own. He was secretary to innumerable societies, all at the same time; and included among these were such highly-divergent concerns as "The Sydney Floating Bridge Company"—even then the Harbour Bridge was talked of—and the Australian Gas Company. Of this last institution, which had at this time only recently been established, the Reverend Ralph was Secretary the whole time he was associated with the HERALD, so that it is clear, even if there were no other evidence to support the statement, that he could not possibly have

performed the close and constant work required, even in 1841, of the editor of a daily paper.

Mansfield had been editor of *The Sydney Gazette* for some time previously to his advent to the *HERALD*; and in that position had, of course, incurred the rancour of the irrepressible Dr. Lang; but as he was distinctly a man of parts—of very many parts—the proprietor of *The Colonist* had not had altogether all his own way with him. Mansfield's contributions to the *HERALD* were many and various. His articles were always well and trenchantly written, and they continued to give satisfaction to the proprietors of the paper, and to its subscribers, for over fourteen years.

But the change-over to a daily had naturally increased the work and worry of the *HERALD*'s owner; and within a few weeks it became obvious that a change of magnitude was imminent. In February, 1841, the change took place; the *HERALD* had been bought, "lock, stock and barrel," by Charles Kemp and John Fairfax. On the 8th day of that month the imprint bore the names of the two new proprietors; and from that day to this the name of John Fairfax has never ceased to be associated with the proprietorship of the paper.

SECTION III.

THE FAIRFAX PROPRIETORSHIP

JOHN FAIRFAX was born in Warwick, the history-haunted capital of Shakespeare's county, on October 25, 1804. He came of an old family of Warwickshire country gentry, who had held the same estate at Barford, near Warwick, from about the year 1500, practically up to his own time, and whose members are quite possibly to be identified with Fairfaxes holding land in the vicinity from the year 1332. They attained no national prominence, as did their namesakes, with whom they may be connected, of the well-known Yorkshire branch. But from the little we know of them they may be fairly regarded as of that type which, well content to work and serve in their own lands and their own county, has played no mean part in the building of the English nation.

In the absence of definite proof at earlier stages Robert Fairfax, a wealthy landowner who possessed milling rights and died in 1545, is regarded as the founder of the Barford line; and probably the best known of John's ancestors was Richard, Robert's great-grandson. From the Parish Register of 1647 we read:

"Memorandum: That there are now four generations of Fairfaxes in Barford and three of them double, *viz.*, Samuel Fairfax as aforesaid; Mr. John and Elizabeth, his father and mother; Mr. John and Eleanor, his grandfather and grandmother; Mr. Richard and Alice, his great-grandfather and great-grandmother. Not one of these three pairs hath been twice married and each of them is an honour to marriage. They all dwell together in one house and eat together at one table. The like hereunto is hardly, if at all, to be found."

And the Rector proceeded to point the moral to his flock in pardonably exuberant elegiacs, which he "Englished" also into heroic couplets. The whole of this effusion appears in Leigh's "Description of England" (printed 1659).

The Rector aforesaid (the Rev. Thomas Du Gard, M.A., Cantab.) gave his daughter's hand to Richard's grandson, and spared no pains to record in the Register the outstanding integrity and prudence of each member of the family who died, up to the day when he, "the Learned, Religious, and Accurate Rector of this Parish" was himself laid to rest.

In 1670 the old patriarch Richard was visited by Henry Fairfax, afterwards Dean of Norwich. Henry says that Richard "was the goodliest tall man that ever they saw, and being above a hundred years old had all his senses perfect and walked about his house and garden conversing with them. His grandson was at that time Chief Constable of Warwickshire." This is recorded by Henry's cousin, Bryan Fairfax of Denton, brother of the 4th Baron Fairfax, in his "Pedigree of the Fairfax Family."

In 1730 the family gave a Mayor to the city of Warwick. Two years later was born John, who was destined to lose the family estates. John Fairfax of Sydney, who was his grand-nephew, says that he "was said to have been a great sportsman, foxhunter, etc."; and that he got greatly into debt and was forced to sell the estate in 1781 to the then Earl of Warwick. John of Sydney in his boyhood used to visit his great-aunt, a fierce old lady

nearly six feet tall, who gave him her husband's hunting-crop and cap, and was continually urging him to sue for the recovery of the estate.

Thus it came about that John Fairfax's father, William, is not found at Barford; but in Warwick, in the building and furnishing trade; and that John is apprenticed to a printer, bookseller and stationer also in that city. John's mother, Elizabeth Jesson of Birmingham, who persuaded her husband to join the Congregational Church, was a woman of strong religious convictions. Says Sir James Reading Fairfax, her grandson: "She exercised a strong influence on her son, and it was her teaching and inheriting her strong character that led to his success in life and in placing her sons and grandsons where they are." This fine old lady came out to Sydney at John's request in 1839, as soon as he had obtained work there, and lived to the age of 83.

John, who had been apprenticed as aforesaid at the age of eleven, subsequently joined the staff of the *London Morning Chronicle*; but in 1825, aged 21, returned and started a printing business at Leamington, near Warwick. Three years later he founded the *Leamington Spa Sketch Book*, devoted to social news and sketches. In the same year he and James Sharp started *The Leamington Spa Courier*, which is still in existence and which has therefore anticipated the *HERALD* in its centenary by three years. It is a curious coincidence that its present proprietor, Major Frank Glover, and his father, have directed the *Courier* continuously for 73 years; whereas John Fairfax and his son, Sir James Reading Fairfax, controlled the *HERALD* for 78 years—from 1841 to 1919. After four months, however, Sharp and Fairfax disagreed upon the paper's politics, the former inclining to conservatism and the latter wishing to maintain more of a non-party attitude. The partnership in consequence broke up, Sharp continuing the paper and Fairfax carrying on in Leamington as a printer, bookseller, stationer and newsagent. He was agent also for the "Atlas Assurance Company," and, in addition, he issued an annual Guide and Directory to Leamington Spa, in which he tells us he has been appointed Bookseller and Publisher to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. In 1835 he became part-owner of a moribund journal which he renamed *The Leamington Chronicle and Warwickshire Reporter*, and as time went on it seemed that fortune was again favouring the family. Fairfax, aged 34, had risen from an apprentice to a successful newspaper proprietor and publisher. He had married, in 1827, Sarah Reading, of Warwick, and was the father of several children. He had a busy life of varied experience behind him, and health, talent, and every prospect for the future. But suddenly there arose the greatest crisis that his family had yet known, and from it sprang two events on which are founded the real greatness of the character and life of John Fairfax.

Justifiably irritated by what he considered to be a gross case of injustice on the part of a local official, he published in his paper an article on the subject which very freely expressed the indignation of the writer. A libel suit was instituted against him as a result of his attack; and, although John Fairfax was successful in defending it, the costs in which it involved him were beyond his power to meet. He was compelled to seek the aid of the Insolvency Court, and when at length he received from it his certificate, he was financially a ruined man. He had given hostages to fortune, in the shape of a wife and family, and the future in England seemed hopeless. But he had heard of Australia and the chances that existed there for persons of enterprise; and so, taking with him his wife and children, and his courage in both hands, he set sail for the fresh woods and pastures new of the Antipodes.

Even in those days of his early manhood, John Fairfax had been noted for the strong religious strain which characterised his life; and there is still in existence the faded copy of a "Farewell Address" presented to him at a meeting of his fellow teachers of the



MRS. WILLIAM FAIRFAX.
Mother of John Fairfax.
 1779-1861.



MRS. JOHN FAIRFAX.
 1808-1876.



JOHN FAIRFAX.
 1804-1877.



LADY FAIRFAX.
Wife of Sir James Reading Fairfax.



CHARLES JOHN FAIRFAX.
1829-1863.



EDWARD ROSS FAIRFAX.
1842-1915.

Spencer Street Congregational Sunday School, Leamington, on the first day of May, 1838. The meeting was called "for the especial purpose of taking leave of him, previous to his departure for New South Wales," and assumes the form of a printed poetical effusion of thirteen stanzas. But though here and there the language is stilted and here and there the rhythm and the rhyme are rough, these things can neither conceal nor mar the deep Christian sincerity and the honest human affection which leaven the whole valedictory. As a tablet on the wall of the Congregational Church at Leamington testifies, John Fairfax was one of its first members and a deacon from 1827 to 1838. Within a few years after his arrival in New South Wales, he was appointed a deacon of the Pitt Street Congregational Church in Sydney; and during the remainder of his life he was ever a constant supporter of that church, and an active promoter of religious interests generally. Just as the tablet at Leamington records his association with the church he attended in his early manhood, so does a second tablet placed upon the wall of the Pitt Street building shortly after his death, record a similar association with the church of his later years.

The libel suit which sent the Leamington journalist to Australia is the first of the two episodes to which we have referred. The other is a case of contrast: "Look here, upon this picture and on this." In 1851 John Fairfax, now the half-owner of a prosperous and influential newspaper, a man of parts, capacity and considerable affluence, returned to Leamington on a visit to the Homeland. He called together all his old creditors or their representatives, many of whom had forgotten, and some of whom had probably never even seen him; and, despite the honourable discharge he had received a quarter of a century before, he paid them, every one, in full. And more than that, his kindly advice and his splendid example induced a number of resourceful men and women to follow in his footsteps to a land where such fine, sturdy characters were surely bound to prosper, too. Typical, we say, these two episodes; typical not only of the honesty of purpose and business integrity which ever marked the man's career, but typical also of the indignation and righteous anger which kindled in his soul at the spectacle of things he considered mean, oppressive or unjust; and of the sturdy independence which provoked him to oppose such things with all his heart and voice, regardless of the consequences.

It was on the 26th day of September, 1838, that John Fairfax landed on Australian soil from the good ship "Lady Fitzherbert," and set out to carve his fortune in the new, incongruous streets of Sydney. He had but five pounds in his pocket. "That," as an obituary notice of him said some forty years later, "was his start in Australia; that was the bottom rung of the ladder. Five pounds—and almost as many children as pounds!" He had to find employment and find it quickly. He and his had to live with the utmost frugality until he found it, and even after it was found, with careful moderation. But not only was Fairfax a printer, he was a bookseller and publisher and an experienced journalist as well; and such a man would not look long for employment in the Sydney of those days. Printers were scarce, and we may well believe that the services of so capable a tradesman were eagerly competed for; while it is fairly certain that, as a journalist, he worked upon at least one paper—*The Commercial Journal*—before he had been many months in the Colony. Then the librarianship of the Australian Subscription—now the Free Public—Library became vacant, and he so impressed the committee of that institution with his suitability for the position, that he received the appointment. This was on the 1st April, 1839, and he retained the office until his purchase of the *HERALD* two years later.

The librarianship was a particularly valuable post for such a man as Fairfax; for the

library being one of the few intellectual amenities of Sydney, it drew to its membership the great majority of the leading citizens. These necessarily came into contact with the librarian, and by this means he was enabled to make and cement friendships and relationships which were to stand him in excellent stead later on. Indeed, it is in connection with his position as Librarian that we meet with one of the earliest references to the name of John Fairfax in the columns of the *HERALD*. This occurs in an advertisement in the issue of the 27th March, 1840, wherein Gould's deservedly famous work, "The Birds of Australia," is offered for subscription, and intending subscribers are requested to apply to "Mr. Fairfax, The Australian Library, Sydney." The library was then situated in Bridge Street, and its contiguity to the office of the *HERALD* was probably favourable to the formation of that association with Frederick Stokes which was to mean so much to the new librarian within so short a space of time. His salary was not large; it was certainly not sufficient to keep him and his family in anything like comfort; and this, even if his own innate eagerness for constant employment had not sufficed, drove him to look for other work outside his duties at the library. That his services there had been both well rendered and well received is shown by the fact that in November, 1839, he received a gratuity from the committee for the way in which he had compiled the library catalogue and at the same time the promise of an increase of salary. But the prospect was not sufficiently alluring to satisfy the anxieties of the librarian. How or why the first meeting occurred we know not, but it is certain that John Fairfax had not been long at the library before he fell in with the proprietor of the *HERALD*, and the latter, knowing him by repute as a skilled tradesman, and being always short handed in that respect, was naturally led to offer him employment. Fairfax at the time declined a definite engagement, but towards the end of 1840 we hear of him having cases of type sent up to his office in the library, so that he might set up copy in his spare time. This, when set, was returned to the *HERALD* in galleys. His aid was so valuable that it was more and more utilised; and after many negotiations he was definitely asked to take over the entire practical management of the *HERALD*. This offer, like the others, was declined; but when, in the beginning of 1841, Stokes, tiring in his turn of the proprietorship, and probably finding the work, now that the paper had become a daily, too much for him, offered to sell him the paper outright, John Fairfax found at last his golden opportunity within his grasp. Charles Kemp came in on the venture as a partner; and the two men, although short of the requisite cash wherewith to meet the offer, managed, with the assistance of their friends, to make the necessary arrangements for the purchase. And so, on that fateful day, the 8th February, 1841, the paper altered its ownership for the penultimate time, and Charles Kemp and John Fairfax became its joint proprietors.

Kemp, who had emigrated with his parents to New South Wales in 1825, had been, as we have seen, a reporter upon the staff. But, even before that again, he had gained some experience in local journalism as a contributor to *The Monitor*. His was an easy, fluent pen, and for the whole term of his association with the *HERALD* its fruits appeared with advantage in the columns of that paper. During the greater part of his part-ownership, he was responsible for the arrangements on the literary side, leaving the administrative and mechanical sides to John Fairfax; although both proprietors were still addressed as "the editors" and referred to as such in the imprint. In September, 1853, Kemp, having amassed a comfortable fortune and being desirous of retiring from the business, arranged to sell his interest in the *HERALD* to his partner, and on the 1st day of October in that year the imprint of the paper shows that John Fairfax had become the sole proprietor. Kemp, thus released, turned his attention to active politics. In 1860 he

was elected to the Legislative Assembly as member for the Liverpool Plains, but lost his seat at the next election. Shortly afterward, however, he was appointed to the Legislative Council. During the latter part of his life he was on the directorates of a number of influential concerns operating in Sydney and was for some years the Chairman of the Australian Steam Navigation Company. He died in Sydney on the 25th August, 1864, and was buried in the Church of England Cemetery at Newtown. Both the *HERALD* and *THE SYDNEY MAIL* published appreciative obituary notices of him at the time, relating the story of his association with the *HERALD* and the many other activities of his busy and honourable career. His friendship with John Fairfax, which had so happily marked their business partnership, remained undisturbed until his death.

But let us return to 1841. The year was a critical one for such a venture as Kemp and Fairfax had now entered upon. A financial crisis of considerable severity was just setting in; there was considerable opposition to the *HERALD*; and the business worries associated at all times with the running of a daily paper were immensely increased by this untoward combination. But both the new proprietors were young and enthusiastic; both were born workers, and both were driven by the goads of necessity and interest to make good or go under altogether. In the end, hard work, youth and enthusiasm—a potent trio—prevailed; it was the opposition papers that went under, one by one, until only the *HERALD* survived. The paper went ahead slowly but steadily, making some enemies but many friends; the circulation and the advertisements increased; and, in a word, the partners managed to weather the storm that had blown so fiercely upon the beginnings of their industrial voyage and to discharge all the obligations they had incurred. On John Fairfax, as has been said, devolved the greater portion of the managerial duties, and, being a practical printer, upon him also rested the entire responsibility for the mechanical success of the venture. But he proved equal to the task, and Kemp, carrying out with equal zeal the literary supervision of the paper, the tide was taken at the flood and led at last to fortune. Fairfax felt that he had got his chance; that he was mounting up the steep of the hill difficulty, and that soon, if all went well, his eyes might see from its summit the breaking of the dawn. And so he and his partner worked honestly and indefatigably to achieve the ascent. It was not by accident or by luck that the *HERALD* won its status in the field of journalism, but by the sheer hard labour of its youthful owners.

This is not by any means to say, however, that crisis was not narrowly averted; and the account of the struggle which was waged against disaster is given elsewhere. It is sufficient here to repeat that the proprietors won out in the end. Shortly after John Fairfax's return from that visit to his old home town to which reference has already been made, there followed in quick succession his purchase of Charles Kemp's interest in the *HERALD* which made him sole proprietor, the discovery of gold and the hectic days of the "roaring 'fifties." The immense growth in the population of the Colony and of the City of Sydney which followed, sent up the circulation and the importance of the paper with a bound, while the gold fever which decimated the ranks of almost every other industry fortunately left the paper almost untouched. Fairfax had ever been generous with his employees, and the policy now bore good fruit.

Immediately after becoming the sole owner of the *HERALD*, John Fairfax took his son, Charles John Fairfax, into partnership with him; and three years later this admission was followed by that of his second son, James Reading Fairfax, and by the establishment of the firm of "John Fairfax & Sons," which remained unaltered in title until in 1916 it became a limited company. Charles John Fairfax died as the result of an accident in 1863; and in 1865 John Fairfax's third son, Edward Ross Fairfax, took his

place. He retired from the firm in 1889 and died in London in 1915. As has been well said, from 1853 onward, John Fairfax felt "that he had but to continue as he had begun—to spare no pains and to spare no money—to make the *HERALD* a first-class paper as an organ of commerce, a vehicle of news and a political power." Being placed by his prosperity comparatively free from that extreme devotion to his business which had characterised his earlier years, he was able to give more of his attention to outside affairs. He gradually assumed that leading part in the establishment and management of public companies and institutions for which his powers of organisation and his business training so admirably fitted him. In the Australian Mutual Provident Society he felt a special interest. For nearly twenty years he took an important part in the councils of this progressive and important institution, to-day the largest of its kind in the Empire; and it was not, indeed, until within a few weeks before his death that he relinquished his association with its fortunes.

In 1865 he paid another visit of some months' duration to the Old Country; and while there he very naturally interested himself in the progress and future possibilities of journalism. As we may learn from letters which he sent from England at that time to his eldest son, he seems to have become convinced that within a short time it would be necessary to reduce the price of the *HERALD* (then being sold at threepence a copy) to a figure still more likely to appeal to the general public. This conviction, as we shall see, was carried into effect some two years later, when, on the first of January, 1868, the price of the paper was lowered by a third. After his return, John Fairfax again interested himself in public affairs, and in 1871 he was appointed a member of the Council of Education. Circumstances necessitated his early retirement from this position, but the appointment served to intensify his interest in the cause of education generally.

Naturally of a serious disposition, John Fairfax yet lacked neither the sense of humour nor the ability to express it when the occasion arose. It is related that a youthful member of his staff once sought to engage his sympathies by stating that he was a student of Holy Writ. "That's right, young man," said his employer, "that's right! To learn what great things God has done for mankind in the past read your Bible." And then he added, after a pause: "And to learn what He permits to be done to-day read the *HERALD*!" With such satisfaction did the old gentleman regard this double-barrelled piece of advice that he not only repeated it upon other similar occasions, but also incorporated it—or caused it to be incorporated—in a slightly different form in at least one of the *HERALD*'s leading articles.

Although never what is known in politics as "a strong party man," John Fairfax took a keen interest in local political events, and on one occasion was induced to stand for election to the Legislative Assembly. He was defeated, however, and never afterwards repeated the experiment. But in 1874 he accepted the nomination of a seat in the Legislative Council and, although death cut short his occupancy of the position, it did not come soon enough to prevent his natural abilities proving their worth in this as in so many other activities.

John Fairfax died at his residence in Sydney on the 16th June, 1877, after a short illness; and the immense gathering which attended his funeral showed clearly the respect and affection with which he was regarded. All ranks and classes were represented at the graveside in Rookwood Cemetery where he was laid to rest; and from every quarter, from press and pulpit and platform, came tributes to the worth of his long life. The Legislative Council was especially adjourned to mark his passing, and on countless flag-poles in the city the flags were flown at half-mast. And not only Sydney, nor even the Colony of New South Wales, was associated with these tributes. The whole

of Australia combined to offer them, recognising that in the death of John Fairfax the nation at large had lost a great citizen. The closing words of an obituary notice, published by a country contemporary of the *HERALD* thus appropriately conveyed the general sense of the community's loss and the estimation in which the "maker of the *HERALD*" was held by all who knew him:

"Personally, Mr. John Fairfax, by his blameless life and high moral excellence, was an honour to the newspaper press, and we trust his influence will long survive him. No words but those of sorrow will be spoken at the news of his death, and many will miss the kindly sympathy and open-hearted charity of the venerable old man who has so lately 'floated down the dark river which leads into the shining sea.'"

But perhaps the truest—as it was certainly the most poignant—tribute of all was the noble poem written "In Memory of John Fairfax" by "the sweetest singer of our austral clime," Henry Clarence Kendall. Its stanzas, with their haunting refrain, "He giveth His beloved sleep," are so intrinsically beautiful and so peculiarly appropriate to their subject that no apology is needed for quoting three of them in full:

IN MEMORY OF JOHN FAIRFAX.

Because this man fulfilled his days,
Like one who walks with steadfast gaze
Averted from forbidden ways
With lures of fair, false flowerage deep,
Behold the Lord whose throne is dim
With fires of flaming seraphim—
The Christ that suffered sent for him:
"He giveth His beloved sleep."

Be sure this hero who has passed
The human space—the outer vast—
Who worked in harness to the last,
Doth now a hallowed harvest reap.
Love sees his grave, nor turns away—
The eyes of faith are like the day,
And grief has not a word to say,—
"He giveth His beloved sleep."

He earned his place. Within his hands,
The power which counsels and commands,
And shapes the social life of lands,
Became a blessing pure and deep.
Through thirty years of turbulence
Our thoughts were sweetened with a sense
Of his benignant influence—
"He giveth His beloved sleep."

No account of John Fairfax's life would be complete were it to omit two references—firstly, to the fine nature of his association with his employees; and, secondly, to the deeply religious side of his character. As to the first, it is best that a pressman who evidently knew him well should give his testimony. He gave it in a short obituary notice which he contributed to the *Dubbo Despatch*, and thus, in part, it runs:

"Full of years and honours, the fine old man went down to the grave, deeply lamented by all who knew him. He was an unostentatious man, but none the less one of those who had done in his own quiet way more than any man now living to advance the colony. He was as big-hearted as he was honourable; and his charities were many. . . . The employer of over one hundred men, the relations between himself and his subordinates were always of the most friendly character. He

was, indeed, what the lawyers call *in loco parentis* to his large staff, and certain I am that, when the news of his death reached the office, not an eye refused a tear. . . . I could tell many stories of John Fairfax's kindness; but some other time—not now. . . . His death is indeed a blow to all poor pressmen. The father of the New South Wales Press, he was one of whom we could all feel proud. If ever man deserved poor Leigh Hunt's epitaph John Fairfax did."

There is also, on this point, the evidence provided by the wording of an address presented on the 1st of August, 1877, by the combined employees of the firm to his sons—James Reading Fairfax and Edward Ross Fairfax—into whose hands the control of THE HERALD had now passed. The address was one of condolence "on the occasion of the death of your father, the late Honourable John Fairfax." and thus runs the material portion of it:

"We feel that in his departure we have lost a kind employer and a valued friend. While the world outside may appreciate the industry and integrity which raised him to distinction in this Colony, we are in a position to appreciate his special services to journalism. When we contrast what the HERALD was when he joined it with what it was when he left it, and trace the effect of his influence both on the press and the status of the printing trade, we see how much both have been indebted to his liberality, to his insight, and to his conscientious desire to aim at the realisation of a high ideal. We count it fortunate for this colony that one who so truly deserved the prosperity of the interest with which he was himself identified, and who held an elevated view of the functions of journalism, should for so long a period have been the mainspring of the leading journal of the colony. We also recall with pleasure the agreeable relations which have always subsisted between ourselves and the late Mr. Fairfax in connection with the business of the office."

As to his more sacred relations, and the attitude towards sacred things which he imposed upon his paper, the summing-up of another contemporary, *The Weekly Advocate*, may well be quoted as a final note upon a great personality:

"It is well known that Mr. Fairfax was professedly a religious man. Nobody can charge him with the ostentatious display of his piety; nor, on the other hand, can anybody charge him with denying the Lord Jesus before men. He cared little for modern religious speculations, but he cared much for the old-fashioned but life-giving doctrines of the Gospel of the New Testament. He loved the Lord's House and he was a spiritual hearer of the Word of Life. . . . He was a Christian first and a Congregationalist afterwards. . . . When a man fills the eminent place in Society which Mr. Fairfax did, and is a devout man withal, making his life a loving contribution to the Christ of all the Churches, all good men feel that he belongs to them because he belongs to their Lord. He has shown that a secular journal can be vigorous, influential and successful, without putting itself into an attitude of semi-antagonism to Christianity. The HERALD has stood apart from certain other Australian journals in its high tone, its reverent attitude towards religion and its persistent attempt to keep its columns free from class or creed prejudices, and from individual likes and dislikes. And knowing how much damage might have been wrought among the youth of New South Wales if the HERALD had been steeped in supercilious 'modern thought,' good men are thankful to him who preserved it from becoming an anti-Christian instrument." . . .

Lapidary inscriptions, on the authority of Dr. Johnson, are suspect; and doubtless obituary notices are, in similar fashion, not altogether to be classed with Cæsar's wife. But there is a sincerity about these tributes which makes their notes ring true; and this, coupled with the extrinsic evidence which the history of his time affords, makes it very sure that the life of John Fairfax was compact of consideration towards his fellow man, and of reverence towards his Creator, of good deeds secretly rendered, of arduous labour patiently performed, and of material success deservedly won and quietly worn.

Of the three sons of John Fairfax who were admitted into the proprietorship of the HERALD, the second, James Reading Fairfax, is, from the point of view of this history, incomparably the most important. But before reviewing in appropriate detail the events of his long life, it will be advisable to chronicle in brief the life-stories of his brothers.

Charles John Fairfax, the eldest son of John Fairfax, was born at Leamington, Warwickshire, on the 1st January, 1829, being thus between nine and ten years of age at

the time of his emigration to Australia. In his early youth he entered the office of the *HERALD* as an apprentice; and as has been related, in 1853, shortly after the paper had become the sole property of his father, he was taken into partnership by the latter. In the early 'sixties he made a tour of the world, returning to Australia about the end of 1863; and, on the 26th of December of that year, while visiting a relative in Burwood, a suburb of Sydney, he was thrown from his horse and so severely injured that he died two days later. He was then within a few days of completing his thirty-fifth year. Charles Fairfax was notable for the assiduity with which he attended to the conduct of the *HERALD*, for his invincible tact and for the kindliness of his relations with the firm's employees. It would have been difficult to find an individual among the whole staff of the *HERALD* who did not regard him as a personal friend. He was laid to rest in the Congregational Cemetery, Devonshire Street, Sydney, the large attendance at the funeral testifying to the respect in which he had been held.

Edward Ross Fairfax, the youngest of the three brothers, was born in Sydney, shortly after the *HERALD* had been sold to Kemp and Fairfax. He was admitted to the firm of John Fairfax & Sons in 1865, two years after the death of his brother Charles, and in the beginning of 1889 "after a long period of toil and anxiety, during which he had rendered distinguished services," he decided to "free himself from the cares of one of the most exacting of public positions in order to obtain leisure which might be devoted to other pursuits." Accordingly he retired from the firm in April, 1889, and shortly afterwards went to England, where he resided for the rest of his life. He died in London on the 2nd August, 1915, at the age of seventy-two.

As was well said of the second of John Fairfax's sons, James Reading Fairfax, "the record of a life like his cannot easily be given in short compass." For that life covered a period of nearly eighty-five years, for sixty-seven of which he was intimately associated with the life and management of a great paper. And those sixty-seven years covered some of the most moving and dramatic events in the history of the world. In particular, they covered in Australia the whole era of the growth of a nation from its emergence from the soiled swaddling clothes of an ignominious infancy to the full beauty of a vigorous manhood. James Fairfax saw Sydney change from a little town of mean streets and sordid surroundings to the fifth port of the Empire, with a population of nigh upon a million.

"Into his life," says the obituary notice of him published in the *HERALD*, "had been crowded the events of nearly two-thirds of the life of Australia since Phillip landed and Sydney began—the granting of responsible Government, the discovery of gold, the construction of the first railway, the birth of the Sydney University, and, coming to later times, the birth of the Australian Commonwealth. . . . He saw many wars and revolutions. The Indian Mutiny, the Crimean War, the Franco-Prussian War, the war between North and South in America, the Zulu War, the Russo-Japanese War, the Spanish-American War, the Boer War, all took place in his lifetime—and then, last of all, the greatest of all wars the world has ever seen, in which a hundred of his employees took part. When he was a boy it took ninety days to come to Australia from England in the old days of the sailing-boats. . . . He saw the beginning of the annihilator of distance, the submarine cable, the wonder of wireless telegraphy, the marvel of airships. . . . And in the world of printing, what changes! When he walked into his father's office in George Street in 1852 to begin the work which he was to continue all his life, James Reading Fairfax never dreamed of the newspaper revolution he was to see. *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD* of that time was a small thing. From the curious old printing-press that was worked on the principle of the old-fashioned mangle, and required five men to work it, to the great printing-presses of to-day . . . is a long stride; and when one remembers how the electric telegraph and the submarine cable, and now wireless telegraphy, have revolutionized the news side of the paper, the romance and the marvel of the story are brought home to us."

For seventy-eight years these two men—John Fairfax, the father, and James Fairfax, the son—not only experienced the wonder and the growth of the most fertile and vivid era in the history of the Empire and the World, but they recorded it also in the journal which, growing with them and with the times, advanced from insignificance to undisputed eminence in the world of journalism. And thus they experienced it in a personal way not given to the ordinary man to know; and it is this peculiar fact that lends to their lives an interest at once remarkable and significant. If it be true that John Fairfax was the real founder of the *HERALD*, it is also true that James Reading Fairfax was the man who formed it into greatness.

This second great son of the House of Fairfax, like his elder brother, first saw the light at Leamington. He was born on the 17th October, 1834, and was therefore barely four years old when he arrived in Sydney with his parents. In his eighteenth year he entered the office of the *HERALD*, and, after passing through all the varied departments of the paper's manifold activities, he was admitted to a partnership with his father and his brother Charles in 1856. With the death of the latter in 1863 in circumstances already set out, additional responsibilities were forced upon him; and after the death of his father, he became the head of the firm. The knowledge he had gained in "going through the mill" stood him in good stead. He became thereby thoroughly familiar with every section, not only of the literary and editorial side of the business, but of the mechanical and administrative sides as well, and thus was fully equipped for the managerial direction he was soon called upon to assume and which he exercised for over forty years.

Like his father, he devoted his life to the *HERALD*; but, like him too, his activities were by no means confined to those associated with the paper. His interests were as wide as his association with them was practical. He followed his father in being a Director of the Australian Mutual Provident Society for many years; he was on the directorial board both of the Bank of New South Wales and of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, and he was one of the founders and directors of the Perpetual Trustee Company. His outside interests, however, were by no means confined to the commercial and business world. Like his father again, he had a deeply religious side to his character, and the Congregational Church found in him as staunch a supporter and as generous a helper as it had found in John Fairfax. He was repeatedly elected President of the Y.M.C.A., an institution which was very close to his heart; he was on the advisory board of the University Student Movement; and he was one of the founders of the Boys' Brigade. This institution, established to provide, originally for newsboys, but subsequently for any lads in poor circumstances and congested areas who desired to take advantage of its beneficence, healthy recreation, both physical and mental, and assistance in avoiding what may be termed "dead-end occupations," has ever been an object of particular and practical interest to the members of the Fairfax family. Sir James R. Fairfax, as we have said, helped to establish and maintain it; and he was never tired of showing his interest in the boys who came within the ambit of its activities. Some of them, as they grew older, he helped to make their way in life; and many times he provided the funds for recreative outings—"Grand-dad's Picnics," the boys were wont to call them—at which he himself attended and which he as thoroughly enjoyed as his enthusiastic proteges. An equally keen interest in the Brigade was exhibited by his sons, Sir James Oswald Fairfax and Mr. Geoffrey Evan Fairfax, both of whom became in turn Chairmen of the Council of Management; and, finally, Mr. Warwick Fairfax, the son of the second Sir James, has carried on the tradition of the family by accepting a seat upon the Council and by associating himself in many other ways with the activities of the Brigade.



SIR JAMES READING FAIRFAX.
1834-1919.



GEOFFREY EVAN FAIRFAX.
1861-1930.



CHARLES BURTON FAIRFAX.
Born 1859; retired January, 1904.



SIR JAMES OSWALD FAIRFAX.
1863-1928.



WARWICK O. FAIRFAX.

Born 1901.

Became Director in 1927 and Managing Director in 1930.

In many other charitable and philanthropic works Sir James—as he became in 1898—was equally active. He was closely identified with the Ragged Schools and the Mission to Seamen; he was one of the founders of the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital, with whose work he was actively associated up to the time of his death; and it was largely through his influence that the Royal Naval House was instituted. For many years he was one of its Trustees, and all his life he took an active interest in the welfare of the men who go down to the sea in ships. His love of the sea induced him to become a yachtsman, and this in turn and in time brought to him the Commodoreship of the Royal Sydney Yacht Squadron. He raced his own boat and won on numerous occasions. Yachting circles will ever remember in particular his fine yacht, "Magic," with which he won twenty-three races out of seventy-three starts. Nor was yachting the only sport with which he was intimately associated. He was for a term President of the Royal Sydney Golf Club and for many years was actively interested in volunteering and rifle-shooting. He helped with others to form the Volunteer Rifles in the 'sixties, and was himself captain of a company in the Sydney Battalion. He also assisted in the formation of the National Rifle Association, of which he was for some time a Vice-President.

Sir James, with his wife and some of his children, found time to travel extensively, and visited not only practically every country in Europe, but the principal countries of every other continent. His varied interests and keen powers of observation, together with extensive reading, combined to make his general knowledge of world affairs positively encyclopædic; a fact which must necessarily have contributed to the *HERALD's* breadth of outlook.

Sir James's interest in the arts was also both keen and catholic. Gradually, by study and by observation in his visits to the Galleries of Europe, he acquired a cultivated taste in painting, and became recognised long before his death as a connoisseur whose taste and judgment might be relied upon. In his later years he put this knowledge to good use. With the idea of fostering correct draughtsmanship, which he held to be the sure basis of all pictorial art, he offered valuable prizes for pencil-drawing competition at the National Art Gallery—of which institution again, he was one of the original promoters and of whose Trustees he was, later on, successfully Vice-President and President. When the Royal Art Society was founded, Sir James showed his sympathy with its aims by donating what is known as the "Fairfax Prize" for proficiency in black and white. His gifts to the National Gallery, too, were extensive and valuable. Amongst the more notable were a collection of classic casts from the antique for the use of students, the splendid cast of "Ghiberti's Gates of the Baptistery at Florence," which has ever since been one of the most treasured objects of the Gallery; a valuable collection of war medals and coins, a facsimile of the Bayeux Tapestry, and a number of Sevres vases. Finally, of the sister art of music, Sir James was an equally devoted admirer. When the Royal Philharmonic Society was founded in 1884, he accepted the office of Vice-President and assisted in the consultations of its committee for sixteen years. He was also similarly associated with the Sydney Amateur Orchestral Society, and was one of the guarantors who enabled the Sydney Symphony Orchestra to be instituted and carried on.

The knighthood with which his Sovereign honoured him in 1898 was therefore bestowed as the reward of no one particular service, but of many. It was at once a recognition of the man and of his profession. For James Reading Fairfax in 1898 not only had been for many years at the head of the greatest and oldest paper in Australia, but was himself the doyen of Australian journalism. His many beneficent activities also carried their claim, while his status as a citizen clinched them. But, after all, it is Sir James's association with the *HERALD* that naturally bulks largest in the story of his life. He and

his paper are inseparable in a review of this kind, as, indeed, they were in actual fact. The HERALD had been made a tradition in the State by his father, and that tradition he worthily maintained. He *was* the HERALD, the captain of the ship, the man behind the gun. His relations with his employees were always admirable; for, even as reliability was the keynote of his paper, so did his staff know it to be the keynote of his own character. The HERALD Benefit Society had been founded by his father in 1856 for the advantage of the staff, and during the whole of his life he took a keen interest in the Society's affairs. Towards the latter period of his life Sir James largely entrusted the direct management of the HERALD to his sons; but never, until his last few days, did his interest in and supervision of the paper slacken. He died, at the great age of eighty-four, after a brief illness, on the 28th March, 1919; and at his passing it is no exaggeration, but the literal truth, to say that the whole State mourned. So long a life, and one so filled with varied interests, and so closely associated with the advancement of those among whom it had been passed, could not come to its close without inflicting a real sense of loss upon the whole community. Tributes innumerable, testifying to that loss and to the respect in which Sir James was held, were received by his widow and his sons, while press and pulpit united their eloquence in his memory. It is impossible to quote even a fraction of these tributes; they came from far and near, from every quarter of Australia and beyond it. It must suffice to quote an extract from the London *Times* of April 1st, 1919:

"The death last Friday, at Sydney, in his 85th year, of Sir James Fairfax, removes a notable figure in Australian life and ends one of the most remarkable careers in journalism. Sir James Fairfax was for many years the head of the great newspaper proprietary of John Fairfax & Sons, and the senior proprietor of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD and THE SYDNEY MAIL. . . . James Reading Fairfax joined the staff of the HERALD in 1851 as an apprentice, and worked both at the case and at one of the hand-printing machines of that date. His own share in the work of the HERALD office was a continuously active one until quite recently, when ill-health, though it failed to diminish his interest in the daily issue of the journal, counselled his retirement from his accustomed active service on it. His career covered thus a period of 68 years. For 63 years of that period he was a proprietor, and while his close personal touch with all the improvements of newspaper production on its technical side assured to the HERALD a first-rate equipment of modern machinery and appliances, the high ideals which distinguished his personal life were the chief contributing causes of the fine tone and the high journalistic standard generally of the paper. Its reputation in those regards is widespread. Sir James was ever careful to maintain for it that reputation. His social activities also deserve a word. He was a man who exercised himself in many good works and had a large share in the philanthropic activities of his time and place." . . .

As to his relations with his employees, it is best to let one who held for many years a responsible position upon the staff of the HERALD and who afterwards became the editor of the MAIL, one who was thus necessarily brought into the closest daily association with Sir James, speak in his own words. Dr. F. W. Ward, to-day the honoured doyen of Australian journalism, first entered the profession he was to adorn through the junior ranks of the HERALD staff. A little while ago he penned some recollections of those days, and naturally he had much to say about his old chief:

"We," he writes, "in my days in the office, knew the proprietors by their Christian names—'Mr. James' and 'Mr. Edward.' My work did not bring me into contact much with 'Mr. Edward.' Obviously he held the respect of all the working staffs. But I should be unfaithful to the obligation which presses upon me if I did not pay a sincere tribute to 'Mr. James.' It was to him that I had chiefly to look for proprietorial direction and to account for the blunders of inexperience. To me he was a wise and sympathetic counsellor. He did not talk 'down' to the members of his staff who consulted him. There seemed to be on his part an unconscious, but very real and not unwarranted assumption, that you shared his view of journalistic influence. He seemed to be always appealing to what was best in you. His shy, modest, gentle personality pervaded the office. He watched all that went on around him, but never 'worried' the men, who, to the best of their ability, served the firm faithfully. Perhaps the aim that moved him most profoundly was the

maintenance of Australia's fidelity to England. His long holidays were often or always spent in the island-home of our race. . . . He keenly felt the responsibility of so directing the *HERALD's* influence that it would always be associated with the British Flag in this country. I do not fear that he will ever be forgotten; I hope that he will never be unheeded. So serene a character; so conscientious an administrator, so kindly a heart, should be prized as one of the traditions of the *HERALD*. Such a tradition is something that ownership of itself could not create." . . .

No one loved more to tell of the old days he remembered so well than Sir James Fairfax. None loved old Sydney better; and he possessed a fund of knowledge concerning it equalled by few. He was, indeed, as has been said, "a distinct link between the early days of colonial settlement and the present day," and his recollections of the early days and of the growth of the city he loved and served so well, were of intense interest and of great historical value. On June 25th, 1918, Sir James contributed a paper to the proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society on some "Recollections of Old Sydney." In concluding his paper he wrote:

"And now I have done. Presently I shall go down again to Dawes Point and stand and look upon Sydney Cove and gaze from east to west on the waters of Port Jackson—the waters that Phillip sailed upon, and in which he cast anchor 130 years ago; the Cove, on the shores of which the British Flag was first broken to the breeze, proclaiming the birth of a new world of commerce and one of the brightest diadems in the Crown of our Empire. And what a busy scene I shall gaze upon—of ocean and coastal steamships, ferry boats and lighters and all sorts of craft, speaking to us of the richness of our commerce and the wonderful productivity of our soil! Then I shall turn and look upon the great city that has grown up here—upon the splendid modern buildings all around us and the foreshore and heights of the northern Sydney, stretching almost from Middle Head till lost in the western distance; upon the river beyond; and here and there upon some old-time building, some historical memorial, which speaks to us of the beginning of things in this land and the labours and forethought of our fathers! It has been a pleasant task (and I trust not an unprofitable one) to go digging, as it were, in these fields of the past. . . . We look back fifty or sixty, or perhaps seventy years, and see the small things from which our city and State and Commonwealth have grown—and it is wonderful! We see Sydney as it is to-day; and take, I hope, a just pride in it; but there are some of us who sometimes long, just a little, for the things of the past." . . .

Nine months after writing these words, Sir James was laid to rest in South Head Cemetery, the spot which, of all the many vantage points around the Harbour, commands, perhaps, the noblest view of the great panorama he so graphically described. It was, indeed, as the compiler of the annual report of the *HERALD* Benefit Society for 1919, in a feeling reference to Sir James's death, appropriately said: "a fitting resting place for one who took such interest in everything Australian."

All classes of society were represented at Sir James's funeral, as they had been at that of his father, and all sects combined to testify their respect to his memory. Although a member of the Congregational Church, Sir James had ever been catholic in his sympathies; and the fact was not forgotten at the hour of his passing. The majority of the city churches of every denomination paid tribute to his life and character, the rector of St. James' Church—one of the oldest in the land, its foundation stone having been laid by Macquarie in 1819—selecting for his address the appropriate text: "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" And so passed the worthy son of a great father.

Sir James had married in 1857, Lucy Armstrong, grand-daughter of the first white woman settler born in Australia. This "pioneer" was born in 1789 to a certain Sergeant and Mrs. Small, who arrived in the first fleet; she afterwards married one Francis Oakes, a missionary on the L.M.S. "Duff," which arrived in the South Pacific in 1797. Their daughter married John Armstrong, who came out as surveyor to the Australian Agricultural Company in 1825. Mrs. Oakes died in 1883, at the great age of 93. Surely

there can have been few to whom it has been granted to witness such amazing changes in their native land as Mrs. Oakes—*née* Small—was privileged to see!

Sir James Fairfax was the father of six sons, three of whom entered the firm of John Fairfax and Sons. These three were Charles Burton, born in 1859, Geoffrey Evan, born in 1861, and James Oswald, born in 1863. Charles Burton Fairfax was educated at Mr. Southey's private school at Mittagong, a well-known establishment in those days, and admitted to the *HERALD* proprietary in 1888. In January, 1904, he retired from the firm and left Sydney for London, where he has since resided. A man of warm and ready sympathies, but by nature reserved and even shy, he has followed public affairs with interest but taken little part in them. During his long residence in England, however, he has played no small part in advancing Australian interests whenever the opportunity occurred to do so. His only son, Captain J. Griffyth Fairfax, entered the House of Commons in 1924 as Conservative Member for Norwich, but lost the seat by a narrow margin to the Labour Candidate in the General Elections of 1929.

Geoffrey Evan Fairfax, Sir James's second son, received his education at the Sydney Grammar School and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he graduated. Subsequently admitted to the Inner Temple he was called to the English Bar in 1886; but returned to Australia shortly afterwards and entered the firm of John Fairfax & Sons in 1889. From that day to within a few weeks of his death, he was continuously associated with the conduct of the *HERALD*, becoming, on the death of his father in 1919, the Chairman of Directors of the Company which, since 1916, controls its interests. In his earlier years, when the *HERALD* organisation was smaller and less complex, Geoffrey performed the duties which are now those of the Chief of the Reporting Staff—sometimes called News Editor. In the year 1920 he was appointed Chairman of the Australian Delegation to the Second Imperial Press Conference, held in Canada, and received from the University of Toronto the Honorary Degree of LL.D. in recognition of his services in that capacity. Keenly interested in every institution, without regard for sect or party, so long as it was established for public benefit, he accepted positions upon the boards of management of many of them. Among the more notable of these institutions may be mentioned the Sydney Sailors' Home, the New South Wales Bush Nursing Association, the Navy League, the Royal Naval House, the Carrington Convalescent Home, the Boys' Brigade and the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital. In commercial affairs his activities were equally vigorous. He was for many years a Director of the United Insurance Company and of the Australian Gaslight Company, and he served on the local Directorate of the Union Steamship Company of New Zealand. Golf, lawn tennis and motoring were his principal recreations; and, in his younger days an ardent follower of the sport of yachting, he was, even in his later years, an enthusiastic member of the Royal Sydney Yacht Squadron. Mr. Geoffrey E. Fairfax became a widower in 1926, his wife having died in that year while visiting with him the South of France. It should not be forgotten that the close association of his brother James with the Empire Press Union and the latter's long service on the Executive of the Red Cross—matters to which more particular reference will be made presently—imposed a greater burden on Geoffrey as regards internal *HERALD* matters. This burden he carried in the unobtrusive way that was characteristic of him.

Early in the year 1930 his health, which had not been good for some time, became a matter for grave anxiety; and in March he was reluctantly compelled to give up his duties at the office. He rapidly declined after this date; and, on the 27th April, he died at Sydney, in his 69th year. His genial personality, combined with an innate modesty, had made for him a host of friends, while his great and varied capabilities were univers-

ally recognised. The news of his death was received with general regret, and the expressions of that regret were as numerous as they were sincere. His long association with the leading journal of Australia, his devotion to benevolent and philanthropic work, his many acts of unostentatious kindness—all these were remembered now and brought from every side their appropriate tribute. Perhaps of these tributes the one he would have appreciated most was that which was expressed by Mr. T. R. Bavin, the Premier of the State. "His public service," wrote Mr. Bavin, "in maintaining, as one of the Directors, the great traditions of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, has earned for him the lasting gratitude of his fellow-citizens." For the HERALD was, literally, Mr. Geoffrey Fairfax's life. He regarded it as a great public trust, an institution whose high reputation it was at once his duty and his pride to preserve. And to know that in the estimation of the world he had faithfully carried out the task allotted to him—there could have been no greater reward for him than that. He was ever popular with the Staff of the HERALD, and the courtesy and sympathy he displayed in his association with every member of it with whom he came in contact, from the highest to the lowest, were proverbial. The esteem with which he was generally regarded was strikingly manifested in the attendance at his funeral. The assemblage was a beautiful tribute to his memory; and it is safe to say that, apart from his relatives and intimate friends, no one mourned his passing more than that large section of the assemblage which was composed of the members of the various staffs—literary, clerical and mechanical—of the journal of which he had been the head.

The life of James Oswald Fairfax, the youngest of the three brothers admitted to the firm, ran, for the greater portion of their joint careers (and except for the fact that during his early days in the office, he was attached to the staff of THE ECHO, an evening paper published by the firm from 1875 to 1893) on lines curiously parallel with those of his brother Geoffrey. Only slightly the junior, James went with Geoffrey to the Grammar School and accompanied him to Balliol and to the Inner Temple. The brothers were called together to the Bar, returned to Australia in company, and were admitted to the firm of John Fairfax & Sons on the same day in 1889. Moreover, both married daughters of the one father, the late Captain Hixson, R.N., and both associated themselves, with similar unostentation to that which marked the good works of their father and grandfather, with the affairs of numberless charitable and philanthropic organisations. To complete the remarkable similarity of their careers, it may be added that, just as Geoffrey was the Chairman of the Australian Delegation to the Second Imperial Press Conference, so was James the Chairman of the similar delegation to the Third. This was held in Australia in 1925, and, partly because of this association, but still more largely because of his splendid services to the Red Cross, James Oswald Fairfax, already honoured by being a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1918, was created a Knight Commander of the same Order in 1926. Shortly afterwards, in congratulating him upon this recognition of his services by his Sovereign, the staff of John Fairfax & Sons Ltd. presented him with his portrait, painted by Sir John Longstaff, the well-known Australian artist. Sir James, as he had thus become, died suddenly upon the links of the Royal Sydney Golf Club at Rose Bay, on the afternoon of the 18th July, 1928, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His loss was mourned by the whole community, even as had been that of his forbears; and when he was laid to rest beside his father in the Cemetery at South Head, the large attendance at the funeral bore silent but striking testimony to the esteem in which he had been held. His sudden passing had come as a shock to the whole community, and the remembrance of his lifetime of service, and his many kindly acts, were strong in the hearts of those who stood

beside his grave that day. Over one thousand persons were present at the ceremony, and the spontaneity of the tribute thus tendered to his memory was all the more impressive, all the more remarkable, in view of the fact that the news of his death was not generally received until a very short time before the funeral took place. Representatives of the Federal and State Governors, the Federal and State Governments, and the Federal and State judiciaries were there; and the remainder of the gathering was comprised partly of a small army of employees and partly by members of practically every other section of the community. A short preliminary service had been held at the house; and at the hour appointed for its conclusion and the departure of the funeral cortege for the cemetery, the boys of the Sydney Grammar School stood to attention for two minutes and then, with School dismissed for the day, dispersed in silence. At the same hour the carillonist of the Sydney University tolled the great "Red Cross" bell which Sir James had presented to the carillon, and then followed this eminently appropriate tribute with the searching strains of Chopin's Funeral March. Canon Langley conducted the service at the graveside, and in the course of his address he summed the character and influence of James Oswald Fairfax in these most fitting words:

"He did everything so quietly, so graciously, so unobtrusively; he was so genial and warm, that he had the effect of helping one—and he helped many—to lift up one's head and proceed. That is a great quality of life. He had such qualities as made association with him a privilege, and daily contact with him an inspiration. . . . To me he was one who, all the time, in whatever difficulty, whatever dismay

Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph;
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.'

That was Sir James as I knew him, and as those who are gathered here to-day, well knew him, too."

No truer, no more appropriate, tribute could have been uttered.

Sir James was one of the Australian Delegates to the First Imperial Press Conference, which was held in London in 1909. At that Conference the Empire Press Union came into being, sections being formed in the various dominions and colonies. He was the first Chairman of the Australian Section of the Union, occupying the position until 1920, when he was succeeded in it by his brother Geoffrey. Again appointed to the Chairmanship in 1925, he retained it until his death.

One of the earliest members of the Red Cross Executive in New South Wales, Sir James was Chairman of the State Division of the Society throughout the greater portion of the war period. For over five years he devoted himself untiringly to the work of the Society, and it may be said that if any one institution held a warmer corner in his heart than others, it was this. But the Boys' Brigade was little behind it in his affections, or in the extent of his service. He was a regular attendant at the various Branches of this Organisation, and held for many years its Chairmanship. Like his brother Geoffrey, he was also closely associated with the work of the Carrington Convalescent Home and of the Australasian Trained Nurses' Association. He was ever warmly interested in the welfare of his old school and, until within a few weeks of his death, he was President of the Association of its Old Boys, known as the Old Sydneians' Union.

His commercial activities were many and included a Directorship of the Perpetual Trustee Company, and of the United Insurance Company. He was also for some years a Director of the Australian Mutual Provident Society; and in this connection it is interesting to note that three generations of the Fairfax family in direct descent have thus been associated with the direction of this great institution. In the realm of sport Sir James was mainly interested in yachting, golf and motoring. He was in his early days

a member of the crew of his father's famous yacht "Magic," and later on was himself the owner of a number of well-remembered craft. Soon after the introduction of motor cars in Australia, Sir James took up the sport, and his interest in it remained with him until his death. He was a life member of the Royal Automobile Club of Australia and participated in several of the reliability contests which it promoted.

It was in 1916 that the firm of John Fairfax & Sons was turned into a Limited Company. This change in style, however, did not in any way alter the character of the HERALD or of the firm. The two brothers were associated with their father as Directors, the other Shareholders being Miss Mary Fairfax, Mr. John Hubert Fairfax and Dr. E. Wilfred Fairfax (the daughter and sons of Sir James Reading Fairfax); Lady Fairfax, his wife; and Mrs. Geoffrey E., and Mrs. James Oswald (now Lady) Fairfax.

Sir James—the second—was survived by his widow and one son, Warwick Oswald, born in December, 1901. This son, representing the fourth generation of the family to be associated in the proprietorship of the HERALD, received his preliminary education at the Geelong Grammar School and Sydney University; and then, following the example of his father, proceeded to Balliol College, Oxford. Here he took a Degree in the School of Philosophy, Politics and Economics, with second-class honours; and, returning to Australia, entered the office of the HERALD in September, 1925. He contributed extensively to the columns of the HERALD and MAIL on literary and political matters, until he became a Director of the firm of John Fairfax & Sons Ltd., in 1927. With the death in succession of the three other Directors—Sir James Oswald Fairfax in 1928, Mr. W. G. Conley (General Manager) in 1929, and Mr. Geoffrey Evan Fairfax in 1930, the responsibility of the control has necessarily devolved upon him; and after the last named event he became Chairman of Directors. In 1928, he married the only daughter of David Wilson, Esq., barrister, of Sydney, and has one daughter. In the year 1929, also, Dr. E. Wilfred Fairfax became a Director. Dr. Fairfax's eldest son, John F. Fairfax, who was educated at Geelong Grammar School and at Pembroke College, Oxford, joined the staff of the HERALD in 1928.

This, then, is the history of the Fairfax proprietorship of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD. Begun in 1841, it has existed without a break for ninety years—one of the longest continuous terms of single-family control of a great newspaper in the records of journalism.

SECTION IV.

THE "HERALD" IN ITS YOUTH

1841-1850

PART I.

DURING the ten years of life which the *HERALD* could now proudly claim, Sydney and the Colony had steadily progressed in almost every material way. The population of New South Wales (which still included the Port Phillip district, with its principal settlement at Melbourne) had increased to nearly 37,000. Its imports had increased during the decade, by 518 per cent., to over two and a half million pounds, while its exports showed the even more amazing growth of 1,257 per cent., to a total of a little over two million pounds in the same period. These figures, and most of the other information summarised here, have been taken from a series of leading articles published in the *HERALD* in March and April of 1841, soon after its new proprietors had entered into possession. Regular communication by sea was carried on between Sydney and the coastal settlements northward as far as Port Stephens, Port Macquarie and even Moreton Bay, and southward as far as Port Phillip and Van Diemen's Land, as well as New Zealand, which at this time was still a dependency of New South Wales—although during the course of this very year separation was to be effected. Public conveyances transported passengers about the rough and tortuous streets of Sydney; coaches carried them as far as Bathurst to the West and Yass to the south, and a regular postage system was maintained. Eight Banks and thirteen other public companies carried on business in Sydney, and six newspapers were published there. The "mercantile marine" of the Colony consisted of some seventy sailing ships, of which about half were engaged in the whaling trade, while eleven vessels propelled by steam plied on Sydney Harbour or its adjacent coasts. The Port Phillip district had become a settled area and Melbourne was beginning to grow into a respectable township; indeed, in 1841 it possessed between 5,000 and 6,000 citizens. Geelong, also, had become a settlement of considerable importance. Agitation for the separation of the district into a new colony was already in the air and was to grow very shortly into one of the main questions of the day, the main protagonists in which were Dr. Lang in support and the *HERALD* in opposition. An overland mail was established between Sydney and Melbourne in December, 1837, and, travelling *via* Campbelltown, and Yass, and thereafter crossing the Hume, the Ovens and the Goulburn Rivers (by swimming where necessary) the mailman—a young man named James Conway Bourke—completed the journey in fourteen days. It is noteworthy to remember, too, in this connection that it was shortly after this feat of postal pioneering that the Colony of New South Wales established itself for all time securely in the hearts of philatelists by issuing the first postage stamp the world had ever seen. James Raymond, our first Postmaster-General, conceived in 1839 "the idea of having a stamp on a sheet of writing paper, which would be allowed to go through the post." The stamp was not an adhesive one, but was embossed on folded sheets, the impress showing on three folds. The system continued in vogue for nearly twelve years before the adhesive stamps came locally into



SIR THOMAS BRISBANE,
1821-1825.



LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR R. DARLING,
1825-1831.



SIR RICHARD BOURKE,
1831-1837.



SIR GEORGE GIPPS,
1838-1846.

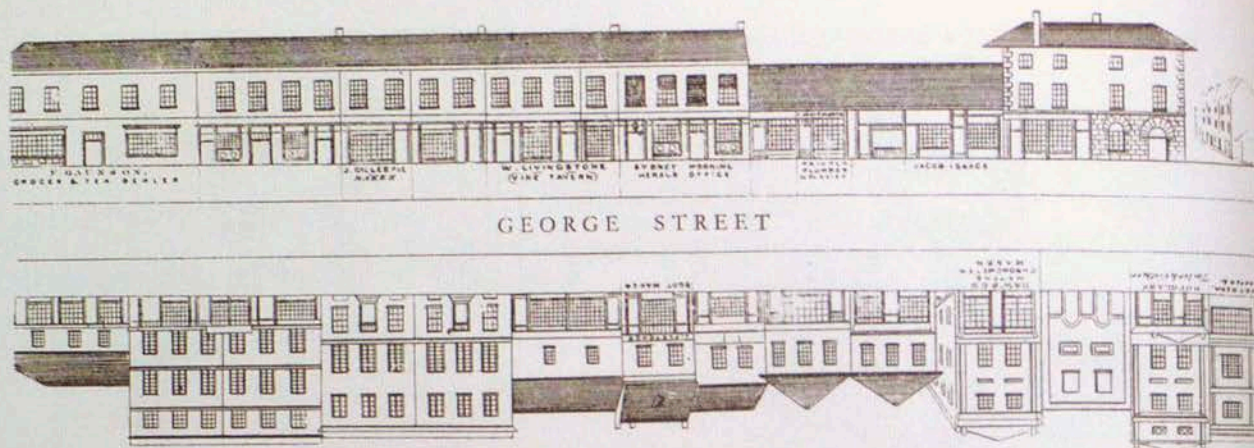


SIR CHARLES FITZROY,
1846-1855.



SIR WILLIAM DENISON,
1855-1861.

*The Six Governors of New South Wales
who succeeded Macquarie.*



The Herald's original office was in Redman's Court, George Street. It moved, successively, to King Street; to George Street, on the western side; and then to the row of buildings pictured above, Queen's Place (now Dalley Street) being indicated on the right. Here the Herald was published till 1856 when the Hunter Street office was built.



CHARLES KEMP.

Associated with John Fairfax in the purchase of the Herald and a partner till 1853, when he retired.



REV. RALPH MANSFIELD.

One of the chief editorial writers till the appointment of the first official editor, Rev. John West.

force and drove the more primitive method into oblivion; but the latter had been in use for two years before the introduction of any system of postage stamps into any other country in the world. This great and useful innovation, curiously enough, receives only the scantiest attention at the hands of the *HERALD*.

Bourke's regime had also proved displeasing to the *HERALD* and for very much the same reason as that which was to cause it to look with disfavour upon that of his successor. The *HERALD*, although not supporting the exclusionists with any particular goodwill, certainly favoured them more than the emancipists, to whom Bourke, following the lead of his great predecessor, Macquarie, had shown himself to be distinctly favourable. The *HERALD*, in common with the exclusionists, attributed the main troubles of the Colony (and in particular, its grievous criminal records) to the affection with which it alleged that convicts were regarded by the emancipists. Also, the *HERALD* joined with the exclusionists in objecting to ex-convicts being allowed to sit upon juries. But the main policy of the paper was neither emancipist nor exclusionist: it had constituted itself by this time the organ of the free immigrants; and it devoted itself for many years to advocating their claims and to assisting their needs in every way. Complementary to this advocacy—and indeed almost a corollary to it—were the paper's insistent appeals for the termination of the disgraceful system of transportation, by which the Colony had been maintained for so many years as a rubbish tip for the criminal refuse of Great Britain. In this plank of its platform the *HERALD* never wavered. Through thick and thin, through good report and ill, year in and year out, it fought for the abolition of transportation to Australia, and would listen to no argument which tended to approve any continuation of, or which tried to find any benefit in, that black and most debasing system. On this point, strangely enough, as it might appear to anyone not appreciating the whole circuit of the situation, the *HERALD* met with considerable opposition on the part of many of the exclusionists. The explanation lies in the fact that many of the latter were squatters—or land holders in a large way—and that convict labour being plentiful and, under the assigned-servant arrangement, most pleasantly cheap, they were very disinclined to part with a system which conferred so considerable a benefit upon them. What they objected to as exclusionists, was not the presence of the convicts themselves, but that these convicts should have any rights. As beasts of burden, as hewers of wood and drawers of water, they filled a most admirable place in the social scheme; but that they should ever be permitted to recover their status as ordinary human beings was unthinkable. This was a distinction that the *HERALD* could neither comprehend nor admit. The emancipists, for their part, were naturally anxious that there should be no further continuation of a system which kept them reminded of their own origins and experiences, to say nothing of the injury to their material and social status to which such reminders usually led. So that, altogether, the policy of "abolition" was a thoroughly popular one, the only objectors being that section of the exclusionists to whom we have referred and for whom, at one time, the great Wentworth was, strangely enough, the principal spokesman and representative. Finally, so far as political questions were concerned, the *HERALD* was a staunch and continual advocate for constitutional reform, in which advocacy it spoke for practically every section of the community. A few "die-hards" still held out for the non-representational system, which gave the Governor and his Council the whole conduct of affairs, subject only to the mandates of Downing Street; but, on the whole, the community was at one in its demand for self-government; and the demand, at the date at which we have now arrived, was just upon the point of receiving some small recognition. Not much, it is true; but still something. A sop to Cerberus proverbially allays that monster's ravings;

and the proverb being known to the "Whiggish" rulers of Great Britain, they had decided to find out if what applied to the infernal regions might not also apply to New South Wales.

Bourke, then, had gone—resigning in protest against the Home Authorities' refusal to support his suspension of a local official—and Gipps reigned in his stead. His occupancy of the gubernatorial chair proved to be even more unpopular than that of his predecessors; although there is no doubt whatever that he was both an able and a conscientious officer. But he had to represent an unpopular Home Government at a time when the dispute as to that Government's rights and methods of control was at its fiercest, and when a thousand other matters, each of them a thorn, pressed greatly for that ameliorative treatment which, even if he had so desired, he had no power to give.

Socially, in many ways, as we have seen, conditions in the Colony had greatly improved. But in many ways, too, they were dismally far from what they should have been. The evils of "the System" still made themselves manifest everywhere; debauchery of all kinds was rampant and crimes of violence of daily occurrence. Public executions, with all their debasing effects, and at which sometimes as many as half a dozen unfortunate wretches were strangled as a spectacle designed *pour encourager les autres*, were still the vogue. To read the accounts of them in those old issues of the *HERALD* is to realise how desperately low was then the conception of public morality and the standard of our common humanity. There are literally scores of these accounts which could be quoted; but one or two brief extracts must suffice. They give a picture of the "good old days" that might well impress the most confirmed *laudator temporis acti* with at least some reasonable respect for the virtues of these latter days which he so consistently reviles. The vicinity of Gaol or Gallows Hill was thronged on the occasion of these dreadful spectacles, by a crowd whose morbid and debased desires were catered for by the authorities in a truly wholesale fashion; and here we give some illustration of what they saw—and went, alas, with awful eagerness, to see:

(November 13, 1834: Execution of Jenkins and Tattersdale for the murder of Dr. Wardell. . . .) The neighbourhood of the gaol was crowded to a degree greater than on any similar occasion. . . . Jenkins ascended the ladder with the greatest expedition, and on arriving at the scaffold went over to one of the ropes suspended from the fatal beam and struck it in a playful manner. The dreadful preliminaries being adjusted, Jenkins addressed the felons in the yard. [NOTE: The convicts in gaol at the time of an execution were invariably lined up in the vicinity of the scaffold so that they might have an uninterrupted view of the proceedings and thereby be influenced to lead a better life in future—if they ever got a chance to do so, poor wretches!] "Good-bye; my lads," he said, "I have not time to say much to you. I acknowledge I shot the Doctor, but it was not for gain. It was for the sake of my fellow prisoners, because he was a tyrant. I have one thing to recommend you as a friend. If any of you take to the bush, shoot every tyrant you come across, and there are several now in the yard who ought to be served so." . . . The clergyman having retired and the arrangements being complete, the platform fell, and the world closed on one of the most ruthless assassins that ever infested the Colony. The case of these convicts shows in a striking point of view the absolute necessity for an unrelaxing system of restraint upon the convict population.

One may very well doubt the truth of the *HERALD*'s final moral reflection; but one may not doubt at all the truth of another reflection which the paper does not make; and that is the absolute futility—and worse than futility—of such spectacles as a means of reducing crime. Nothing, one may well suppose, could be more inducive of deeds of blood and horror than the last words of this "hero" to his unhappy fellows, nor anything more likely to force murder upon them than the knowledge that so many lesser crimes were punishable with the same dreadful and ignominious penalty.

(May 14th, 1835.) On Monday morning last, at the usual time and place [NOTE: The italics are our own] the wretched man, Patrick Kilmartin, convicted on the preceding Friday of the murder

of James Hamilton, suffered death pursuant to his sentence. A great concourse of persons assembled to witness the awful spectacle, with a view to ascertain from the mouth of the culprit in his last moments, anticipating he would make a confession of the motive which induced him to commit the dreadful crime. . . . The culprit made no confession. He met his fate with a firmness bordering on recklessness, and persisted to the last in declaring his innocence. . . .

There was a break in the succession of these dreadful "entertainments" during the first few months of 1841; but this was more than compensated for by the public execution, on the 16th March, of six men convicted of bushranging, during the course of which they had in company committed at least one murder. As this sextuple hanging is almost synchronous with the date of the transference of the *HERALD* to its new proprietors, a short quotation from the issue of the 17th March may very fitly bring the series of extracts upon this gruesome subject to an end. Thus, then, runs the chronicle:

The gang of ruffians recently convicted in the Supreme Court of bushranging and murder, and who, for several months previously had infested the Hunter's River district (even extending their depredations to Brisbane Water) paid the forfeit of their lives on the scaffold at the rear of Sydney Gaol, yesterday. The malefactors were all transported felons from the Mother Country. . . . The notoriety which the crimes of these men has attained drew together a large concourse of spectators to witness their execution. The entrance to the Gaol in George Street was besieged for admission long before the arrival at nine o'clock of a strong military guard from the barracks, and so great was the pressure that it required the unremitting exertions of Captain Innes to preserve order. At ten minutes past nine the culprits were strongly pinioned and conducted from the cells to the area in front of the drop, where they knelt down. . . . The ropes were speedily adjusted, and the white caps drawn over the faces of the wretched criminals. In the short interval which elapsed before the withdrawal of the fatal bolt, they were engaged in loud and apparently fervent prayer, and we observed the culprit Davis (who was attired in a suit of mourning) thank the Jewish minister for the attention paid him in his last moments. The struggles of the men were of short duration; the immense crowd dispersed peaceably. . . .

It required the poignant and indignant pen of Charles Dickens to rouse the authorities of England sufficiently to put a period to these insufferable spectacles; and we know from him and other writers of what callous exhibitions of license and inhumanity they were the inevitable cause. Many years were to elapse before they ceased in Sydney, but further reference to them is neither necessary nor desirable. Their morbid details have been set out here only because of a desire to show, from actual incident, the social conditions of the era which the new proprietors of the *HERALD* were called upon to chronicle.

But they have a further value in that they serve to throw considerable light upon another matter, which, both by its direct effect upon the colonists and its indirect effect upon the reputation of the Colony, worked incalculable evil. This was the terrible prevalence of bushranging, and its accompanying horrors. Readers of "For The Term of His Natural Life," or of that more recent and even more realistic book, "The Adventures of Ralph Rashleigh," will need no reminding of the frightful atrocities which were the common accompaniments to the lives of these desperadoes—men who were, in every sense, beyond the pale. They were, almost invariably, escaped convicts, whose crimes had already placed them outside the hope of any social recovery—even if the vindictive penal system of the place and time had permitted it—and, knowing themselves thus beyond redemption, they called to mind the proverb that it were as good to be hanged for a sheep as a lamb, and acted on it. Ranging through the sparsely-settled and little-known vastnesses of the country immediately outside the environs of the city and the few towns of the nearer interior, they everywhere spread terror by their enormities. They mingled with the aborigines, and not only incited them to cruel and lustful deeds in emulation of their own, but by their outrages against them, inspired in them a dread-

ful spirit of revenge against the white people generally, whose representatives the natives naturally took them to be. As a final result, not only were the rapes and robberies and murders of the bushrangers themselves a source of dreadful apprehension to the outlying settlers, but, by the antagonism they incited among the blacks, a spirit of mutual hatred and suspicion was created which was hard to allay and easy to inflame into rash and cruel reprisals.

Nearly every number of the *HERALD* of this time contains some reference to the maleficent activities of the bushrangers, ranging from horse-stealing to murders the most foul. Numbers of leading articles upon the subject appear, and in every case the occasion is taken to point out the fact that escaped convicts were the culprits, and to draw the inevitable conclusion that the evil system of transportation was at the root of the whole trouble. It is true that on 23rd November, 1839, Governor Gipps had been able, to the immense satisfaction of the *HERALD* and the majority of the colonists, to announce to the Legislative Council that by a despatch dated 11th May of that year, Her Majesty's Government had decided that no more convicts were to be sent to New South Wales; and that in 1840 a British Order-in-Council further decreed that Van Diemen's Land—or Tasmania as it came to be called in 1853—and Norfolk Island should be the only convict settlements in Australia. But even in Tasmania and Norfolk Island the convicts were both a potential danger and a direct reproach to the Colony on the mainland; while the abolitionists believed on very good grounds that the Home Government might easily change its mind, and that a certain section of the local community was dissatisfied with the withdrawal of the boon of free labour which transportation gave them and would work determinedly for its restoration. How well justified was this belief was proved when in the middle 'forties Gladstone endeavoured to revive the odious system, and was actually supported by a select committee of the local Legislative Council; and when in 1849 only a desperate resolution and a distinct opposition to the action of the Home Government prevented the landing of a large "consignment" of undesirable human cargo in Sydney Cove. It was not, indeed, until 1853 that the taint of transportation was removed entirely from the eastern shores of Australia, nor until 1868 that, with its cessation in Western Australia, the whole continent became "free." With the lessening of the convict population and the increase of free immigration the bushrangers were gradually eliminated; but for many and many a year sporadic outbursts recalled their base activities in the years to which we now refer.

With regard to the other main questions which had been agitating the colony since the birth of the *HERALD*, the fight for trial by jury had been won, military juries having been abolished in 1839 and all crimes and offences being now triable by a jury of twelve citizens without restriction. The attention of the *HERALD* was therefore mainly centred upon the advocacy of immigration and the obtaining of a larger method of constitutional freedom.

But the major difficulty of the new proprietors was not to decide upon the policy of the paper, but upon how they were to carry the paper on at all. They had taken on a large monetary risk, and the financial conditions of the colony sank, almost immediately after they had engaged upon their venture, to so low an ebb that only the shrewdest management and the closest attention to every department of the paper's activities could enable them to weather the storm. The debates in the Legislative Council, too, at this time having become so important and of so much interest, it was necessary to engage the services of specialists to report them, an additional expense which did not help the embarrassment of the proprietors. It was a case of the survival of the fittest;

and eventually the *HERALD* proved its superior fitness by surviving, while its rivals, in turn, were laid low. The business tact and practical experience of John Fairfax were of the very greatest value in winning the victory, and it was not long before these attributes of his were called upon to prove themselves. One of the first things Fairfax did was to re-organise the various mechanical and managerial departments of the office, a task which took some time but which he effectively accomplished. The attention of his partner was centred upon the literary side, but Fairfax was the man who really controlled the management of the paper. Both the partners had to work early and late, and it is clear that they imposed upon themselves duties more laborious and more constant than they asked for from any of their staff.

One of the first changes made by Fairfax was the removal of those "gentlemen of education" whose presence in the office had caused so much resentment among the regular compositors. In regard to the niceties of the trade he was exceedingly conservative; and having himself served a regular apprenticeship, he was as jealous of the rights and claims of the compositors as they could be themselves. Although the state of the trade just then made the step a very serious one, he induced his partner to agree to the dismissal of these irregular employees; and they left the composing room accordingly. One was provided for in the advertising office, another returned to his former occupation, and through the good offices of the firm the remainder were provided with employment elsewhere. The rule of the trade thereafter was never departed from; every compositor subsequently engaged by the *HERALD* having either to produce his indentures or to provide some other equally satisfactory evidence of his having been apprenticed. The new arrangement worked smoothly from the start, so smoothly indeed that on March 3rd, 1841, less than a month after the new firm had started operations, the *HERALD* was able to produce the very first of its "special editions"—in addition to its ordinary one, of course—informing the public of the outbreak and course of a great fire which broke out in the stores of Messrs. Hughes and Hosking, in Sussex Street, and did immense damage before it was finally got under control.

Two changes in the conduct of the literary side of the paper which become noticeable almost immediately after the advent of the new proprietors, are the extension of the reports of the proceedings of the Legislative Council which, from this date, become more and more voluminous, developing at times into almost verbatim reports of the longest debates; and the attitude of the *HERALD* towards the blacks. The vulgar "Police Intelligence" column had been dropped some time before, but it was not until now that anything good could be found to say about the unfortunate aborigines, whose treatment by many of the settlers—and, of course, the bushrangers—continued to be outrageous.

As evidence of this change, a few extracts from the issues of the early part of 1841 may appropriately be given here.

The first occurs in the leading article of the issue of the 10th February—that is to say, just two days after the paper had changed hands. The article discusses the theory put forward by the more extravagant of the supporters of the claims of the aborigines that the latter had paramount rights over the lands and products of the Australian continent. The writer controverts this theory and then adds this remarkable sentence—remarkable as evidencing the paper's change of heart:

It would be cruel inhumanity not to pity, and to do all we can to benefit and protect the blacks; but this is a thing altogether different from the baseless assumption—the visionary theory of their paramount rights, grouped on pre-occupancy.

On the 16th March, 1841, the *HERALD* publishes an extract from a Geelong paper giving an account of the imprisonment and ill-treatment by the Port Phillip authorities

of an aboriginal named Mumbowran. They had kept this unhappy man in solitary confinement for seventeen days on bread and water, without any specific charge being preferred against him, although it was alleged on apparently very good grounds that he had engaged with his fellow-tribesmen in punishing with death another aboriginal who had attempted to murder a white shepherd. The Geelong paper said:

"He has been 'protected' with a vengeance. The pitiful cries of the poor wretch often disturb the neighbourhood . . . He is one of the best-looking aborigines we have seen; young, well-formed, neat-limbed, and of great strength. His behaviour has been such as to draw pity from the constable; and when he raves about his 'pickaninny Maria' (his child a few months old), his tears are quite touching, and hardened must he be who would be ashamed to sympathise with him . . . The manner in which he was taken is sufficient to stamp disgrace upon the Protectorate . . . Mumbowran was rewarded and 'gammoned' to carry a parcel to the watch-house, where he was entrapped! Should this account be substantiated, and we have every reason to believe that it will, we have no hesitation in giving our opinion that the conduct of the black was not only blameless but praiseworthy . . . The laws relating to the blacks are sufficiently bad, without being aggravated by gross maladministration."

That the HERALD should go to the pains of extracting this paragraph from a contemporary at all would have been a sufficiently reliable proof of its altered outlook. But it did more than quote the extract; it based a leading article upon it, under the caption of "Rights of the Aborigines"; and from this we quote in turn a few most pregnant and significant sentences:

We . . . hold that the blacks have an indefeasible right to follow their own customs, and be governed by their own laws, so long as these do not infringe on the great principles of international law, applicable to all people and all nations. . . .

We most cordially agree with our contemporary. If any protector really acted in the way mentioned, the whipping-post or the treadmill would be too mild a punishment for his crime; for crime it undoubtedly was, and ought to be severely punished. . . .

We look upon this as by far the most outrageous violation of all law and all justice which has recently occurred respecting the poor blacks.

It is almost impossible to imagine a stronger proof than this of the change that had come over the attitude of the HERALD and, synchronising as it does with the change of proprietorship, it provides also clear proof of the reason for that change.

Before finally leaving this subject of the treatment of the aborigines in these early days of our history, it will be well to quote one other reference to it, which the HERALD published some eighteen months after its transference to Kemp and Fairfax. It takes the form of a letter "to the editors" from a Clarence River correspondent signing himself "C.O.," and it appears in the issue of the 8th July, 1842. It is a long letter, but it displays so uncommon a humanity in the writer, that no apology is needed for its insertion here almost in full. After relating how, after much exploration, he had come in sight of a blacks' camp, "C.O." continues thus:

Instantly setting spurs to our horses, we galloped across the creek into the camp; we found it untenanted, however, except by a woman with an infant at the breast, and a child apparently about four or five years old. On our approach they fled up the mountain, the woman carrying her child astride upon her neck. As we neared them they cried out in great fear, and upon our coming close, the woman took the infant from her shoulders and, clasping it to her bosom, threw herself upon her knees and bowed her face to the ground, thus concealing and protecting her little one with her body; the other child crouched at her side, and hid its face in the grass. They now uttered no sound, but their long-drawn respirations showed that they were in great terror. I dismounted, and, taking the child by the shoulders, raised her face from the ground, but she set up such a terrible squalling that I let go again, when she dropped quite stiff and stark into her former position and was again silent. I sat down there then, and, having some knowledge of their language, which I gained from a young boy named Pundoon, who was taken in one of the

before-mentioned encounters, and who has since remained with me, I addressed the woman, telling her not to fear, as we had no hostile intentions, and would not harm her, etc., etc. After a time she lifted her head and, looking steadfastly at me for a little while, resumed her former position, but she seemed to have been reassured by the scrutiny, for she presently raised herself and began to speak. She first asked if we were hostile or angry, and, being again assured that we were not, she said that she was afraid of the horses, and asked if they would not bite her. We told her that they were harmless, and lived upon grass; upon which she seemed to lose all fear and became quite chatty, answering all our questions, and saying a great deal more than we could understand. We learned from her that the men were hunting upon the surrounding mountains, and after a great deal of shouting and calling, in which the lady joined (though not until she made me repeat several times that I was not an enemy), we heard an answering shout from a hilltop; all was then silent for some time, and, as we felt assured that the blacks were reconnoitring, we concealed our only gun in the grass, and, assuming as unwarlike an appearance as possible, we sat down upon the ground beside our horses. We had not remained long thus, when we were roused by a sudden shout upon the mountain side, and as we got upon our feet, two men, armed, but perfectly naked, came into view over the shoulder of the hill, about one hundred and fifty yards above us. One of them, a large, finely-proportioned man, immediately stood forward, and, waving one arm in the direction of the river, in a most undaunted and uncompromising manner, told us to be gone. I called out to him that our intentions were friendly, that we were unarmed, and that I wanted to speak with him; but he talked so loudly himself that he could not hear me. He also spoke so rapidly that I could but partially understand what he said, which was, however, something to this effect: "Begone! begone! and take away your horses; why do you come hither amongst the mountains to disturb us? Return to your houses in the valley, you have the river and the open country and you ought to be content, and leave the mountains to the black people. Go back; keep the plains, and leave us the hills. Go, go; begone!" With a great deal more in the same strain. Having at length induced him to attend, I advanced some distance towards him, and after again assuring him that my intentions were not hostile, and calling upon him to observe that I was not armed, I said: "Lay down your weapons and approach me." He regarded me for a moment, and then, with great deliberation, threw from him his spears and his boomerang, and came forward a few paces, retaining his parrial (or wallaby stick) in his hand. I told him to put that down also, and he did so with some reluctance, but would not consent to come any lower down the hill. I therefore slowly ascended towards him, keeping a steady watch upon his movements. As I approached, he seemed uneasy and went behind a tree, but, as if ashamed of this, he soon stood out again. By this time I was near enough to distinguish his features, and, feeling satisfied from his bold and open expression that he might be trusted, I walked straight up to him and took him by the hand. He asked, "Are we friends?" and I again assured him that we had none but friendly intentions towards him. He appeared much delighted at finding me speaking his own language and soon became quite at his ease. His companion, who had till this time remained some distance in the rear, now threw down his weapons and joined us. They, however, still showed great fear of the horses and would on no account consent to their being brought near; my brother, therefore, fastened them to a tree and came up the hill, carrying in his hand a tomahawk which we had brought with us, and which we presented to our tall friend, whose name we found to be Toolbillibam; he was overjoyed at the gift and leaped and shouted with delight. We were now upon the best terms possible, and Toolbillibam began to shout loudly for the rest of his tribe, who, we saw, were upon the surrounding mountains, to come in and see us. I now asked him if he knew anything of Pundoon. At hearing the name, his countenance brightened, and, with great earnestness of manner, he told me that he was the boy's second father, or uncle, and that the father was at hand amongst his companions, to bring whom to me he now redoubled his shouting. In a short time five of them made their appearance, running along the mountain side towards us. He called out to them, telling them how matters stood, and they instantly threw their weapons out of their hands. He pointed out one of them as Pundoon's father, calling him by his name of Pundoonban. The old fellow, upon Toolbillibam calling out to him that he had news of his son, came running down, with outstretched arms, and coming first up to my brother gave him the full benefit of a most literally sweet embrace, as the old gentleman had evidently dined upon honey, and, for want of a spoon, had used his fingers, besides having smeared his face and beard a good deal more than was pleasant. He asked many questions about his son, much more quickly than they could be answered, and upon learning that he lived in a house and ate

bread and wore clothes like ourselves, and that we would soon bring him back to the river and that he should see him, the old fellow's joy was unbounded. Having by this time eight or nine of the blacks about us we told them to sit down in a row and made them a regular harangue.

We said that we had made war upon them because they had killed white people, but that now our anger was gone and that we wished to live in peace with them; that we wanted nothing in their country but the grass, and would leave them their kangaroos, their opossums, and their fish. Toolbillibam here interposed, to know if we would not leave them their honey also. We assured him that it was quite at his service, and that he might make himself perfectly easy about rats, bandicoots, grubs and all other small game. All this appeared extremely satisfactory to our audience. We told them that if they would not rob or injure our people, nor kill our sheep, that no person would harm them; but, on the contrary, would give them bread when they came to the stations; and we promised that if they conducted themselves peaceably for a time, that we would give each of them a tomahawk. We pointed out to them the direction of all our stations and told them when they visited them, not to sneak from tree to tree, but to walk up openly and call out to give notice of their approach, and put their weapons out of their hands—all this they promised to attend to. The sun was now sinking; therefore, after distributing amongst them our pocket knives, our handkerchiefs, and such articles of our dress as we could spare, we told them we must go. They all rose and accompanied us to the camp, which lay in our route. Toolbillibam walked before and with much care parted the long grass with his hands and cleared away all obstacles from our path.

Before parting with our wild-looking friends, we remained a few moments to examine their household goods and utensils which were in the camp. Hanging near each fire was a large bag, about the size of a two-bushel sack, very ingeniously fabricated of grass or rushes woven together, which appeared to contain all their property. Some spears were piled against the trees, and clubs, boomerangs and shields were scattered about. Of opossum cloaks they appear to have a very scanty supply, as I saw none but very old and well worn ones; but as a kind of substitute they had large bunches of the skins of flying squirrels' tails tied together, which they used as a covering at night. The blacks appeared uneasy at our taking so much notice of their valuables; we, therefore, having in vain attempted to persuade some of them to accompany us home, took our leave. Toolbillibam, who was evidently the head of his tribe, again preceded us, clearing our path as before until he had conducted us as far from his camp as was consistent with his notions of politeness. None of these people could speak or understand a word of English, and some had possibly never seen a white man before.

The only apology I can offer for occupying so large a portion of your valuable space, is that, without entering into the details, I could not have attained the object I had in view, namely, to show the very placable disposition and unvengeful spirit of these people, and to convince those who are in the habit of looking upon them as little better than wild beasts, that they are mistaken.

The contributors to the editorial columns of the *HERALD* had much to occupy their attention during this year. We have referred to some of their main topics, but in addition to those already mentioned, their pens were concerned with the incorporation of Sydney, which was shortly to be accomplished, the question of the importation of coolie labour, educational reforms, and the War which had broken out between Great Britain and China. Considerable local anxiety was occasioned by this quarrel, not because of any affection for the Chinese, nor because of any doubt on the part of the *HERALD* or of the Australian community as to the merits of the British cause; but because it was feared that the war would create "complications with France which might terminate in hostilities between that country and England." The discussion of this possibility and the course of action that should be adopted if the possibility should turn to actual fact, led to a passage of arms between the *HERALD* and *The Sydney Gazette*. The latter advocated the fitting out of privateers in the Pacific, a proposal which the *HERALD* opposed with considerable warmth, and for a while the rival strategists fought out their battles with almost the vigour of actual combatants. The *HERALD* had a short "leader" on the subject which reads amusingly enough to-day, but which was doubtless received

at the time with all seriousness. It occurs in the issue of the 12th February, 1841, and runs as follows:

ACTIVE PREPARATIONS FOR WAR IN PORT JACKSON.

Lest some chance French frigate or letter of marque should, in the event of war, think fit to pay us a sort of Paul Jones visit in Sydney, our active and spirited officers have already made preparations for giving them a warm reception, such as they may little expect. Our two grand points of defence, Bradley's Head and Pinchgut Island, will be, within a short time, very strongly fortified, under the talented superintendence of Lieutenant-Colonel Barney, and will command the entrance to Sydney.

Last week, we observed the Government launch actively employed in taking a number of heavy guns to the battery at Bradley's Head, sufficient to blow out of the water the largest ship of the line that may attempt to force a passage.

The fortifications at Pinchgut, also, we are informed, will be ready in a few days to receive a similar supply of heavy guns.

This looks, indeed, both warlike and businesslike.

The picnicker who eats his sandwiches to-day upon the sward of Bradley's Head Reserve may view those gun emplacements at his leisure; and may perchance add pleasure to his inspection by the remembrance of this militant and oddly complacent "leader" of 1841.

The practice of dealing with the more important topics of the day in "To-be-continued" leading articles was resorted to by the *HERALD* on many occasions about this time. Sometimes these curious "serials" ran to as many as half-a-dozen numbered articles; and one of them—dealing with the "Science of Agriculture and Horticulture" in seven "chapters" and the grand manner—represent what was evidently, as we have already said, so far as the *HERALD* was concerned, the swan-song of Professor Rennie. Another serial entitled "The Care and Cultivation of Poultry," which unfortunately petered out before its interesting plot was properly developed—was almost certainly from the same pen; while an informative collection of leaders on the Progress of the Colony during the past decade were the work of the Reverend Ralph Mansfield. This gentleman also contributed a series of articles upon the financial position, which must have been of as great a value and interest to the businessman of those days as they are to the historian of these.

It was in this year, too, that gas as an illuminant was first made available to the residents of Sydney. This was a matter which had been "in the air" for many years. Indeed, so far back as 1826, it had been under consideration; but it was not until 1833 that any definite step was taken. The Rev. Ralph Mansfield was in this, as in so many other matters, the moving spirit. He founded the Australian Gaslight Company some three years after; and a little later still, with the assistance of Sir George Gipps, although not himself a member, he was successful in inducing the Legislative Council to pass the necessary statutory authority for the establishment of the company. The *HERALD* was at first far from enthusiastic over the proposed innovation. On the 1st January, 1834, it reports that "there is some talk of a gaslight company being attempted for the purpose of lighting the shops in George Street as an experiment," and then proceeds to throw a little cold water on the scheme in the following fashion:

"This principal street has already in most parts more light than any other, and there is no well-founded reason for bestowing on it all the favours of invention and usefulness . . . We think that the scheme, like others, may prove chimerical."

It is permissible, perhaps, to offer the comment upon this expression of opinion that at this time the *HERALD* office was *not* in George Street. It did not remove from King Street until nearly a month later. However, in 1836, it was still doubtful about the

whole affair. On 17th February of that year, referring to the prospectus of the Gas Company, it says that there seems to be "a sort of mania for the formation of companies," and then with ponderous humour expresses the desire that the promoters of this particular company will not "burn their fingers." But three months later it begins, if we may adopt its own methods of comment, "to see light." On 26th May, 1836, it "perceives that the projected Gas Company is progressing," and adds with a propitiatory pat upon the back, "there can be little doubt of it having a vast public benefit, as well as of remuneration to its shareholders."

A curious sidelight is thrown upon the whole project by an advertisement which appears in the issue of the 17th November, 1836. It is headed "Grand Scientific Exhibition" and announces that "a lecture will be delivered in the saloon of the Royal Hotel, George Street, on the Nature and Properties of Gas," that "the saloon will be lighted with gas for the occasion," and that "a working model of the apparatus used in the distillation will be exhibited." Tickets were available for this peculiar entertainment at the price of five shillings each!

It was not until the 24th May, 1841, however, that the great change actually occurred. On the evening of that day the city was illuminated for the first time by the new method. The subsequent report of the Directors of the company to their shareholders thus referred to the event:

"The complete success which attended the display of gas, being, as the directors believe, the first instance, on a large scale, ever witnessed in the Southern Hemisphere, was such as to afford a very good earnest of the future prosperity of your undertaking."

That this report was not unduly enthusiastic may be gathered from the wording of the *HERALD*'s leader of the day following the event:

"We have at length the pleasure of congratulating our fellow townsmen upon the actual commencement of that longlooked for improvement in their concerns—the application of gas as an agent of light. Australia is the first country, and Sydney the first city, in the Asiatic world—and indeed in the Southern Hemisphere—into which this beautiful art . . . has been introduced. We are proud of the honour, and may reasonably boast of it as at once creditable to our taste and public spirit, and indicative of our growing prosperity. Little more than twenty years have elapsed since gas-lights were first introduced into the leading provincial towns of England, and not more than five and twenty since they were brought into general use in London itself. And now they have reached the Antipodes! In these ends of the earth—in this country of half a century's growth, until yesterday a by-word of reproach throughout Europe—this exquisite production of science has found a people who can both appreciate its value and supply the means of providing for its costly apparatus."

The *HERALD* did not confine itself to a mere verbal appreciation of gaslight; it paid the new illuminant the practical compliment of having it installed almost at once throughout the office. An interesting reference to this event occurs in the memorandum of his *HERALD* experiences, written by the late F. C. Brewer, who was then a young member of the staff, with which he was connected in many capacities for over 50 years:

"It was a memorable day—or rather night—when the offices of the *HERALD* were first lit up with gas. This may, to those who are not printers, seem a small matter. To the printer—especially the compositor—it meant a great deal; something more than a better light for his work. The old printer's candlestick—a tin tube let into a tin box about an inch and a quarter square and fitted with a bar to keep it from toppling over—with the "clip" candle, disappeared for ever. And with them went the snuffers—always in the way—and the streams of grease that frequently ran down into the boxes of the "lower case," causing delay and vexation to the compositor and loss of time to his employer. It requires a man to experience the change to completely appreciate it. A little calculation will show the loss of time. Each man was provided with two candles, with which he worked, say, six hours. The snuffing operation had to be performed twelve times on

each pair of candles, a task which would occupy at least fifteen seconds. That is three minutes. There were about thirty pairs of candles lit each night; and the loss of time therefore totals about one hour and a half a night, or nine hours per week. It isn't much, certainly—but run through the year, at the wages then paid of 8/- per day, and it tots up to something over £13 a year in lost time. . . .”

In February, 1842, the first anniversary of the acquisition of the proprietorship of the *HERALD* by Messrs. Kemp and Fairfax was celebrated by a “Wayzegoose.” The function was held in the lower store of the auction rooms of Messrs. Foss and Lloyd, a building which was situated in lower George Street, almost immediately opposite the office of the paper. All the staff of the *HERALD*—with the exception of those few members of it whose presence at the office was imperative—to the number of about 100 persons, gathered to the feast, Charles Kemp presiding at one of the two long tables and John Fairfax at the other. Many toasts were proposed, the healths of the proprietors and “Success to the *HERALD*” being drunk with particular demonstrations of approval; and the usual speeches were made. No report of these orations has been handed down; but from Mr. Brewer’s memorandum it is clear that one sentence at least of the short speech delivered by John Fairfax was remembered as appropriate both to the man and to the occasion:

“In the relations between employer and employed,” he said, “there should always exist a true feeling of reciprocity. The one expects, and is entitled to receive, fair wages for his work; the other expects, and is entitled to receive, fair work for fair wages. These are the principles on which our firm intends to proceed.” And history shows how well the intention was carried into effect.

On the 1st August, 1842, there occurred an event which may well be regarded as a milestone in the history of the *HERALD*. For on that day it added the word “Morning” to its title and assumed the full name by which it has ever since been known—*THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*. Moreover, it again increased its size, adding a column to its width and some two inches to its length, although its charges, both to subscribers and to advertisers, remained as before. The leading article commenting on these changes is written with a complacency that is surely justifiable; and after some introductory references to the paper’s growth, it continues thus:

“This step could not have been taken at a more suitable juncture. The colony is on the eve of great social and political changes—changes which will call for redoubled vigilance, alacrity, and zeal on the part of the Press. Even the debates of the Legislative Council, cramped as that is by the smallness of its numbers and the defects of its constitution, have pressed heavily upon our space, for we have taken especial pains to report fully and promptly. In a few months, however, our reporting duties will become incomparably more onerous. The proceedings under our Metropolitan Corporation Act, including the busy movements of the municipal elections, and the stated discussions in the City Council, will demand our closest observation as critics, and our most vigorous exertions as reporters. Then, again, will come the more important and stirring events of our new Legislative Constitution. The speeches and doings in the election contests, the oratorical exploits of the House of Assembly, the reports of its committees, and the publication of its final enactments, will all levy new exactions upon our reporting and criticising columns. For it is our determination to spare neither labour nor expense in providing for our readers the amplest details of all the proceedings of our Municipal and Legislative bodies. To however late an hour in the day, or night, those proceedings may extend, it will be with us a point of ambition to lay them fully before our readers on the following morning.

“And may we venture to add that the circumstances of so young a community supporting a daily paper, equal in size to the London morning journals, and not much inferior to some of them in point of circulation, is an honourable indication of its wealth, its intelligence, and its public spirit? For a patronage so generous, for a distinction so proud, be it ours to give good practical evidence of corresponding gratitude. If anxious thoughts, unremitting toil and liberal outlay can afford such evidence, assuredly they shall not be wanting.

In conclusion the article modestly expresses its aim, "not only to maintain the high character which the HERALD has for the last few years been so fortunate as to acquire, but to raise it to as eminent a position in the Southern World as that held by *The Times* in the Northern."

The Act incorporating Sydney as a City came into force in 1842; and towards the end of the year the municipal elections—the first public election of any kind to be held in the colony—created intense interest throughout the whole community. The HERALD naturally had a great deal to say about the matter, and for weeks the advertisement pages were full of lengthily-signed requisitions to "fit and proper persons" to allow themselves to be nominated, and of gracious acceptances on the part of the latter. The HERALD published a series of leaders impressing upon the electors the necessity for returning as Councillors only those candidates who were men of education and good morals, and also printed *in extenso* the lists of voters for each ward, as compiled by the official collectors. These lists make most interesting reading to-day, and it appears from them that the total number of citizens of Sydney entitled to vote was 3,265.

The election was held on the 1st November, 1842, and despite the careful promptings of the HERALD, the result was regarded by it as peculiarly unsatisfactory. As the leading article of the following day put it very straightly: "The evil consequences of the low franchise is apparent in the great number of uneducated men who have been elected. This is much to be regretted." However, it still had hopes. The method prescribed by the Act necessitated the new Councillors electing in their turn "out of their own body or from persons qualified to be Councillors" six fit and proper persons to be Aldermen of the City. The paper suggested that the Councillors should "promote the welfare of the city" by electing as Aldermen six intelligent, respectable men outside their own number. To quote the exact words of the leading article: "If they persist in choosing the Mayor and Aldermen from their own number, instead of exercising the power given to them by the Act to call to their assistance *six of the more respectable of the citizens*"—the italics are our own—"they will receive . . . the contempt of their fellow citizens." This delicately conveyed hint was entirely ineffective, and as might well have been expected, the twenty-four Councillors handsomely approved of their own fitness by selecting six of their own number as aldermen, and one of those six—John Hosking, Esq., Merchant and Government Contractor—for the Mayoral Chair. Upon this action the HERALD, more in sorrow than in anger, philosophically commented on the morrow in these words:

"As the Council were determined to persist in their suicidal course . . . as they were resolved not to sacrifice the opportunity of self-aggrandisement, although there cannot be one of them who is not of the opinion that they would have materially benefited the City by so doing, we think that they have made the best choice of Aldermen that the limited number of persons they had to choose from would admit. . . .

"Now that the elections are ended and the Council is ready to commence putting the Act into operation, we hope that any ill feeling which has been excited during the contest will be allowed to subside, and that all will be forgiven and forgotten. In their first act the Council have disappointed the public; we shall be glad to find that their future acts gain that confidence which at present they do not possess."

The next great event with which the story of the HERALD is inseparably woven, is the granting of the first instalment of that system of self-government for which the paper had so long and so ardently fought. And it is with his leadership of this fight that the great name of Wentworth is imperishably associated. In 1816 he had returned to London to study law, and while so doing had interested himself so greatly in the constitutional problems of his native land that he was constrained to publish, in May, 1819, his

well-known "Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales." Therein he advocated the introduction of free political institutions in the Colony, the removal of economic barriers between it and the Homeland, and the promotion of immigration on a large scale. The book acquired an instant popularity, and from that time forth it may be said that the general recognition of Wentworth's leadership of the campaign for political freedom in New South Wales began. In 1824 he returned to Sydney and, with Dr. Wardell, established *The Australian*. In 1827, 1830, and again in 1833, Wentworth was associated with a petition to the Home Government for the establishment of a popular assembly in the Colony; and in 1835, in conjunction with Dr. William Bland (who acted as secretary to the movement) he founded the Australian Patriotic Association, for the purpose of pressing the claims of responsible local government.

This Dr. Bland had been a surgeon in the Navy, but, having participated in a duel in the East Indies, in which he fatally wounded his opponent, he had been sentenced to seven years' transportation to New South Wales. Arriving in Sydney in 1814, he was almost at once granted a free pardon. Thereafter he practised his profession, became a friend of Wentworth, and was associated with him in the fight for political freedom.

The HERALD, as we know, enthusiastically supported the aims of the Association, and when Wentworth and Bland drew up and submitted to the Home Government a Bill for the effectuation of those aims, the paper encouraged them in every way. It may be added here that, although Wentworth's first draft was not approved, a second one, amended in certain important particulars, was accepted by the authorities and formed the basis of the Constitution Act of 1842 which was now to come into force.

But although the success of the Association's aims was thus largely due to Wentworth and Bland, the final factor in that success was supplied by the famous report of Lord Durham upon the political affairs of Canada, presented to the House of Commons in February, 1839. Canada had been in a state of ferment for some years prior to that date. The Colony was divided into two provinces, each having its own particular form of government, but neither having that complete self-government which it desired. In 1837 rebellions broke out in both provinces, each separately led, but each having for its aim the institution of popular government, though in very different forms. Lord Durham was sent out by the British Government as Governor of the Colony, with instructions to report on its political affairs generally. This he did, and his report advocated the union of the two provinces and the granting of full self-government to a united Canada. These recommendations were adopted by the Home Authorities and, although it took some years to effect them, the fact that Canada had been granted the very right that Australia had fought for so long and so vainly, was largely instrumental in assisting Wentworth and his Association to their ultimate victory. The text of the Durham report became known in Australia by the middle of 1839, and the HERALD published a summary of it—extracted from the columns of *The Colonial Gazette*—on the 17th July, without comment. But five days later it based a short leading article on the Report and its application to local conditions. This article ran as follows:

In the course of his "Report" on the affairs of Canada, Lord Durham stated the Revenue of Lower Canada to amount to £100,000—of which £60,000 is expended. This fact we consider worthy the notice of the Colonists of New South Wales. The question of taxation, in Lower Canada, was the alleged primary grievance which led to the late outbreak in that Province. Now, the people of Lower Canada possess a House of Representatives—they enjoy the privilege of taxing themselves; yet they break out in open insurrection upon the subject of the appropriation of this sum of £100,000. But if the Canadians were justified in acting as they have done in this matter—if they, having a House of Assembly and the right of taxing themselves, were justified

in taking up arms in order to insist upon a further control over their revenue of £100,000, what is the character of the treatment of which the Colonists of New South Wales have to complain? Their annual revenue amounts to nearly £400,000; and yet *they* have no House of Assembly—no control at all over the taxes. If a people possessing the privilege of taxing themselves, and whose revenue amounts to only about one-fourth of the revenue of this Colony, were justified in their rebellious proceeding, what course ought the colonists of New South Wales to pursue, who, as we have stated, possess no Representative Assembly—no control whatever over their revenue? That is a question for the learned. The facts stated, however, are of great and manifest importance. The contrast which they furnish as to the relative political state of two British Colonies is worthy the earnest consideration of the settlers of New South Wales, and ought to induce them to use every legitimate exertion to obtain a just and reasonable control over the immense amount of annual revenue which is raised from them.

On several subsequent occasions, the Durham Report was to be referred to in HERALD editorials, and one of the most important of these we will have occasion presently to quote at length.

Although the Bill “to make further provisions for the Government of New South Wales”—as it was described on its introduction in May, 1842, by Lord Stanley, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Peel Ministry—was not officially received by the Governor, Sir George Gipps, until the 1st January, 1843, and did not come into force until the 5th of that month, its provisions were known to the HERALD and published three months prior to that date. On the 7th October, 1842, the paper announced that the Bill had been introduced into the British Parliament, and on the following day its leading article shortly surveyed the measure whose proposed clauses it also published in full. On the 11th October it devoted a lengthy article to a detailed consideration of “The New Legislature,” and from thenceforward the matter was kept continually under review. It may be added here that the reports of the proceedings of the Legislative Council, which had been for some time increasing in volume and importance, were from this time forward so voluminous (running frequently to as much as sixteen columns, or two whole pages of the paper) and so reliable that for many years they virtually constituted the “Hansard” of the Colony and were quoted and referred to, both inside and outside the Legislature, as completely authoritative. And the same may be said of the HERALD law reports of this period, which, even to-day, are cited by the bar and accepted by the Bench.

It will be remembered, from the short constitutional summary given in the first section of this history, that the Old Council, now *in articulo mortis*, consisted, under the Act of 1828, of seven official members (holding membership purely by virtue of their status as officers of the Crown), seven non-official members, all nominees of the Governor, and the Governor himself as President. By the provisions of the new Act, the Legislature was still to be limited to one Chamber, to be called, as before, the Legislative Council. It was to consist at first of thirty-six members, of whom twenty-four were to be elected on a public franchise, and twelve were to be nominated. Not more than six of the latter, however, could hold Crown offices, and the Governor’s Presidency was abolished, although he could still submit measures for consideration. The expiring Council was to define the new electorates, subject to the provision that the Port Phillip district was to return four members, Melbourne one member and Sydney two. The qualification of an elector was property to the value of £200, or the occupation of a house of the value of £20 at the least. No man could be elected as a member who was not possessed of at least £2,000, or an income of £100 per annum. The New Council was to be elected for a term of five years, and the writs were to be issued within twelve months of the proclamation of the Act in the Colony. That proclamation was to be made by the Governor within six weeks after his official receipt of the measure, and thereupon the

Act would come into force. The New Council was to have the power to add to its numbers, subject to the proviso that the original proportion between the elected and nominated members was retained. The Council was given power to make laws for the peace, welfare and good government of the Colony, provided always that no such law should be repugnant to the law of England, or interfere in any manner with the sale or other appropriation of the lands belonging to the Crown, or with the revenue thence arising. It was debarred from originating money bills, that power still remaining exclusively in the Governor. That functionary could also, as before, initiate other measures, and was given the "royal prerogative" of the veto. A civil list to what the *HERALD* termed the "enormous amount" of £81,600, was reserved for the payment of the salaries of the Governor, the Judiciary and certain other officials, and for the expenses of the administration of justice and of the civil and religious establishments. The Governor by letters patent was authorised to incorporate the inhabitants of Counties and form district Councils for the local government of the different parts of the Colony. Provision was made for the formation of new Colonies "to the northward of Moreton Bay," but no territory south of the 26th degree of latitude was to be detached from the Colony.

These were the main provisions of the new measure; and we may now proceed to consider how the *HERALD* dealt with this, the most important matter which had yet come within its survey.

To this end it will be necessary to quote freely from the leading article of 11th October, 1842, which deals, as we have said, with the proposed "New Legislature" very fully. Thus then runs its essential text:

Not reckoning the renewal Bills, this is the third Parliamentary enactment on the civil constitution of New South Wales. The first was in 1823, when the Conservatives were yet Lords of the ascendant; the second was in 1828, under the half Whig, half Tory administration of Huskisson; and the third ought to have been in 1835 or 1836, when the Huskisson Act expired, and when the "liberal and enlightened" Whigs were at the helm of the State. Had these boasted champions of free institutions done their duty, by bringing forward a new Act immediately on the decease of the old one, our third experiment of six or seven years would by this time have been completed, and the Act of 1842 would consequently have been framed under the clear view of our wants and qualifications which so lengthened an experiment could not fail to have supplied. But by their unaccountable procrastination the Whigs have robbed us of at least six years' political education. We are now just where we ought to have been in 1836. The lessons we are about to commence ought to have been this day as familiar to us as six years' study and practice could have made them.

It is remarkable that the Reformed Parliament, now nine years old, should have done nothing for us so long as it remained under the influence of a liberal administration; and that, in the very first session after the return of the Conservatives, who are falsely represented as the enemy of popular rights, Mr. Huskisson's promise, made fourteen years ago, is practically fulfilled. Such are the reasons why New South Wales should love the generous Whigs, and hate the despotic Tories. All things considered, the new Bill is more favourable to our liberties than might have been expected.

A very objectionable feature in the Bill is the low qualification of voters. Twenty pounds a year, in New South Wales, is next door to universal suffrage. As an experiment, the qualification might safely and advantageously have been fixed at least at twice this amount. If found too high, it would have been easy to reduce it; whereas, if the present amount be found too low, to raise it will be scarcely possible. It is not a little singular, that while no convict, nor person holding a conditional pardon will be qualified to vote, there is nothing in the Bill to prevent such individuals from being returned as members. This was doubtless an oversight which will probably be corrected in committee.

The most important provision in this new constitution is, perhaps, the one for establishing legislatures, or District Councils. This part of the Bill is almost, if not quite, identical with the measure brought forward by the Governor in the late session, and which the Council rejected by

a large majority. It is to be regretted that His Excellency should thus, by his over-eagerness to introduce a favourite project of his own, have predisposed the public mind to look suspiciously upon the Parliamentary enactment. Considered abstractedly, this plan of District Municipalities is an excellent one, for it at once relieves the general revenue of charges which of right do not belong to it, and vests in the inhabitants the absolute control of their own local affairs. We only fear that, in the more thinly populated districts, the machine will not "work" well, partly from the population being scattered so widely asunder and partly from the unwillingness or inability of the people to spare the time which their municipal duties consume.

But there is one clause in the Bill which deserves universal reprobation, and which, if not repealed or greatly modified, will render the whole Legislative Constitution a mere mockery. We refer to the 37th Clause, which reserves out of the general revenue, for the civil and judicial service, the enormous sum of £81,600 per annum! We were so astounded when we first saw this frightful reservation that we lost no time in seeking out the Act for the Union of the Canadas, in order to compare the civil list of those old and populous Colonies with that imposed upon this Australian infant. We find that, by that Statute (3 and 4 Victoria, cap. 35), the whole sum reserved to the Crown from the revenue of the United Canadas is only seventy-five thousand pounds, being six thousand six hundred pounds less than the amount exacted from New South Wales! The population of the two Canadas in the year 1836 was about "one million"; the population of New South Wales in the same year was 77,096. The Canadas, therefore, with a population full ten times more numerous than our own, is charged with a less civil list by £6,600 per annum! By the rule of proportion, if the civil list of Canada be £75,000, that of New South Wales ought to be £7,500; instead of which it is £81,600! New South Wales, ever distinguished for its loyalty, is thus more harshly treated than rebel Canada!

The very first act of the new Council ought to be—and we doubt not *will* be—to protest against this scandalous injustice; nor ought the colonists at large ever to rest until Parliament relieve us from this outrageous spoliation.

The final session of the old Council began on the 24th January, 1843. In his opening speech Governor Gipps announced that the Act for the better government of New South Wales had passed the Imperial Parliament and had been proclaimed in the Colony. The Act, he added, directed that all necessary provisions for giving effect to its provisions should be made by the Council, and the passing of a Bill for that purpose would therefore be the last duty which, as members of that Council, they would have to perform. In doing it they would, in fact, bring their own political functions to a close. "Yet," said His Excellency, "it is a subject for congratulation that New South Wales is about to receive a form of Government such as the Imperial Government has judged to be well suited to the station it holds among the British Dependencies, and that the privilege of sending representatives of their own choice to their local Legislature has been conceded to the people of the land."

The Imperial Act was then laid before the Council, and the Bill to provide for the division of the Colony into Electoral Districts thereunder and for the Election of Members to serve in the new Legislative Council having gone through its intermediate stages, was finally passed on 23rd February. The Council then terminated its session and passed into history. To mark the event, the *HERALD* of the following day published what must be one of the shortest leaders in the chronicles of journalism. It said:

"The old Legislative Council of this Colony, a body to which the colonists are deeply indebted, has ceased to exist. In a couple of articles next week we intend to show what were the principal claims which the Council had to the gratitude of the public."

If brevity be the soul of epitaphs, as it is of wit, certainly this one ranks high in virtue. But it can scarcely be called fulsome; and when the promised "couple of articles" appeared during the following week, the statement which they contained of the defunct Council's claims upon the public gratitude was almost equally lacking in the quality of enthusiasm. Indeed, damnation by faint praise has seldom been better attempted. And,

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1849.

"Sworn to no Master, of no Sect am I."

CALIFORNIA.
No. 3.

On the 13th October, the party travelled south over the prairies east of the Sacramento, which are four or five miles wide on this side, and found the soil fertile, except where it approached the upper prairie. The country was pebbly there, like the region on the opposite side of the river. The upper prairie stretched along at an even height, not far from 60 feet above the lower plain. Pebbles occurred occasionally in the lower prairie; being siliceous, they indicated the presence still of the talcose rocks in the mountains. Numerous pebbles of cellular lava also occurred. The alluvial soil was black and rich, and cracked by drying; it was covered by oaks, averaging twenty to the acre. The common species bears spindle-shaped acorns, furnishing food for bears and Indians, the latter pounding them into flour and making them into loaves. Bread of this kind would, perhaps, prove a *dampener* to some of our gallant Sydney adventurers.

The next day, the lower prairie was crossed; it appeared as if liable to floods, and, occasionally, to be under water. The upper prairie was six or eight miles to the eastward; to the west, the plain stretched out to a breadth of eight miles or more beyond the river. The plain here is, therefore, about 16 miles wide. Large herds of antelopes and elk were startled by the travellers, and deer bounded away before them, amongst the scattered and distant oaks. At the encampment, 30 miles north of the Butte, wolves were yelling all through the night.

On the 15th, the party travelled to the Beaver or Butte Creek. A perfectly flat, thinly-grassed, hard-baked clay, formed a portion of a generally good soil. It is probable the winter rains would fertilize it.

South of the encampment, there was seen on the 16th, an isolated collection of summits, the highest of which was 1800 feet. It looked like a detached mountain ridge, broken into peaks and gradually sinking, at each end, into the flat bottom land of the river by gentle slopes of from 5° to 8°. This was the "Sacramento Butte," or the "Three Buttes," which is an extinct volcano.

A flat valley, 300 or 400 yards wide, cuts off the surrounding slope all round the mountains, presenting to the latter a mural precipice.

Thus (representing the slopes by the different summits of letters, in default of other outlines,) the valley is at*

SACRAMENTO BUTTE NEW CALIFORNIA.

The form of the Butte is circular, standing like an island in a vast prairie of mill-pond smoothness; it is everywhere surrounded by the valley, like a ditch, into which are openings from beyond.

The central peaks are steep and rugged, and rise into bold crests at top.

same age as similar rocks in Australia. Some fragments appearing like fossils were found in these rocks, but they were afterwards lost.

The region of the Sacramento is remarkable for the great extent of its alluvial flats. Two hundred miles from its mouth, they are twenty miles wide, and near Sutter's, it is said, the width is from fifty to sixty miles.

At the season when this journey was made, there was no green grass to be seen, except immediately near the water; the whole surface was dry, and the grass remained as hay for the cattle. The rains had not begun. They set in generally in the latter end of November, and occur again at intervals till the end of March. The country about Sutter's is then mostly under water, and the same is the fate of a large part of the bottom-land of the river. A pleasant prospect is here afforded to the passengers by the Victoria; tired of our Australian droughts, Brickfielders, and occasional moderate rains, they will leap up to their middles in mud like so many emigrant tadpoles, on their disembarkation. We wish them joy of their Mackintoshes and galoches, to say nothing of cotton umbrellas.

A marked feature of this region seems to be the terrace between the upper and lower prairie; it is about sixty feet high, but the plain rises from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet above it. Its pebbly features were retained both east and west of the river, and in the mere traces of it on the Sacramento Butte. Since its extinction, therefore, this volcano has been washed by waters sixty feet or more above its present base.

INDIA.

On looking through some Ceylon papers received last week, we notice a General Order from Sir W. R. GILBERT, the officer commanding in the Punjab, which looks as if we were to have a little more fighting. A division consisting of two troops of Horse Artillery, one battery of Foot Artillery, 1st regiment Light Cavalry, the Scinde Irregular Horse, H. M.'s 60th Rifles, H. M.'s 61st, the 31st, and 70th regiments Bengal Infantry, and the 3rd and 19th Bombay Infantry, received orders on the 24th June to be ready to march at a moment's notice. Intelligence from Cabool of a warlike nature was said to be received, and it was supposed that these troops were to be sent to secure the Kybar Pass.

In consequence of the appointment of Sir CHARLES NAPIER as Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir W. COTTON, the Commander of the Forces in Bombay, who is senior to Sir CHARLES, had resigned. It was reported that Sir G. BERNKELY, who commands in Madras, and is also senior to Sir CHARLES, had also resigned, but that was not correct. His EXCELLENCY having simply remonstrated with the home authorities.

The Bank of Benares, a Joint Stock Company, had been defrauded (there is no other word for it) by some of the Directors of thirty lacks of rupees, or £300,000. Colonel PEW, the Managing Director, had absconded. It was supposed that several of the Directors had placed themselves within reach of the

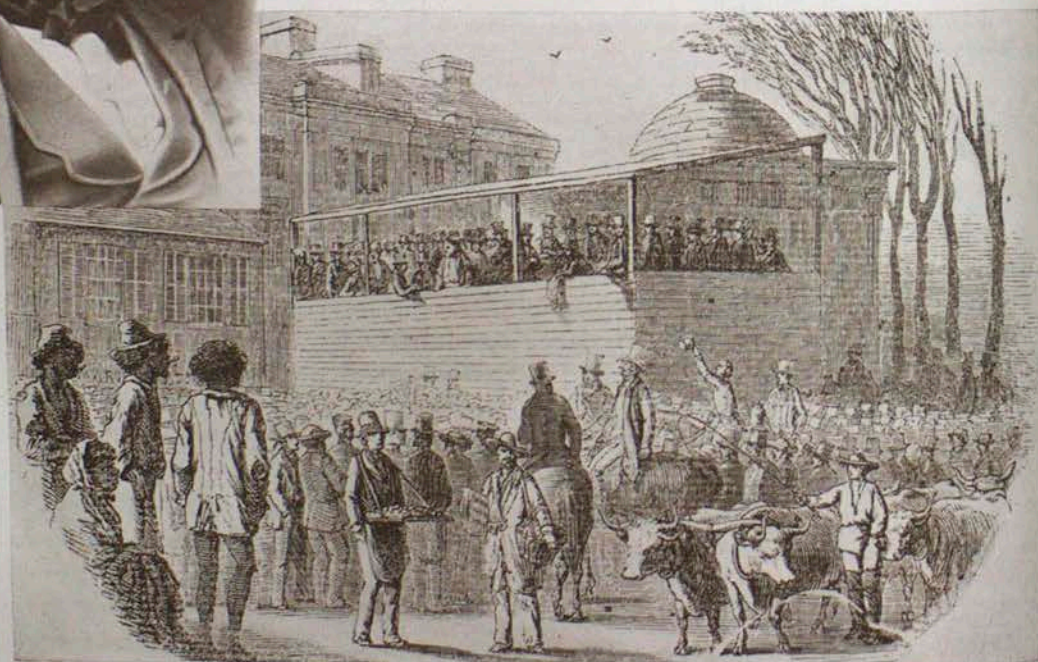
An example of the Herald's occasional practice in the early days, of publishing serial articles in its leading columns, also showing a unique method of illustrating altitudes of a mountain range by means of type of varying sizes.



*Departure of Mr. Wentworth for England
on March 20, 1854, to advocate the Consti-
tution Bill before the Imperial Parliament.*



*W. C. WENTWORTH,
Patriot and Statesman.*



*AN ELECTION SCENE IN THE OLD DAYS.
The hustings on the site of the present park in Macquarie Place,
used for the early elections in Sydney.*

as ever, the paper took care to chastise the Governor with whips and Whiggism with scorpions. The speech of the former closing the proceedings of the old Council was declared to have exhibited "bad taste"; his "sneers" were objected to, and the arguments he used therein were stigmatised as "fallacious and indelicate"; while, as to Whiggism generally, that unhappy policy was comprehensively compared with its opposite principle in the devastating sentence: "The root of conservatism is in contentment; the root of Whiggism is in covetousness!"

The new Constitution having decreed, as has been said, that there should be 24 elective and 12 nominee members in the Council, and the electorates having been duly parcelled out and the writs issued, the most intense excitement prevailed throughout the Colony over the coming elections. The HERALD devoted a very large amount of space to discussing the various questions with which the New Council would be called upon to deal, and to reviewing with exceeding frankness the claims of the various candidates. From the outset it strongly opposed the candidature of any emancipist, or of any person holding a Government appointment. But it did not confine itself to such general objections as these, and in more than one instance its opposition upon the grounds of personal character was very bluntly expressed. The nominations for the city of Sydney were fixed for the 13th June, and for the two seats there were five candidates: Messrs. Wentworth and Bland (who "ran" together), Captain (afterwards Sir) Maurice O'Connell—son of that Lieutenant-General Sir Maurice O'Connell who was at the time Commander of the forces in the Colony, Mr. Hustler (the City Sheriff), and a Mr. Robert Cooper, against whom in particular the HERALD addressed its most scathing fulminations. No less than three leading articles are devoted to attacks upon his character and candidature, attacks which leave nothing to be desired in the way of contumely. He was referred to as "an impudent aspirant," a "hero of gin and water" and "the father of the most abominable of abominations, Colonial Distillation." His speech was said to be compounded of "impudent pretension, vulgar turbulence, ribaldry, clap-trap and humbug" and, in particular, he was denounced as a man who had been "transported for an offence so aggravated that some of his accomplices were capitally convicted." In a final fling on the eve of the elections, the HERALD declared that it was "not against the emancipists as a class, but against Cooper, one of the least educated and most vulgar-minded members of that class." The attack concluded with an assertion that "we should as soon think of tickling a rhinoceros with a feather as making Cooper blush by showing him his moral ugliness."

The HERALD supported Wentworth, but, despite the fact that Bland was a fine stamp of a man in every way and came of a good English family, the paper could not see its way to advocate his claims. Bland was technically an ex-convict, and the "emancipist" stigma still proved too strong for the HERALD's susceptibilities. The paper therefore separated him from Wentworth and advocated the return of the latter, and Captain O'Connell.

The elections duly came on, and Wentworth and Bland were elected for the city of Sydney, the HERALD's favourite, Captain O'Connell, being third on the poll. The HERALD took the result in good part, finding considerable satisfaction in the return of Wentworth, its second string, and still more in the devastating defeat of the abhorred Cooper. Dr. Lang also managed to scrape in for Port Phillip, his figures being the lowest of the five candidates elected for that constituency. Of Captain O'Connell it may be added here that he, also, was subsequently returned to the Council as member for the Port Phillip District, and, later on, removing to Brisbane, was elected to the first Queensland Parliament, became its Speaker and, like his father, received the honour of knighthood, thus

adding a second Sir Maurice Charles O'Connell to the records of Australian history. The last of the writs for the new Council was not returned until July 10th, the first elected member of the new Council being H. H. Macarthur, who was returned for the town of Parramatta unopposed.

The elections in Sydney were accompanied by considerable rioting, and an interesting account of them is given in Mr. Brewer's memorandum. He says:

The nomination took place on Tuesday, June 13th, at the hustings in Macquarie Place, in front of the old Star Hotel, the balcony of which was used for spectators. Each candidate had his own colours—those of Wentworth and Bland were blue, of O'Connell green—and each was escorted to the hustings by a procession. One came down Bridge Street, another by way of Spring Street, a third by Gresham Street, and the fourth by O'Connell Street. Wentworth and Bland's procession reached Macquarie Place at the same moment as Captain O'Connell's, and a fierce struggle took place for the possession of the hustings. The O'Connellites succeeded in filling the space occupied by the returning officer and his staff, whereupon the Wentworth and Bland contingent stormed the platform and many who attempted to scale it were hurled to the ground. Dr. Bland, in endeavouring to get on the hustings, was thrown down with violence and received such severe injury that he was carried to his residence in an unconscious state. Mr. Wentworth, Captain O'Connell and Mr. Hustler having succeeded in securing positions on the partially demolished hustings, with some of their proposers and seconders, Mr. Robert Cooper and his immediate supporters had to content themselves with an omnibus—the only one in Sydney in those days. The row was continued all through the proceedings, which were gone through almost in dumb show. Anything like orderly speaking was out of the question, but Cooper harangued the mob from his 'bus and put forth his claims to election to his immediate surroundings, the rowdy denizens of Blackwattle Swamp, who fell upon all who expressed dissent in so vigorous a manner that Cooper was able to talk away for some time without interruption. The day intervening between the nomination and the day of election was devoted to the delivery of addresses in Hyde Park by Cooper, whose procession thereto was headed by two of his supporters carrying pikes, on each of which half a loaf of bread was stuck. Platforms had been erected for the speakers. The streets on the eve of the election were crowded with excited mobs, the Irish contingent being very demonstrative. The Native Party, who were unanimous for Wentworth and Bland, arranged their tactics for the coming contest, but were not prepared for the outbreak of the following day. The polling commenced at nine o'clock on June 15th, and for the first two hours things progressed in a fairly orderly manner. About twelve o'clock a mob of some 500 persons, wearing Captain O'Connell's colours, went through Prince's Street to the polling booth in Gipps Ward on Flagstaff Hill, tore down the colours of Wentworth and Bland, levelled their booth with the ground, and made a furious attack on their supporters, who fled in all directions. The polling booth was surrounded, and the ingress of voters for any other candidates but O'Connell for a time prevented. One of the persons attacked was a Mr. John Jones, the owner of some whaling ships in port, who ran down to his wharf in Windmill Street, and, collecting a number of the sailors, armed them with whale lances and returned with them to the ground. The consequences, had they met the opposing forces, would have been serious indeed; but luckily the mob had gone to another place, and the whalers were received by a detachment of the mounted police, who chased them back to their ships and disarmed them. The riot, while the mob was on the Flagstaff Hill, was so great that the returning officer considered it necessary to adjourn the poll until the following morning. The same mob then proceeded to other polling places, and on their way passed the residence and auction rooms of Mr. Samuel Lyons, who was a strong supporter of Wentworth and Bland. Here it stopped and an attack was made on the place; large stones were hurled through the plate-glass windows of the auction rooms and smaller ones were used on the windows of the first and second floors, until scarcely a pane remained unbroken. From here the mob proceeded to Hyde Park, and, seeing Captain Innes, one of the police magistrates, on horseback, they chased him. Being unable to escape by the usual gate, he put his horse to the fence at the northern side and successfully cleared it. . . .

The friends of the popular candidates, including a number of native youths known as the "Cabbage Trees," from wearing hats of that name, were there, and when the mob came back from the chase a short battle took place with fists, resulting in the rioters being driven from the park. They, however, tore up the palings in front of some houses in Elizabeth Street, returned,

and, thus armed, again attacked their assailants until the arrival of a body of mounted police restored something like order. The mob made for the southern part of the city and committed other outrages there. In the evening a band of some thirty or forty men, with as many boys, bearing O'Connell's colours, paraded some of the streets, violently assaulted a peaceable passer-by and broke a number of windows. So ended the first election day in Sydney."

In view of these doings, in which one man lost his life, it is very possible that the *HERALD* was right when it attributed the defeat of Captain O'Connell to "the violent conduct of some of his enthusiastic countrymen."

Owing to the non-arrival of the necessary newsprint about this time—not an uncommon happening, as we have already mentioned—the proprietors were obliged to decrease the size of the paper for a while. From June 10th to August 1st, 1843, and again in the following October, the customary eight columns were reduced to seven, and their length by an inch and a half. Fortunately the shortage was relieved just in time for the beginning of the historic first session of the New Council; otherwise it would have been impossible for the *HERALD* to have given that space and attention to the debates which constitutes one of the most remarkable features of the paper from that date forward. In order to meet the calls of this special activity, the proprietors increased their reporting staff.

The first session of the Council was held on the 2nd August, and of the nominee members who had up to that date been appointed by the Governor, ten were in attendance, together with the whole of the twenty-four elected members, with the single exception of Dr. Thomson, one of the representatives of the Port Phillip district, who was unable to arrive in time. The election of the Speaker was the first business undertaken by the Council, and, after a lengthy debate—reported to the extent of eight columns in the *HERALD*—Mr. Alexander Macleay was elected, defeating Wentworth, the only other candidate for the office, by 17 votes to 13.

One of the heaviest of the debates of the ensuing session was that which was occasioned by Wentworth's Usury Bill, intended to reduce the bank rate of interest. It occupied three days of the Council's time and no less than twenty-eight full columns in the *HERALD*! It may be mentioned, in passing, that, although the Bill was defeated by nine votes, the Banks took the arguments of its supporters as expressive of the public will and reduced their rates to six per cent. Another measure, originated by Mr. Thomas Holt for the alleviation of the financial stress, was introduced into the Council by Mr. Richard Windeyer in a speech the report of which occupies seven columns. The purpose of the measure was to enable the Government to lend money on land up to half its value, and it was entitled "The Monetary Confidence Bill." The *HERALD* strongly opposed it, terming it "The Monetary Confusion Bill," and though, after lengthy argument, it eventually passed the House, the Governor promptly vetoed it.

It was in connection with this measure that one of the most singular and actively intelligent men who have ever addressed the Legislature of New South Wales first made his name prominent in our counsels. In October, 1842, Mr. Robert Lowe had arrived in Sydney, with credentials to Sir George Gipps, and during the whole of that year and the greater part of the next he had been endeavouring to gain a footing in the legal profession of the Colony. But fortune had been against him. A man of over 30 years of age, of peculiar and hardly prepossessing appearance, being an almost blind albino; the owner of a tongue of marked acerbity, and a constitution which left him continually unable to meet the demands of his profession, he failed for long enough, either to gain many briefs or many friends. But Governor Gipps seems to have been cognisant of the man's latent abilities, and the knowledge, coupled with his desire both to do a good turn to a man

who had been recommended to him from influential quarters at Home, and to gain a reliable supporter for himself in the Legislature—where his enemies were both numerous and powerful—induced him to nominate Lowe, early in November, 1843, as a member of the Legislative Council, in the place of Mr. Richard Jones, who had resigned. Lowe took his seat on the 8th November, and on the tenth the *HERALD* has this little “leader” upon the appointment, which, in the light of subsequent events, reads somewhat amusingly:

“Who is Mr. Lowe, the new member of Council? is a question that has been asked pretty often within the last forty-eight hours, and it does not say much for the Governor’s choice that it should have to be asked. All that is known of Mr. Lowe in the Colony is that he is a junior barrister, who arrived here about fourteen months ago, and that, in consequence partly of ill-health and partly of want of success, it was understood some six months since he had determined upon retiring from the profession. He is a gentleman of very superior scholastic attainments, and was, until very shortly before he left England, a Fellow and tutor of one of the Oxford colleges. We are at a loss to conceive what claims Mr. Lowe had to be made a Councillor; he has had no colonial experience, he has no stake in the Colony, and we must express surprise that the Governor should have passed over all the old colonists to confer the office on a gentleman who is almost a stranger.”

As we have said, the first measure that the new Councillor was called upon to debate, was the Monetary Confidence Bill. He opposed it with skill and vigour, delivering such home thrusts against the formidable Mr. Windeyer (of whom the Governor had a special fear) and even against the magnificent Wentworth, that he caused quite a sensation with his maiden speech.

The *HERALD* voiced the general opinion when, less than a week after it had so piquantly enquired as to the identity of “this Mr. Lowe,” it gratefully acknowledged the value of his speech against the Monetary Confidence Bill, and paid a tribute—all the more sincere because of its previous attitude—to his eloquence. Moreover, in reviewing, a little later on, the respective oratory of the two men, the paper asserted that Lowe’s was by far the superior and, “and on the whole, more effective than Mr. Wentworth’s, with its usual mixture of elegance and vulgarity, of good sense and coarse abuse.”

PART II.

It will now be necessary to consider in some detail the financial crisis through which the colony was compelled to pass during the first years of the Fairfax-Kemp proprietorship of the *HERALD*. And we cannot do better than quote the *HERALD* itself upon the matter. During the year 1841, the paper devoted many leading articles to a consideration of the subject; and a perusal of these shows that the causes to which it ascribed the depression were:

Firstly, the “outrageous extravagance” which had been displayed by the great majority of the colonists. The paper showed that the expenditure by the residents of New South Wales, during the past few “good years,” on “foreign luxuries alone,” amounted to no less than £8 per head per annum, as against the “less than £3 per head per annum expended by the inhabitants of Great Britain for all her importations put together.”

Secondly, the “feverish speculation” which had been indulged in by all classes during the same period, mainly in the direction of land buying. “Town-booming” had been carried to a ridiculous excess; the voice of the “land-jobber” had been heard in the land, and his victims were now suffering the consequences of their infatuation.

Thirdly, the "scarcity of labour," which had sadly interfered with the proper conduct of the local industries, and, in particular, with that of those two industries upon which the prosperity of the Colony was mainly based—agriculture and wool-growing.

Fourthly, the "natural embarrassment" following upon the demand from oversea creditors to "repay the enormous credits" which the largely artificial prosperity of the preceding decade had enabled the settlers so easily to obtain; and

Fifthly, the resultant depression in the values of all kinds of property; aided, in particular, by the great fall in the price of wool which had occurred during the preceding season.

To show to what extent these combined causes had brought financial trouble upon the Colony, we cannot do better than quote the *HERALD*'s leading article of the 19th October, 1841, wherein an enlightening comparison is drawn between the affairs of the Colony at that time with those of 1829, a year which so far had held the unenviable record of being the worst—financially—that the Colony had experienced since the beginning of the century. The material portion of the article in question runs as follows:

The extent to which pecuniary embarrassment now prevails in the colony is strikingly illustrated by the number of writs and judgments issued by the Supreme Court. We find that the number of summonses which have been taken out for the present term, and which were returnable yesterday, amounted to no less than 1600, and that the number of judgments entered at the Sheriff's office during the first three-quarters of the year, . . . amounted to the appalling number of 2,500, a large number of which still remain unsatisfied. . . .

After making some interesting calculations as to the cost of these legal proceedings, wherein he arrives at the conclusion that the litigants must have expended £112,000 in all, the writer continues:

The crisis of the last great storm of bankruptcy which swept over the colony occurred in the year 1829; and the number of summonses then issued, that is, throughout the whole year, were stated at 1566. The number of terms then held by the Supreme Court was four in the year; so that, dividing these writs by four, we have the average of 391 for a single term. The number of free adult males then in the colony, according to the census of 1829, was 10,621. The summonses of a single term, therefore, were at the rate of one for every twenty-seven persons liable to them; whereas the summonses issued for the present term of the present year are at the rate of one for every nineteen persons!

Again: the number of executions entered from January to October, 1829, was 670; or, at the rate of one to every sixteen persons. From January to October in the present year, the number of judgments entered was 2,500; or, at the rate of one to every twelve persons.

The painful inference forced upon us by these juridical statistics is, that the present embarrassments of the colony are actually more severe, and more widely spread in proportion to the population than they were at the climax of the memorable drought of twelve years ago.

Truly a most unfortunate occasion for the initiation of the new proprietorship! But the partners took every available means to counter the storm. It was decided that to continue the *HERALD* as a daily paper was impossible, unless the conditions under which it was published were changed. But not so to continue it was not to be thought of. Therefore, the conditions must be changed. The receipts must be increased, or the expenses must be decreased. In the end, the partners decided to have recourse to both remedies. On April 1st, 1841, therefore, the rates of subscription were raised from ten shillings to 15/- per quarter in town, and from twelve shillings and sixpence to 17/6 in the country—the price for a single copy remaining unchanged at sixpence—while the advertising rates were also re-arranged slightly to the advantage of the proprietors. As the announcement notifying these changes is interesting for many reasons, we quote it here in full:

The proprietors beg to inform their Subscribers and the public that having completed the arrangements for continuing its daily publication, the subscription to the *SYDNEY HERALD* will be,

for the future, fifteen shillings per quarter in town and seventeen shillings and sixpence in the country. This alteration would have been made when the daily publication was first commenced had the late proprietor been certain that the mechanical arrangements he then made would have enabled him to continue it. As this increase in price is, in part, rendered necessary by the difficulty of collecting the debts due to the office, a deduction of ten per cent. will be made on all subscriptions paid in advance.

In order to afford greater facilities to those persons who wish to have their advertisements displayed, an alteration will be made in the method of measuring advertisements, which will, in future, be charged two shillings and sixpence for the first inch or eight lines, and one shilling for every additional inch.

The great advantage of advertising in the HERALD is apparent from the simple fact of its daily circulation being THREE THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED; and for the whole week it greatly exceeds that of the whole of the other Sydney Newspapers together. The HERALD is distributed as follows:

Sydney	1,398	Cawdor	8
Windsor	55	Stonequarry	13
Kissing Point	3	Berrima	38
Parramatta	121	Inverary	3
Richmond	26	Bungonia	18
Wilberforce	9	Braidwood	15
Pitt Town	8	Marulan	9
Portland Head	9	Goulburn	59
Penrith	38	Gunning	10
St. Mary's, South Creek	7	Queanbeyan	30
Mount York	2	Gammon Plains	1
Bathurst	122	Yass Plains	45
O'Connell	8	Geelong	3
Newcastle	29	Port Phillip	44
Raymond Terrace	27	Dapto	8
Port Stephens	14	Wollongong	36
Clarence Town	5	Ulladolla	2
Dungog	8	Tamworth	3
Hinton	18	Shoalhaven	5
Patterson	46	Broulee	7
Morpeth	24	Kiama	9
West Maitland	85	Moreton Bay	3
East Maitland	31	Norfolk Island	1
Wollombi	13	Hexham	11
Darlington	58	Mudgee	9
Jerry's Plains	9	Bungadore	6
Musslebrook	17	Shoalhaven River	5
Merton	20	Hobart Town	22
Cassilis	10	Launceston	14
Invermien	17	Foreign Papers	148
Murrundi	19	Dabee	3
Port Macquarie	48	Portland Bay	1
Brisbane Water	8	Clarence River	5
Liverpool Road	3	Hartley	2
Liverpool	52	South Australia	16
Cambramatta	4	New Zealand	29
Campbelltown	41	For Sale in Office	30
Elderslie	17		

3,100

This advertisement, with its schedule, is not only of interest as evidence of the HERALD's growth and of its troubles; it is of even greater value, perhaps, as showing how the community was settled at the time, and as making, indirectly, certain comparisons which are singularly illuminating. For example, the paper had but 29

subscribers in Newcastle, whereas it had 38 in Berrima. It is a safe deduction to say that the respective populations of these two towns were proportionately similar to their subscribers, so that Berrima was a little the larger of the two. To-day the population of Newcastle is 125,000, while that of Berrima is but 600! Windsor and Goulburn, with 55 and 59 subscribers respectively, were in 1841, on the same reasoning, towns of about the same size. The passage of ninety years has made of the latter a cathedral city of nearly twenty thousand inhabitants, five times the size of its old rival. The spelling of the names in the schedule is copied exactly from the original, and the many differences it exhibits from that which is current to-day add considerably to the interest of the extract.

The increase in the rates of subscription and of advertising was not, however, the only method which the new proprietors adopted to meet the crisis of the times. A reduction was suggested in the rate of wages paid to the compositors, from £2/8/- per week and 1/- per hour overtime, to £2/2/- per week and 10d. per hour for overtime. The compositors demurred to this proposal and a "chapel" was held, at which John Fairfax was present as the representative of the proprietors, and at the request of the men. He asserted the impossibility of continuing the old rate of wages, and offered on behalf of the firm, to share, pro rata, the amount available for the payment of the whole wage list of the office, as shown by the books, until better times should come along. After fully explaining the position he left them to consider it. The men accepted the proposal; and in the event they proved their wisdom by so doing; for times grew worse, and not only did employment decrease, but the rates of wages paid for it decreased also; and if it had not been for the arrangement into which they had entered with the firm, the HERALD compositors might easily have found themselves without a job. It was not an unusual occurrence with the other papers for only part of the wages to be paid at the week-end, the balance being forthcoming if, and when, the collectors brought in the money they had managed to obtain from such subscribers and advertisers as they had induced to pay. With the HERALD this never happened. The wages were always the first charge on the assets; and later on, when the days of prosperity arrived, the proprietors did not forget the loyalty of their employees, and a position on the HERALD staff became a prize for which the competition was most eager.

The year 1842, like its predecessor, was one of financial stress, although towards its close the position had greatly improved. To add to the trouble, food prices were exceedingly high, wheat bringing from 10/- to 12/-, and on one occasion rising to 18/- per bushel. Cattle and sheep were almost unsaleable, while in Sydney itself the situation became so precarious that many citizens of reputed stability of fortune were forced to deprive themselves of every luxury in order to meet the crisis. Carriages and horses were almost given away, so completely did they become a drug in the market. Many of these equipages were converted by their new owners into vehicles for hire; and it is said that this was the occasion of the first "cabby" appearing in the streets of Sydney.

Before proceeding to review the activities of the HERALD in connection with the elections that followed upon the initiation of the new Constitution in this memorable year, a "leader" reviewing the affairs of the preceding twelve months, which appeared on the 2nd January, 1843, may well be quoted. For it contains not only very valuable information as to the social and financial condition of the Colony, but also a number of interesting references to the HERALD itself and to its contemporaries.

. . . The year 1842 will be long remembered as one of the darkest yet brightest eras in the history of New South Wales. Its commercial aspect was fearfully dismal. From its commencement to its close, black clouds overhung it, and thick fogs covered it. In storm and tempest did

its sun arise—in storm and tempest did it set. Commerce, agriculture, and even the great staple in which we once exulted as our “golden fleece,” were alike laid prostrate by the blasts of a pitiless adversity. From the first day of February, when the new Insolvent law came into operation, to the 31st December, the number of declared insolvents was no less than *six hundred!* Six hundred insolvencies in eleven months! Six hundred insolvencies in a free population of little more than a hundred thousand souls! Excluding the Sundays, this was at the rate of more than two for every day throughout the entire period.

But from the dark let us turn to the bright side of our retrospect. If Fortune has frowned upon our trade, she has given us some compensation by smiling benignly upon our politics. In the year 1842 the star of constitutional liberty first arose above the Australian horizon, and gladdened the people with its genial ray. We were then for the first time endowed with a portion of our national inheritance, the elective franchise. . . .

[It will be noted that the writer is here a little anticipatory. Although the new Constitution Act had passed the Imperial Parliament, it did not come into force until four days after this article was published, nor were its benefits practically enjoyed until after the meeting of its new Council, in August, 1843.]

. . . A local ordinance gave us our first Municipal Corporations; an Act of the Imperial Parliament gave us our first Representative Legislature. The Act of Council has proved a valuable precursor of the Act of Parliament, for it has enabled us to feel our way, to try our strength, in the rough business of elections. We shall enter upon the exercise of the higher franchise with a degree of experience of which we otherwise should have been destitute, and which will be a useful guide both to electors and candidates.

We have before us a busy year. Not only shall we have to elect members for our new Legislature, but as the whole colony is to be parcelled out into District Corporations, we shall have to elect members for those little miniature Parliaments also. Thus we shall have wheels within wheels—a complex political machinery, which it will take a long time and no small trouble to bring into steady and profitable operation. It is to be regretted that the word “Council” should have been applied to so many different institutions. We shall have the Executive Council, the Legislative Council, the City and Borough Councils, and the several Municipal District Councils. If it be invariably true that “in the multitude of Councillors is safety,” we shall certainly be one of the safest communities on the face of the earth.

Will the reader now permit us to glance for a few moments at *our own* affairs?

The adversity of the past year was, of course, felt by the Press as well as by other interests. To four of our contemporaries, indeed, it proved fatal. The *Free Press* and the *Examiner*, after a brief but very noisy career, gave up the ghost. The *Monitor*, having lost the master hand which had from the first guided its affairs, had reached the respectable age of sixteen years, when it, too, slept the sleep of the dead. And even the poor old *Sydney Gazette*, the first literary adventurer in the Southern Hemisphere, after a long and eventful life of nearly forty years, sank into an inglorious grave. Once the defunct veteran was exhumed and an effort made to reanimate the vital spark; but in vain; the fatal decree had gone forth, and could not be revoked.

For ourselves, it is with the most lively gratitude that we state, that amid all the distresses of the times, THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD has continued to flourish in the sunshine of a generous patronage. We have, it is true, as the reports of the Insolvent Courts have shown, encountered our share of loss by the bankruptcy of our customers; but notwithstanding the secession of these, our circulation still exceeds THREE THOUSAND NUMBERS DAILY, or NINE HUNDRED AND FORTY THOUSAND in the year (940,000). Nor have we less reason to be grateful for the undiminished liberality of our advertisement patronage. The number of separate advertisements published in the HERALD during the past year was about EIGHTEEN THOUSAND; and as the number of insertions averaged about three to each advertisement, it follows, that the aggregate insertions of the year amounted to the prodigious number of FIFTY-FOUR THOUSAND, or upwards of a hundred and seventy-two per day all the year round.

Only one thing is wanting to perfect our happiness and gratitude—a greater punctuality in the payment of our bills. We can promise our subscribers that if they will be more prompt in this one particular, which to them individually would be an easy task, the augmented revenue which will thus flow into our coffers shall be faithfully expended in enlarging our literary resources, and in making THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD still more worthy of its distinguished patronage. . . .



PITT STREET LOOKING NORTH
FROM HUNTER STREET
IN 1853.

On the right the Herald office now occupies the site of the houses down to the corner of Spring Street. On the left is the Tank Stream, Sydney's first water supply. (Hamilton Street to-day marks the course of the stream.) The pump was used to draw water from tanks cut in the bed of the stream.

PLATE V.

[Original in the possession of John Fairfax & Sons Ltd.]

The somewhat gloating way in which the *HERALD* thus records the fate of its former contemporaries is not altogether in the best taste; but, in the circumstances, it was, perhaps, not unnatural. And whatever may be said of the manner of the announcement, its facts cannot be questioned. Save one, all the journals with any pretensions to rivalry had gone down before the breath of the financial storm. That solitary exception was *The Australian*. But that once energetic paper, too, was failing fast, and was soon to become moribund. On 28th September, 1848, it followed the others into oblivion, and left the *HERALD* to rule the field unchallenged.

The failure of these papers had naturally depressed the printing trade in the colony generally. Many compositors were thrown out of work and the wages offering fell in consequence. Some of the jobbing offices paid as low as 25/- per week, and all the labour required could easily have been obtained by the *HERALD* at as low a figure as 35/- per week, or even less. But the proprietors made no further reduction. Their compositors were still paid £2/2/- per week with 10d. per hour for overtime, and, as a natural result, to obtain a situation on the *HERALD* staff was to become an object of envy among the compositors of the colony. The same system was applied to the literary and clerical departments, and thus, despite the troubles outside, there was no interruption to the steady working of the *HERALD* office.

One of the main factors in the creation of the financial crisis of the early forties—or, perhaps it would be better to class it as one of the most unfortunate results of that crisis—was the depreciation in the price of wool and sheep. Many “leaders” appear about this time, having the fortunes of the grazing industry as their theme; but it is needless to quote them. There is one of them, however, which calls for passing mention; for, while it will doubtless interest and even amuse such readers of this history as happen to be associated with the wool industry, it will also convince them of the correctness of Solomon’s remark that there is nothing new under the sun. Quite recently reports came to hand from England complaining of the manner in which a quantity of our wool had been baled, the weight of the packs having been ingeniously increased by the concealment of heavy rubbish amid the fleeces. Considerable outcry was occasioned at the time, and rightly so, over this discovery; and steps were taken to prevent its recurrence. In view of this well-remembered incident, the following extract from the leading article of the 22nd April, 1843, reads with an almost startling familiarity:

“By our English extracts on Monday and Tuesday, our readers would observe what a sensation had been excited among the London buyers of wool, in November last, by the discovery of certain disgraceful frauds in the packing of Australian bales. ‘It has transpired,’ says a London paper, ‘that in the colonies the wools have been falsely packed—that the prime qualities have been placed at the ends of the bales, and, in the middle, inferior samples, with occasionally dirt, stones and other useless articles, to defraud the buyer.’ . . .

Of this rascally artifice there can, of course, be but one opinion—that it is disgraceful to the colony, and calculated to be deeply injurious to its interests. We would fain hope there is not a flockmaster in New South Wales who would be guilty of so despicable a crime. . . The moral character and commercial interests of the colony alike require that such frauds should be denounced and put down. . .”

There is, however, an even earlier coincidence between the wool affairs of those days and of these. In October, 1840, the *HERALD* drew attention, in a leading article, to the strong probability of the Cape of Good Hope becoming a serious rival to Australia as a producer of fine wool, and expressed some doubt as to the advisability of assisting that rivalry by allowing Australian stud sheep to be exported there. A similar course of action is creating precisely the same doubt to-day.

The discovery of the value of sheep tallow was made only about the middle of 1843; and an unconfirmed story ascribes the discovery—or at least, its first public circulation—to Mr. Charles Kemp. Be that as it may, however, the fact remains that the discovery was made about this time, and that it proved so beneficial to the graziers that the *HERALD* was able to write as follows upon the 24th June, 1843:

"If, in the middle of last month, any person had ventured to proclaim to the suffering colonists of New South Wales that by the middle of June a discovery would have been made whereby their surplus sheep, then unsaleable, would command a steady and permanent market—a grand staple export, second only to the fleece in value and extent, be derived from their then almost valueless flocks—and the maximum price of their sheep be enhanced more than one hundred per cent., he would have been laughed at as an outrageous enthusiast. If, persisting in his prophetic vein, he had added that before the expiration of the ensuing month, the butchers, from whom some two of three shillings per head could then scarcely be wrung for their fat wethers, would be eagerly offering seven shillings and sixpence per head—and that the graziers, emboldened by the splendid prospects which the new discovery would have unfolded, would in some instances hesitate, and in others refuse, to sell at that large advance, he would have been pronounced a downright lunatic.

"It is true, everybody knew before, that a sheep contained tallow, but the proportion was thought too insignificant an item in the value of the animal to deserve consideration. It has been ascertained that by boiling down the entire carcase, the skin and hams excepted, there may be extracted on the average from 20 to 30 lb. of tallow from each sheep, which, at the moderate valuation of $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. is worth $7\frac{1}{3}$ to 8/9, or upwards of a hundred per cent. more than has of late been realised by the sale of the living animal. But, adding to this the value of the wool, skin, mutton hams, etc., the sum total yielded by this novel process, as shown by the praiseworthy experiment of Mr. Henry O'Brien, on the 14th, 15th and 16th inst., is no less than $14\frac{1}{3}$ per sheep. If this result be thought too flattering, let the odd $4\frac{1}{3}$ be taken off; and even then, it is demonstrated that in the very depth of winter, when the fleece is in the worst possible state, the intrinsic value of the sheep is 10/-; and even deducting a round twenty per cent. from this we have still the cheering minimum of 8/-. Contrasted with the *nominal* value which sheep bore a month ago, this is an advance at once most extraordinary and most exhilarating. . ."

Sheep had, of course, been boiled down and the product utilised long before this; but it was Henry O'Brien who first appreciated the value of tallow as a "safety-valve" to the crisis, used it on a commercial scale and made it known to his fellow pastoralists.

For some considerable period after this the paper continued to publish leading articles upon "Our New Export," "Sheep-Boiling," and so forth, and there can be no question that the "New Industry" owed much to the advocacy and enterprise of the *HERALD*.

Another subject upon which it was then, and ever has been, very keen was immigration; and many were the leading articles it published on the theme. One of the earliest notices in the very first year of its existence may appropriately be quoted here. It appears in the issue of 18th July, 1831:

"Good News: All who labour under the hardship of 'Single Blessedness' will be glad to hear that a vessel is shortly expected with fifty free female emigrants from the Emerald Isle. . . . They are to be placed under the charge of the Government for disposal as servants or matrons. . . ."

But we may well believe that their actual "disposal" was much more speedily effected in the manner suggested by the first sentence of the notice than in that asserted in its last.

On 21st July, 1841, there is a trenchant article on the neglect of the Home authorities to arrange for the emigration to the colony of a number of persons from the Scottish Highlands who, distressed by poverty, were desirous of crossing the seas in the hope of finding there the subsistence denied them in Scotland. Their wish, it seems, had been to go to Canada; and Lord John Russell, against whom the anger of the *HERALD* was chiefly turned, had stated, during the course of a debate in Parliament on

the subject, that "Unless it could be proved that when those people arrived in Canada they could be placed in a position to procure a livelihood, it would be impolitic and cruel to hold out delusive hopes." Whereupon the *HERALD*:

"Now we have here another practical proof of the absolute necessity of our having some sort of resident agency in Great Britain to watch over the emigration interests of this Colony. Had there been such an agent when this debate took place, he would have been on the alert to draw the attention of the Select Committee to the fact that whatever doubt might exist as to the prospects of Highlanders in their proposed emigration to Canada, there was none whatever with reference to their 'procuring a living in New South Wales.' He would have caused himself to be summoned before the Committee, and would then have laid upon their table documentary evidence of the most satisfactory kind that in this Colony not only would the Highlanders 'find some of their friends and countrymen already located' and a Christian ministry in their vernacular tongue; but the certain means of earning a comfortable livelihood, and of settling their children in a permanent and plentiful home. . .

"But will this have been done by the Westminster Commissioners? Can it be that these dignified personages would put themselves to the inconvenience of singling out New South Wales for their especial recommendation, and volunteering their advocacy in its behalf? . . . No—on emergencies like this 'public virtue' is but a broken reed, and woe betide the colony that leans upon it for support. . . ."

This question of Scottish immigration had, naturally enough, attracted the practical attention of Dr. Lang, whose energies were as great and whose activities were nearly as varied as those of that other clerical jack-of-all-trades, the Reverend Ralph Mansfield, himself. Unfortunately his activities in this particular direction were not too successful, the emigrants whom he brought out from the Highlands proving incompetent as farmers, even upon the rich flats of the Hunter. Their indigent condition and the wretched state of their farms drew considerable criticism upon Dr. Lang and his brother, upon whose estate the farms were situated; and the "leader" which we have quoted was followed by a long and—on the part of the Doctor in particular—extremely acrid correspondence in the columns of the *HERALD* which ended, as such controversies have a habit of doing, in leaving things where they were, if they did not even make them worse. As a matter of fact, so many people had been arriving in the colony as immigrants during this period that it was impossible that there should not be considerable distress. That the distress was worse than it might have been was due mainly to the fact that, while there was plenty of land available for farms, the class of settler who was arriving was in the main incapable of agricultural work; while another cause was the high cost of necessities and the lack of demand for unskilled labour in the city, following upon the financial troubles of the colony. So bad did affairs become that towards the end of 1841 hundreds of people were walking the streets of Sydney, homeless, foodless and almost desperate. Particularly hard was the lot of the female unmarried immigrants, of whom there were a great number. Friendless and destitute they presented a problem over which the *HERALD* was much exercised. Fortunately for these poor girls there happened to be in Sydney at the time a lady who took their misfortunes so greatly to heart that for nearly six years she gave her time and her energies almost solely to their cause. She instituted a home for them, found situations for them, and generally acted towards them as a Lady Bountiful. This lady, whose name must ever be gratefully remembered, was Mrs. Caroline Chisholm, the wife of Captain Archibald Chisholm, of the Madras Army. She and her husband arrived in Australia on a visit about this time; and although Captain Chisholm after a while was sent to China on duty, Mrs. Chisholm remained here and played that great part in the social history of the colony to which we have alluded. The *HERALD* has many references to her and fully recognised the beneficence of her

work. Thus, in a leading article of the 30th October, 1841, upon the question of immigration in general, and of female immigration in particular, it says:

Before the last day of November we may expect at least two thousand immigrants will arrive in the colony, and as it is quite possible that a shift of wind may cause them all to come in within a few days of each other, we would ask what steps have been taken, either by the Government or the settlers, who are in such want of labour, to remove them into the interior immediately upon their arrival, in order to prevent the possibility of a cry that the labour market is overstocked, at the very time that the settlers will be experiencing the greatest difficulty in housing the harvest, which, thank God, bids fair to be a plenteous one.

With regard to female immigrants something has been done, as the "Female Immigrants' Home," which has been frequently alluded to in the *HERALD*, is so far formed that Mrs. Chisholm, whose exertions have been untiring, has procured situations for many young girls, and is making arrangements for forwarding them up the country. . . The great object is to remove the girls, immediately upon their arrival, from the vice and temptation of Sydney, and, therefore, families who intend to take servants from the Home should lose no time in signifying their wishes to the secretary. . .

On the 2nd December, 1841, there is another "leader" on the same subject, which gives some details of Mrs. Chisholm's work, and offers her that tribute of thanks which she undoubtedly deserved. It also throws an interesting sidelight on the social conditions of the colony at the time:

It is only a few days since Mrs. Chisholm obtained possession of a portion of the barracks, and since then she has procured situations for seven families at wages ranging from £21 to £26 a year, eleven children under thirteen years of age, from £2/10/- to £7 per year, and seventy-six female servants at from £9 to £16 a year; of the latter fifty-eight were sent into the country. A few persons have also obtained pecuniary assistance, and some donations of bread, coffee, tea, rice, sugar, etc. The religious instruction of the young women has not been lost sight of; those belonging to the Church of England are visited twice a week, at stated periods. . . The thanks of the community are undoubtedly due to Mrs. Chisholm for the perseverance which she has exhibited in carrying out her intentions, in doing which she had difficulties to overcome that would have disheartened anyone less zealous than herself. But to render her labours permanently useful, Mrs. Chisholm requires something more than thanks; she requires assistance, pecuniary assistance in a small degree; but, above all, the co-operation of the settlers in the interior. During the present and next months many hundred drays will visit Sydney from different parts of the interior, and if the proprietors of those which will return empty or only partially loaded would render assistance in getting single women and families into the colony, they would be conferring great favours upon numerous individuals, and be doing a public benefit at comparatively small cost or inconvenience to themselves. We particularly call the attention of settlers to this.

The *HERALD*'s exertions in the cause of immigration continued to be unabated all through this decade, and it was only when the gold rush of the next one made immigration so popular that the influx became a positive danger that they were temporarily relaxed. Even then the paper battled strongly for the right kind of immigrants, and for their protection and assistance after arrival; and it may very safely be said that from the commencement of the Fairfax association with the *HERALD* to the present day, the question has stood in the forefront of this paper's long list of activities. Before leaving the subject we think it desirable to quote at some length from two leading articles which appeared in the paper on the 22nd August, 1843, and the 25th December of the same year. The first was based upon a debate upon Immigration which had taken place in the Legislative Council, the second upon the imminent arrival of a large number of immigrants from Great Britain. Material extracts from the former run as follows:

The speech of Dr. Nicholson on Friday last in moving for a select committee to consider the means of reviving immigration, was as instructive as it was able. . . He showed that, even in point of agriculture, the difference between the mother country and this colony was only in the ratio of about one quarter of an acre per head in favour of the former; the acres in cultivation in

Great Britain averaging about one to each person, and here about three-quarters to each. In the wealth of sheep and cattle we are, however, far superior to Great Britain, to France, and even to America. Instead of taking Dr. Nicholson's proportion of units, we prefer showing the proportion to each 100 of the population, as being at once more accurate and easily understood. They will stand thus:

HORNED CATTLE.

	Head.	Persons
New South Wales	553 to each	100
New York	90	100
Lower Canada	76	100
Connecticut	73	100
Upper Canada	68	100
Great Britain	31	100
France	20	100

SHEEP.

New South Wales	4,000 to each	100
New York	210	100
Great Britain	187	100
Connecticut	110	100
Lower Canada	103	100
Upper Canada	79	100

The honourable member then gave an estimate of the population which this live stock would supply with food; according to the ratio of Great Britain, our horned cattle would support a population of two and a half millions, and our sheep 3,200,000. The bullion of Great Britain, he stated to be in the proportion of 25/- to each head of the population; whilst the specie now in New South Wales is as 67/- to each. From these and other facts he deduced the incontrovertible inference that the resources of the country are equal to the maintenance and profitable employment of any amount of population which our fatherland may send to us, and that nothing is wanted but large importations of labour and capital to enable the colony to rise to prosperity and greatness.

The compliments paid to the Doctor by the honourable members who followed him were richly merited; and we beg to add our humble tribute of thanks for the pains he must have taken to collect his facts, and for the admirable manner in which he put them forward.

We quite agree with the position of Dr. Lang, that whether there be now a scarcity of labour in the colony or not, there is ample room for copious immigration. The land is sufficiently long and broad, and sufficiently fertile, to provide a comfortable retreat for the thousands of our fellow subjects who are starving at home for want of employment. It is in manifest accordance with the purposes of the Creator, that these vast regions should be "replenished and subdued" by the multitudes to whom the old world can afford neither work nor bread.

The question of what was to be done with the immigrants when they arrived was, indeed one of the most serious problems which the authorities were called upon to solve; and the HERALD addressed itself to the finding of the solution on many occasions. Thus, on Christmas Day of the same year, surely an appropriate date for so human and humane a theme, it published a leading article, from which we make the following extracts:

The question: "What shall we do with the immigrants when they arrive?" as nearly concerns us as them. We are bound to show that all the cry and clamour for continued immigration has been fair towards our countrymen at home, and wisely for ourselves. We must dismiss from our minds for the moment "wool," "our want of shepherds," and so forth; look a little both above and beyond "the demand as well as the description of labour required in a colony," and endeavour to find out in what way the vaunted "resources" of Australia, can be made available for the maintenance of the people we have invited to our shores. In this respect, we think the Committee of Council on the Waste Lands Act has done its duty. It is stated in their report that the country comprises "many millions of acres calculated to reward the industry and supply the wants of man." Now man has come, and more men are coming, across half the globe to Australia; and it

is a subject worthy of the most attentive consideration to ascertain how far these resources are at present available, for their use and support. Men with families are by far the most desirable for colonists, yet they alone are unable to find employment; although on this the support of a family depends. This unseemly exclusion should be met by some better arrangement, since it is neither convenient to the employer to provide for families, nor is such temporary employment suited to a man who has a family.

Wages to agricultural servants must depend on the profits of agriculture; and if, as has been said, agriculture is not profitable enough to afford good wages, it should at least be made the means of supplying human wants. If not profitable as the reward of industry, it ought at least in return for the sweat of the brow to afford bread, or otherwise Australia must be unfit for even the sinful sons of Adam and Eve. It is indeed high time, we think, to suspect some fallacy in a system which excludes starving thousands of immigrants from "millions of acres ready for the plough." Taking things as they are, we proceed to consider what may now be done to meet the present exigency. Aware how little is the influence of a sense of duty on men's actions, when unconnected with their personal interests, we feel obliged to consider how these may work together for the common good. Much of the land most desirable for cultivation, and nearest to the markets, is in the hands of individuals to whom the clearing of it would be too expensive, and the farming of it a doubtful speculation. In Canada, where so many labouring persons go, "the price of labour is still so high, and that of produce so low," according to Howison, "that the agriculturist cannot derive much profit from the returns made by the soil, if he employs hired men to work it." The case is worse both ways here. It would, therefore, be for the interest of the landholder to afford assistance to enable agricultural immigrants with families to settle upon his lands, that they may clear and cultivate them. After a few years such parties could afford to pay some rent, were that return in grain only; and down to such a period would it be necessary to train, with a little care and nursing, the new-come immigrant and his family. Humanity, patriotism and self-interest, ought to be alike gratified in doing this.

It remains only for the settlers to afford due encouragement to industrious immigrants as they arrive. An abundant harvest and surplus stock enable us to offer homes to families on landing, and to advance those families to the class of small farmers. The success of the plan must depend on the co-operation of the labourer and the landholder. The extension of good roads might open out land enough to assist materially such combinations of capital and labour. Meanwhile, as much land fit for cultivation lies waste at no great distance from either a market or the coast, we trust the owners begin to see that although "taxation without representation" is bad, taxation without population may be worse. . . .

Akin, of course, to the Immigration problem—and, indeed forming an inseparable factor of it—were the questions on the one hand, of obtaining sufficient labour, and on the other, of satisfying the desires of new arrivals who were in search of work. The latter section of the trouble has been already referred to; the former may now appropriately be considered in brief. Many and varied were the schemes suggested by the *HERALD* for meeting the difficulty. One of the earliest—and truth compels us to add, one of the most impracticable—of these schemes which the paper advocated was the importation of Maoris from the neighbouring dependency of New Zealand. In the issue of the 10th October, 1836, we read:

"We hear that, in the absence of labourers from the road-gangs for the ensuing harvest, there is a scheme on foot to bring over a thousand New Zealanders. No doubt this would benefit the colony very much, as these people are greedy of employment, and have nothing to do in their own country but cutting each other's throats."

As might be expected, nothing came of this suggestion and, indeed we hear no more of it at all. On the 3rd May, 1838, however, another scheme was mooted. This time it took the form of a suggestion in the *HERALD* that labour might be obtained from the South Sea Islands. The paper pointed out that these people were "remarkable for their sobriety and for the care which they take of their sheep." Nothing came of this scheme, either—at the time, although in 1840 a small experiment of the kind was tried in the southern districts of the Colony without success—and, remembering the trouble

which occurred later in Queensland over the importation of Kanakas for the sugar plantations, and the expense and shame and trouble in which the experiment eventually resulted, one can only be glad that the suggestion of 1838, and which, despite its first approval, the HERALD subsequently strongly opposed, was inoperative in New South Wales.

Later on, in this same year, a long series of articles and letters appeared in the paper, advocating a third scheme, namely, the utilisation of Indian coolies. This suggestion met with better success and, after considerable arguments "about it and about," a petition was presented to the Legislative Council, stating that a few coolies had been employed by certain of the petitioners with good results, and asking for Government support for coolie importation. But after discussion the petition was withdrawn and little more was ever heard of the matter. It is true that a number of "Danghars," or hill-coolies, came out under the scheme—and that in the 'forties a few more followed them—but the plan offered no real solution of the labour difficulty. These futile efforts to cope with the problem would need no mention were it not that they throw a significant light upon the seriousness of that problem and upon the industrial position of the Colony generally.

The year 1844 showed a considerable improvement financially upon its predecessors; but the general condition of affairs remained by no means good. Several HERALD articles draw attention to the situation, most of them regarding the future with a healthy optimism, but not failing to recognise the difficulties that had to be met and overcome if those hopes were to be realised. In particular, the HERALD reviewed the administration of Sir George Gipps in a series of articles which, though fairly worded, cannot conceal the suspicion and opposition that were the consistent ingredients of the paper's attitude towards this Governor in the later years of his regime.

It was in 1844 that the HERALD issued its first almanac, a regular annual feature of the paper for many years thereafter; and a second innovation dating from the same year was the issue of a new weekly publication by the HERALD proprietors. For some time the paper had been issuing a weekly "Trade List," containing the shipping arrivals and departures, the manifests of imports and exports, the details of customs duties paid, and other similar information. In 1844 this was enlarged to a separate journal of eight pages, and published as *The Shipping Gazette*. It was well supported both by advertisers and subscribers interested in matters pertaining to its special province, and was issued regularly until the year 1860.

But by far the most important incident directly affecting the HERALD which the year 1844 witnessed was the removal of the office premises into new quarters. The premises which had been occupied on the western side of Lower George Street for the past ten years had grown too small for the rapidly expanding needs of the paper, and a change of scene had become essential. It was not an easy task to find other premises which would be both suitably situated and sufficiently expansive; but, fortunately, just at this time, Foss and Lloyd, the auctioneers whose offices were just across the way from the HERALD office in Underwood's buildings, George Street, decided to relinquish business, and their rooms became vacant. On inspection they proved to be, if not altogether what the proprietors of the HERALD desired, at least as nearly approximate thereto as they were likely to find. Kemp and Fairfax accordingly took a lease of them at once and set about effecting the necessary alterations. The premises consisted of the main building facing George Street and a large two-storied store at the rear, facing on to a lane running into Queen (now known as Dalley) Street. The upper store was converted into a composing room, a dome was placed on the roof to give the necessary light, and a num-

ber of additional windows were inserted where practicable. The lower store became the machine and press room. A long passage, or room, of two storeys connected the stores with the front building, and this was utilised as the publishing and binding department, while the similar room overhead was requisitioned for the job-printing activities of the firm. The old auction room, comprising the whole of the ground floor of the front building, was set apart for the advertising and accountant's offices, and for the storage of paper immediately required. The two front rooms on the first floor were appropriated as private offices by the proprietors; and, finally, the two rooms at the rear of these were fitted up for the use of the literary staff.

Mr. Brewer's manuscript supplies these details and they show how greatly superior was the accommodation now available for the business to that which it had had to put up with before. But notwithstanding these largely increased facilities, the whole of the available space was immediately taken up, with the single exception of the kitchen in the basement; and the time was not far distant when this, too, was to be used to house the first steam printing machine ever set up in Australia. The exact date of the removal into the new premises is not known, and in this case the imprint cannot help us. For it required no alteration; the paper was still published from Lower George Street—although upon the other side of it—and that fact was stated in the imprint in exactly the same words as it had been stated for ten years past—just that and no more. But the probability is that the change was made about the month of July. Brewer also tells us that at the date of removal the personnel of the *HERALD* mechanical staff consisted of about fifty persons, of whom some 30 to 35 were compositors.

The case of the Queen versus John Fitch, alias John Knatchbull, indicted on the charge of murdering one Ellen Jamieson, by cleaving her skull with a tomahawk, one of the *causes célèbres* in the records of criminality, came on for hearing in Sydney on the 6th January, 1844. The evidence against the accused was of the most fatal character, the coroner's jury, on the preliminary hearing, having returned a verdict of murder against him without the slightest delay or doubt. Indeed, there *was* no doubt as to the actual commission of the crime. Robert Lowe was retained for the defence and never had counsel a more desperate case. But desperate cases require desperate remedies, and Lowe's plea startled not only the Court and the community, but the legal world everywhere, for it was the first of its kind. In brief, it consisted of an argument that Knatchbull was one of those unhappy persons who, although not insane in the ordinary acceptance of the term, are "yet so diseased in that portion of the brain wherein the human will has its seat, while free of disease in that other portion of the brain wherein the intellect resides" that they may, "with a full knowledge of what they are doing, feel compelled—irresistibly compelled—to crimes which, if perfectly free agents, they would be the last to commit."

The plea failed—it was bound to fail, even if Mr. Justice Burton, before whom the case was tried, had been a man much more susceptible to such metaphysical appeals than he was. As a matter of fact, he was very gravely shocked by its unorthodoxy, both legal and moral; it was the first time, he said, that such a line of argument had been advanced in a court of law, and he very gravely dissented from it. He summed up strongly against the prisoner, who was forthwith convicted, sentenced to death and hanged a few days later. The *HERALD* also took grave exception to Lowe's plea on religious grounds; but, strangely enough, it was not until more than a year later that the conflict between the paper and the advocate on this count came to a head. And even then it came indirectly. A London magazine entitled *The Zoist—A Quarterly Journal of Cerebral Physiology and Mesmerism*, had recently been started in London, and the title gives some idea of



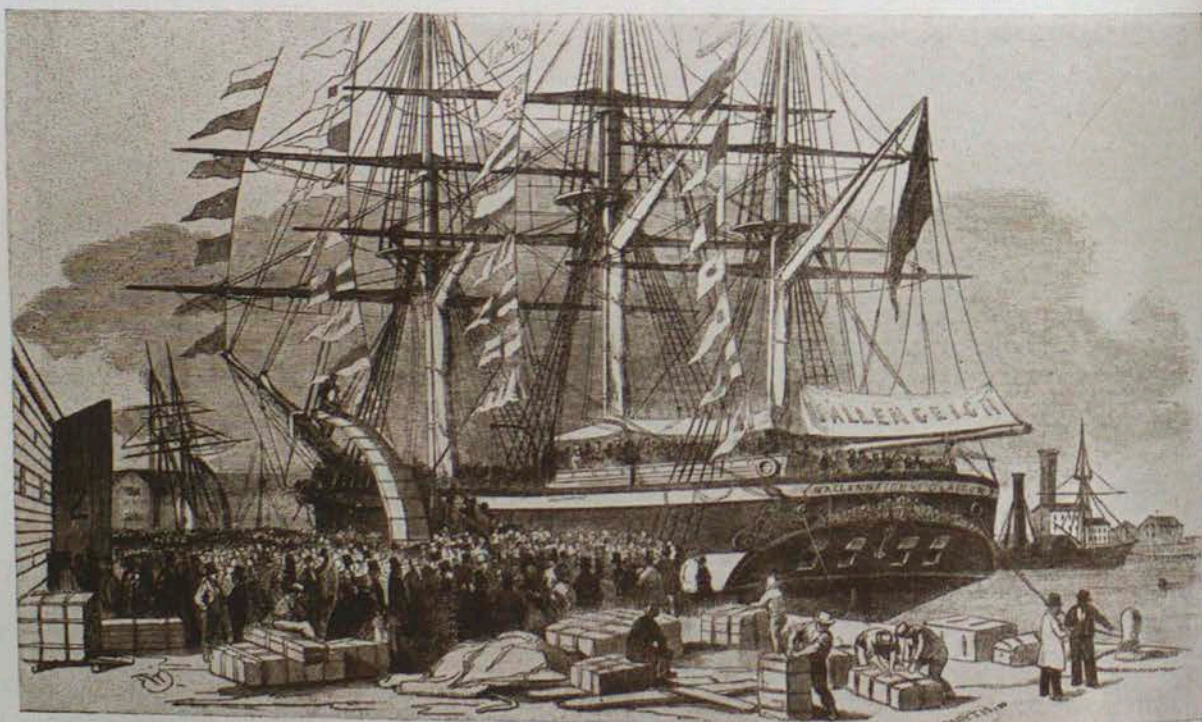
George Street looking north in 1842. On the left is the old burial ground, on which the Town Hall stands. Dome marks old Central Police Court. Adjoining it were the George Street Markets.



The Customs House in 1850. It occupies the same site to-day. The turn into Macquarie Place may be seen between the fence and the obelisk.



Voyages in the emigrant ships in the 'forties were vastly different from those of to-day. Ocean travel then had many discomforts, but in good weather it had its pleasures as well.



Departure from Southampton of the emigrant ship "Ballen-geich," one of the vessels that brought emigrants to Sydney under the family-group scheme devised by Mrs. Chisholm.

the somewhat esoteric nature of its aims. Lowe's Knatchbull address pleased its editor immensely; he reproduced it in full, and expressed his warm approval of the arguments advanced by learned counsel. This copy of *The Zoist* was forwarded to Lowe, and reached him early in 1845. As he had, in November, 1844, assisted to found in Sydney a journal named *The Atlas*, Lowe promptly re-published the Knatchbull article in its columns, and thereby started a controversy which Patchett Martin not inaptly compares with that which Darwin's "Vestiges of Creation" and "Origin of Species" were a little later on to arouse in England. The *HERALD*, in particular, took up the cudgels and attacked Lowe "as an impious person who might undermine the faith and morals of the squatters whom he was seeking to represent." It revived the question, which Judge Burton originally started, of the irreligious character of Lowe's plea, declaring that it was "opposed to the first principles of Christianity." Lowe was not the man to refuse a challenge to re-enter the theological lists wherein he had disputed so well and so fiercely at Oxford, and he promptly asked the *HERALD* to define in what way his speech had attacked the principles of Christianity, and added that he would be glad if the paper would define those principles for his edification. The battle-royal which followed created quite a stir, and can hardly be said to have ended altogether in favour of the paper. In response to his request, it asserted that Lowe's plea opposed the principle of man's free agency, and was opposed likewise "to the whole tenor of that sacred history which is designed to exemplify and demonstrate the depths of human depravity and to justify the ways of God to man." Lowe's retort has been described as "a masterpiece of polemical discussion." We need not quote it in full, but, as the tail of it, like that of the scorpion, contains the sting, a few sentences from its closing paragraph may appropriately be given. After insinuating that the *HERALD*'s opposition was purely political, and quoting the Articles of the Church of England to support his argument, he asserted—and thereby considerably weakened his case—that what a counsel said in court should not be taken to be the real expression of his own opinions; and that in any case his speech had not been correctly reported. He then concluded thus:

And now, gentlemen, I have done with you. I ask you for principles and you give me inferences. I ask for Christianity and you give me Methodism. You are now at liberty to inter this slander by the side of his deceased brother of last week, and as you seem rather at a loss for something to use against me at the present time, I will take the liberty of suggesting a few topics myself.

I ride a very ugly horse—that clearly proves me an Atheist, for who else could be so insensible to the beauties of the noblest animal of the creation. I live in a very small house—which clearly shows that I must have a contracted mind; and I am sometimes known to play billiards—which shows a strong though, it may perhaps be expedient in candour to admit, not quite fully developed propensity for gambling.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

ROBERT LOWE.

The *HERALD* had the last word, however; and in the leading article of the 31st March, 1845, it took toll of Mr. Lowe in scathing terms. The article summed him up in three capacities—as a Legislator, a Challenger, and an Ethical Philosopher—and found him sadly wanting in all three. The last paragraph of the article is all that we need quote:

Thus doth the learned chameleon change his beautiful prismatic hues—now bright and dazzling, now mild and subdued—now black as the raven's wing, now white as the mountain snow—now twinkling at Government House in the light of Sir George's countenance, now emitting vindictive corruscations against His Excellency's person and government—now glowing with the chaste lustre of an humble Christian, now flaring up in the lurid blaze of Cerebral Physiology. These are neither fixed realities nor fixed appearances—neither "fixed principles" nor even fixed professions.

Early in August, 1844, Dr. Lang moved a resolution in the Council in favour of the separation of the Port Phillip district, in a speech which was so interminably spun out that the report of it occupies no less than seven closely-printed columns of the *HERALD*. But what annoyed the paper more than anything, perhaps, was that Lowe supported the motion in the most whole-hearted way—the only member of the House with the exception of the five Port Phillip and Melbourne representatives, to do so. The *HERALD*, as we shall see presently, had been consistently opposed to the separation movement ever since its inception; and in this respect it voiced not only the opinion of the Governor and his advisers, but of the immense majority of the New South Wales community. And now to find Lowe—a nominee member and a man for whom it had little friendly feeling at any time—distinguishing himself in this way was insufferable. Moreover, it was incomprehensible; for it was notorious that Lowe had been appointed by the Governor to strengthen his ranks in the House, and now here was Lowe biting the hand that had fed him, so to speak, by voting directly against what was equally notoriously the gubernatorial wish.

It was an invidious position for Lowe, as the *HERALD* very plainly told him; if he remained in the Council, as a nominee, he should respect his nominator's known desires; if he did not respect them, he should resign. Lowe had quarrelled with the Governor on a personal matter and when the inconsistency of his attitude was pointed out to him by the indignant *HERALD*, he was not slow to see the justice of his accusations. And so he took the only step possible. On August 30th, 1844, he resigned his seat, "feeling a repugnance," as he said, "to vote systematically against the person to whom I owed it, and being firmly determined not to injure the country for whom I held it."

This last statement forms part of a letter which he addressed to the *HERALD* when, in April, 1845, he had decided to seek the suffrages of the electors of the Counties of St. Vincent and Auckland, a constituency which had then fallen vacant. The paper had no reason to suppose that, having been compelled to oppose him as a nominee, it would find him any more supportable as an independent, and so it addressed the electors of his chosen constituency in a short leading article advocating his rejection in terms which drew from Lowe the letter quoted above. This is the leading article referred to:

We perceive that Mr. R. Lowe is in the field as a candidate for the seat in the Legislative Council rendered vacant by the resignation of Mr. Coghill, who has left the Colony. Mr. Lowe has issued an address which is sure to enlist in his favour the feelings of a great number of the electors, who are nearly all of them intimately connected with the grazing interests, and therefore directly opposed to the Governor, and, of course, anxious to return a member who agrees with them on that most important point, the Squatting Regulations, which Mr. Lowe professes to do. We warn them, however, that Mr. Lowe is not a man to be trusted. He has no fixed principles.

However, despite these urgent protestations, no other candidate being nominated, Lowe was duly returned unopposed as the representative of St. Vincent and Auckland. Whereupon the paper very kindly remarked that neither he nor his constituents had much upon which to congratulate themselves.

The writer pointed out that the objections to the Government policy, and to the actions of the Governor and his advisers, of which Lowe had made such capital during his campaign, had existed long before his resignation, and that it was not until his private quarrel with the Governor had come to a head that he had allowed these objections to weigh with him. In short, the paper asserted, and supported its assertions with evidence that certainly appears to-day to be almost conclusive, that it was no desire to benefit the electors of the Colony that stirred Lowe to exchange his nominee status in

the Council for an elective one, but rather a keen desire to "get even" with the Governor. We quote the last paragraph of this incisive article:

"Hope nothing from this Governor; for you he cares nothing. . . ." So spake the honourable member to his little band of constituents. A philosophical observer might perhaps have said to them: "Hope nothing from this member; for you he cares nothing; his whole attention is taken up in scraping together, by every discreditable expedient, the means of venting his spite against the person of Sir George Gipps."

Certainly Lowe does not come too well out of this incident, and one cannot help thinking that the *HERALD* had summed up the case against him with justice.

It was during the interval between his resignation and his re-election that Lowe was concerned in the founding of *The Atlas—A Weekly Journal of Politics, Commerce and Literature*. This paper, so far as literary merit was concerned, was, with the exception of *The Australian*, the only serious rival that the *HERALD* had known, or was to know for many years. Lowe himself was a constant and catholic contributor; indeed, for some time he was its virtual, if not its nominal, editor. His contributions ranged from serious articles, setting out his opinions upon the leading subjects of the day, to versical skits ridiculing with skill and point, the foibles and follies of his opponents. Naturally the *HERALD* did not escape; and there are many evidences to be found in its columns of the annoyance created by his virulent pen. It was against human nature for such a journal not to become popular, and as Lowe was currently reported to be the author of the whole of its contents, his own popularity—except among his victims—increased also. But, as Lowe once ingenuously asserted, by printing a notice in it to that effect, the "entire contents of this paper" were "*not* by one hand." Indeed it may be said that for a time practically every writer of distinction in the Colony—and many whose names lent distinction to their contributions, apart from any literary merit which the latter might or might not possess—"appeared" in the columns of *The Atlas*. Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Martin, subsequently Chief Justice of the Colony, was a regular contributor and, after a time, its editor. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Archibald Michie, who afterwards held high office in Victoria and acted for a while as Agent-General for that Colony, was another. William Forster, who, under responsible government, became one of the early Premiers of New South Wales, was a third; and Rusden, the historian, was a fourth. A name which appeared at times, below a contribution to the "Poet's Corner" of *The Atlas*, was that of Henry Parkes, then little known, but afterwards to become the Grand Old Man of Australian Politics; and Sir Thomas Mitchell, the explorer and Surveyor-General of the Colony, wrote many valuable articles for the paper. It is true that the great majority of these, either then or later, also contributed to the *HERALD*; but their names are mentioned in association with Lowe's paper to show how strong the opposition of *The Atlas* was, and how it might have seriously competed with the senior paper, if its activities had continued to be so soundly and so effectively based. As a matter of fact, when, after a year or so, Lowe ceased to become a regular contributor, it began to decline; and towards the end of 1848—having lived only a little more than four years—it expired of inanition.

In June, 1844, an incident occurred which throws a curious sidelight on the social affairs of the era. In the course of a speech in the Legislative Council in which Lowe attacked Dr. Lang with considerable virulence, he referred to the fact that a certain Alderman Macdermott—a friend of the Doctor—had been recently blackballed by the Committee of the Australian Subscription Library. Macdermott thereupon challenged Lowe to a duel, but Lowe declined; and having brought the alderman's action to the notice of the House, it was decided that Macdermott should be prosecuted for a breach

of parliamentary privilege. Eventually these proceedings fell through; but in the meantime the HERALD had attacked Lowe, not, of course, for having refused to fight a duel—for the duel, although not largely employed in the Colony for the settlement of matters of honour at this time, had far from fallen into desuetude; and the HERALD, both then and later on, had not failed to decry it as an “illegal, unchristian, senseless and often sanguinary custom”—but for dragging in Macdermott’s name unnecessarily. The paper quoted the incident as an example of the abuse of parliamentary privilege indulged in so freely and frequently by Lowe. Speaking, *ex cathedra*, then, and more in sorrow than in anger, the “leader” says:

“ . . . An honourable member, whose virtues and abilities we highly respect, Mr. Lowe, in discussing a question of ecclesiastical law—a question of all others, requiring calmness and decorum—thought proper, on Friday last, to give loose to all the personal bitterness pent up in his bosom. In sarcasm and invective his tongue, at all times sufficiently fluent, literally ran riot. His attack upon Dr. Lang was infinitely more violent than would be supposed from the report of the speech given in Saturday’s HERALD; for our reporter exercised a sound discretion in curtailing the wrathful effusion. It is pretty well known that for Dr. Lang, as a public character, we have no great love; it is obvious, too, that within the walls of the Council Chamber he is, very fortunately, anything but popular; but as the former of these considerations shall not prevent our supporting his right to fair play, so the second ought not to prevent that right from being respected and maintained by honourable members. In forgetting what was due to Dr. Lang, as a representative senator, Mr. Lowe forgot what was due to the electors of Port Phillip.

“But not only did he allude to matters connected with Dr. Lang which would not come under the scope of the subject under discussion, he also referred to the fact of a person having been black-balled by the committee of a public institution. Granted, that at the time he made use of the expression, Mr. Lowe had no intention of injuring the feelings of the party referred to, still it was quite unnecessary, and therefore quite irregular, to mention his name at all. . . . We trust this affair will be a warning to all honourable members. It shows that the ‘protection’ afforded by privilege is but a feeble barrier against insulted human nature. Do what they will—let them adopt standing orders the most stringent, and arm their Sergeants-at-Arms to the teeth for the enforcement of such orders—legislators cannot exercise with impunity the right of gratuitously affronting people out of doors. It is not in human nature to endure it; they might as well attempt to chain the wind. We trust, therefore, that the Council, for the sake of the security of its own members, as well as in justice to the community, will hereafter sternly discountenance and promptly put down, any attempt to cause needless pain to the feelings of persons out of doors. . . .”

We have said that duelling was far from unknown in the Colony at this time; and it may be of interest at this point to furnish a little evidence of the truth of this statement, derived from the columns of the HERALD itself. Thus, on February 18th, 1833, the paper reports that a duel had taken place on “the Surry Hills” between a gentleman from the Hunter River District and a member of the legal profession. After an exchange of shots, “one of which grazed a knuckle,” the parties left the ground “without further injury.” This absence of injury seems to have been the frequent and fortunate accompaniment to the majority of the affairs of honour which we find reported; but when the brightness of one’s honour was so touchily regarded, it seems to the reader of to-day somewhat paradoxical that the grazing of a knuckle should have been thought sufficient to restore the unspotted purity of its erstwhile tarnished surface.

On the 12th May, 1836, again, the HERALD makes reference to a duel which had recently taken place between the captain of a ship in port and an “emigrant gentleman” who had arrived by the same vessel. This encounter was “terminated without bloodshed.” On the 8th April, 1841, a paragraph informs the reader that “reports are rife that several of these anti-Christian exhibitions have taken place in the strictest privacy within these few days”; and on 4th June, 1842, there is a long and amusing account of an “affair” that did *not* come off between one “H. Macdermott”—who seems to be identical

with Robert Lowe's fire-eating antagonist—and a Mr. James McEachern. The matter ended in both parties publishing huge notices in the *HERALD* setting out their respective versions of the dispute—a *dénouement* which must certainly have been satisfactory to the pockets of the proprietors of the paper, however unsatisfactory it may have been to the honour of the combatants. Again, in 1847, Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Cowper was challenged by Mr. Benjamin Boyd, a well-known figure of the day and, publicly declining to meet him, was very properly praised for his action in a leading article of the *HERALD*.

In October, 1849, Dr. Bland (whose previous experiences as the result of a duel might well have cooled his ardour), having taken natural offence at Lowe's action in having him excluded from the Senate of the new University of Sydney on the grounds that he (Bland) was "an ex-convict," wrote Lowe a letter (now preserved in the Mitchell Library, Sydney), which, although not a direct challenge, was perhaps even worse:

"I am recommended," wrote Bland, "not to call upon you for the satisfaction of a gentleman, because you have on more occasions than one . . . in a manner the most cowardly evaded it. . . ."

The writer concluded by stigmatising Lowe as a coward and a scoundrel if he did not fight, and left it at that. Lowe adopted his former course with Macdermott and prosecuted Bland for "inciting deponent to a breach of the peace"; but the court decided that the evidence as to the incitement was insufficient—although it is difficult to see what more could be required—and the whole affair came to an inconclusive end. Apparently one of the last duels that took place in New South Wales, if not in Australia, was that which occurred on September 27th, 1851, between Stuart Donaldson (afterwards the first Premier of New South Wales) and the Surveyor-General, Sir Thomas Mitchell. The cause was purely political, and the effect, as usual, harmless. By a peculiar coincidence, the last duel reported as having occurred in the United Kingdom, occurred in this same year. It took place in Ireland (naturally) between the Mayor of Sligo and a local lawyer, and "Honour was satisfied" in the customary bloodless fashion.

In the meantime, another matter had taken up much of the *HERALD*'s attention. The "coffin-ships" and the doings of their owners were particularly notorious about this time, and the *HERALD* attacked them vigorously. There was no doubt that vessels were insured far above their value and then sent away in an unseaworthy condition. They were not examined by any approved authority, and passengers were permitted to sail by them entirely ignorant of the danger to which they were being subjected. Many of these wretched floating sieves were never heard of again, and the evil had become so prevalent that, on the 23rd April, 1845, the *HERALD* published an outspoken leading article upon the subject, from which we quote the following extracts:

Shipowners who indulge in this wanton and detestable practice incur a frightful responsibility, both to the laws of God and man. . . . We know not whether there be any statute law imposing penalties on persons knowingly, or carelessly sending ships to sea in an unseaworthy state. But we have not any doubt from analogy that they may be punished as criminals of the highest order. If it can be shown that loss of life has been directly occasioned by such an act . . . we think they may even be tried for murder; and if merely want of care were the cause, they would be guilty of manslaughter. . . . We submit it as worthy of the consideration of our Legislative Council to establish a Board of two or more ship surveyors, and to inflict heavy pecuniary penalties on all masters and owners who may even attempt to defraud the public in so important a matter. . . ."

Naturally, this article occasioned considerable comment, and the "cap" was fitted to quite a number of persons interested in the shipping trade. But the *HERALD* made the object of its attack perfectly clear by its leading article of the 4th June following, headed "Unseaworthy Ships":

"In our Shipping Intelligence of 11th March last, we notified the return to port of the *Caroline*, Aitken, master, leaky after being out on a voyage to England only eight days. . . . After the *Caroline* put back, Captain Aitken, who commanded her . . . refused to continue in her, because (he said) he was sure she would never reach England. Another person, however, was found to take his place, and she sailed a second time, on the 25th March, with most, if not all, the passengers first embarked, who were originally induced to take berths in her solely on account of her low rates, and to continue in her solely because they had no means and would lose their passage money.

"When she was first laid on, it was given out (whether as a blind or not we cannot tell, though the event would fairly warrant that conjecture) that Mr. Isaac Simmons, one of the owners, was to proceed in her to England. Mr. Simmons, however, did not go. We think it a great pity that he did not, both for the sake of his own reputation and of retributive justice.

"When we penned our remarks . . . published in our paper of 23rd April, shortly after the sailing and resailing of the *Caroline*, we confess we had this vessel, and another, of equally bad reputation, in our eye. We have lost sight of the latter. . . . Unfortunately we have been reminded, somewhat sooner than we expected, of the *Caroline*. She has . . . been again forced to put back, the Bay of Islands being this time her refuge, . . . having been making sixteen inches of water per hour, and in a leaky and, in short, unseaworthy condition ever since she left our harbour. . . . All the unfortunate men, women and children—for the passengers were all of these—will be left penniless and friendless among strangers. . . .

"But what language too severe can we use against the owners of the *Caroline*, by whom so gross and almost fatal a deception has been practised? . . . With respect to the passengers, let us consider a little the position in which the owners have put themselves. They have entered into a contract for which they have beforehand pocketed the consideration, a contract therefore unaccompanied with any risk dependent on the result on their side, to convey these passengers to England, finding them food during the time of their voyage, and they have been compelled to a failure in the performance of the contract, not by any of those evils and accidents which are implied as contemplated in the agreement; but by a violation of a main stipulation not less clearly implied, that the ship shall be tight, staunch and strong, well-fitted, victualled and manned, and every way seaworthy, at the time of sailing. . . .

"They have deliberately sent this wretched old basket to sea *twice*, risking human life.

"These are heavy charges. The owners may be glad they are made no heavier by the vessel proceeding further and occasioning loss of lives. We wish there were some law by which the Attorney-General might investigate them, but we fear there is none."

This frank attack not only invited attack in return, it practically enforced it. Clearly the object of such serious allegations must take steps to refute them, or place himself outside the pale. Accordingly, Mr. Isaac Simmons instituted an action for libel against the proprietors of the *HERALD*, claiming £1,000 damages. The case came on for hearing on the 29th August, before Mr. Justice Dickinson and a common jury of twelve; and the report of it, together with the leading article (which is also devoted to the same subject) occupies fourteen columns in all, or practically the whole of the paper not taken up with advertisements. Mr. Richard Windeyer and Mr. Broadhurst were the counsel for the plaintiff, and Mr. Michie and Mr. Fisher appeared for the defendants. The pleadings were opened at some length by Mr. Broadhurst and when he had finished, Mr. Michie claimed the right to open the case. This was disputed by the plaintiff's counsel, but, after argument, the Judge ruled in favour of Mr. Michie's contention; and the somewhat unusual course was pursued of the defendants first stating their case against the plaintiff and the latter subsequently answering it. The defendants confessed that they were responsible for the article and that they meant it to convey exactly what the plaintiff said it meant; and they said that it had been published in the public interest. After an exhaustive hearing, the jury returned a verdict for the defendants, and, commenting upon the matter in a leading article, the *HERALD* said that it felt assured the result would have a most beneficial effect upon the interests of the public, and that therefore it did not regret the anxiety and expense incurred. Thus, 12,000 miles away, and thirty

years before his time, did the proprietors of the *HERALD* strike a crushing blow in the same great cause which Samuel Plimsoll, "the seamen's friend," eventually carried to a noble victory in the House of Commons.

The issue of 22nd April, 1845, is notable for the fact that it contained a supplement devoted entirely to a report of the famous case of the Bank of Australasia against the Bank of Australia—or, to be exact, against Thomas Chaplin Breillat, its Chairman. As this was one of the most important cases ever heard before the Supreme Court of New South Wales, both in regard to the number of persons interested in its result, and to the magnitude of the subject claims, so does this supplement probably comprise the most extraordinary addendum to a daily paper ever published, both in its completeness of detail and in its sheer bulk. It occupies ten full pages of the paper, or seventy columns in all. And a large proportion of it is printed in type considerably smaller than that commonly made use of by the *HERALD* at the time! It is unnecessary—and indeed impossible—to set out here the extraordinary complications and technicalities upon which the issues in this case rested; it is sufficient to say that the sums claimed by the plaintiff Bank from the defendant, as representative of the Bank of Australia, aggregated over £200,000; of which the largest individual claim amounted to £154,000. This claim was based upon a promissory note given by Mr. Norton, a former chairman of the defendant Bank to the plaintiff Bank, in respect of certain securities or alleged securities held on behalf of a firm named Hughes & Hosking; but which said securities turned out to be vastly over-valued. The defence was, shortly, that the chairman of the Bank of Australia had no power to bind the Bank in the manner alleged, and that therefore the defendant Bank was not indebted. Mr. Justice Dickinson was on the Bench, and the counsel engaged comprised almost every advocate of standing at the bar. The case lasted ten days, the first of which was almost entirely taken up with the empanelling of the jury; while the last three were needed for the speeches of counsel and for the summing up. This latter was very definitely in favour of the defendant; but after twelve hours' retirement, the foreman announced that there was no prospect of an agreement, and the case came to an inglorious and highly unsatisfactory conclusion.

Three months later the Court allowed the case to be re-heard by the method known as "Trial at Bar" (that is to say, before the Full Bench of the Supreme Court and a Special Jury). This was the first time such a procedure had ever been resorted to in the Colony, and considerable additional interest attaches to the trial in consequence. The hearing, which began on the 23rd June, 1845, lasted for twenty days. Judgment was given in favour of the defendants, whereupon the plaintiff Bank appealed to the Privy Council. Eventually an arrangement was entered into, by which the representatives of the Bank of Australia (which had some time previously closed its doors) agreed to hand over to the Bank of Australasia, all the Hughes & Hosking securities and to pay £40,000 in satisfaction of the whole claim. This arrangement was highly approved by the *HERALD*, which had already devoted several leading articles to the case, wherein it had strongly advocated a compromise, in view of the fact that most of the leading colonists were shareholders in the Bank of Australia. As the shares carried an unlimited liability, an adverse decision would have brought ruin to many of the oldest families and have caused practically a social revolution. It must be added, however, that when it had been decided, at the time of the failure of the Bank of Australia, to dispose of all the Hughes & Hoskings lands by public lottery, the paper strongly objected to the proposal, on the ground that such a scheme was nothing less than gambling. Such was the great "Bank Case" which stirred the Colony to its depths for many months in 1845.

The leading article of this same date (22nd April, 1845), is worth quoting from at some length; for it gives us a very good idea of the general condition of affairs in the community at the time. After stating that the article is written mainly for the information of the Home Authorities and would-be immigrants, and so that the brightening fortunes of New South Wales might be known and appreciated in the right quarter, the article continues:

But the colonists had scarcely begun to avail themselves of this unexpected advantage—[the discovery of the value of tallow]—when good news began to arrive from the British wool market. Ship after ship brought out advices that trade in the Mother Country was reviving; and the price of wool continued to advance step by step, until it had reached a point which left to the flock-master a handsome profit. At that point it has firmly remained. Here was another solace to our dejected community. Sheep-farming, which two years ago was pronounced on all hands a losing concern, is now the most profitable investment in the country. What with the high character of our tallow, and the remunerative prices of our fleece, our pastoral interest—the ruling interest in Australia—was never in a more auspicious position than at the present moment.

Add to these that the entire system of colonial business has undergone a radical reform, and our friends in England will understand that we are in the right way for surmounting all our difficulties and becoming a prosperous people. The days of speculation are over. Sound commercial principles are now in the ascendant. We buy to satisfy real wants, and those wants are governed by a severe economy. We sell for ready money, or restrict credit within limits the most prudent and secure. No man gives, no man dreams of asking, for land or stock more than its *bona fide* value. . . .

As an illustration of our economy as consumers, and of our industry as producers, we may refer to the relative amounts of our imports and exports. Until the year 1844, the balance of trade had always been largely to the debit of the Colony. In 1840 and 1841, when we were all mad together, our imports exceeded our exports by upwards of a million and a half sterling. In 1842 the excess fell (in round numbers) to £388,000, and in 1843 to £378,000. But in 1844, whilst our imports were only £931,000, our exports were £1,128,000, leaving a balance *in our favour* of nearly £200,000. In other words, for every £100 worth of goods imported by us, we exported produce to the amount of £121.

And of what is New South Wales now in want to remove its remaining difficulties, and to give full flow to the tide of its prosperity? We want three things—an equitable settlement of the Crown land question; a continuous supply of labour; and the accession of families with capital. The first of these wants we would fain hope—thanks to our Legislative Council, to our Pastoral Association, to Mr. Archibald Boyd and to our friends in Parliament—is in a fair way to being met to our general satisfaction. For the supply of labour, destitute as we are of funds applicable to immigration, we must depend upon the prevalence, in the influential circles of England, of sound principles of national policy. Ministers cannot long shut their eyes to the fact that it is their duty—a duty which is becoming daily more imperious—“to plant population where people are scant, to give the means of production where those means are wanting, and thereby prodigiously to augment the commercial resources of the empire.” . . .

Our third want, families with capital, should be understood strictly as we have expressed it. We do not want our capital *sent* out, but *brought* out. We do not want the Colony to be worked with borrowed money, the interest of which is to be sent abroad. Of this mistaken system we have had far too much already, and we are now acutely suffering for its introduction. But we want capitalists to come out with their money, and apply it to the development of our resources, for the mutual benefit of themselves and the Colony. And to convince them of the rich rewards they would thereby reap, we need only refer them to the prices of wool and tallow in England, and to the price of sheep in New South Wales, reminding them that pasture lands, whether purchased or rented from private owners, or occupied by licence from the Crown, may be had on the most advantageous terms. From these data it will be easy for them to compare the paltry returns derived from their capital in England, with those which would be realised in this country.

There is an interesting reference to the “discovery” of the third of the three great northern rivers of New South Wales in the *HERALD* of the 6th November, 1842. We must translate the word “discovery” as re-discovery; for the mouth of the Richmond

had been discovered by Captain Rous so far back as 1827. It was the higher waters of the stream that were discovered by the travellers whose exploits are here referred to:

"We have received an account of a river said to be newly discovered, called the Richmond, about fifty miles to the northward of the Clarence. About a hundred miles from the mouth a Mr. Stapleton has (taken up) a station at which the water is quite fresh and eleven feet deep. The land on the banks is described as being very fine, and abounds with cedar and pine. We have reason to believe this river has not been entered from the sea. If it be a new discovery, it will be a very important one, as it will be another link to connect Sydney with Moreton Bay."

There are many persons still alive—and hardly more than middle-aged, at that—who can recall the "Big Scrub," with its wealth of timber—notably the pine and cedar of the extract—which lined the banks of the Richmond and covered so much of these northern areas. Hardly any of it is left; and where it grew the herds of a thousand dairy farmers graze to-day.

But of all the explorers whose names are insolubly linked with the expeditions of this era, the one that is most closely associated with the *HERALD* is that of Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt, whose mysterious fate has probably given rise to more argument, and formed the object of more research expeditions, than that of any other of his questing tribe. Leichhardt had arrived in the Colony in 1840; but it was not until four years later that he started the expedition whose results were to bring him into association with the *HERALD* and to be given to the world through the medium of its columns. Briefly summarised, the story of that great journey runs as follows: Leichhardt, starting out from the Condamine River in October, 1844, traversed the vast area of country lying between that stream and the Gulf of Carpentaria. He discovered the Lawson and (in July, 1845) the Mackenzie Rivers, and, later, travelling up the Burdekin, he crossed the watershed between the rivers of the East Coast and those of the Gulf. Rounding the southern shore of that great inlet, he reached the river which he named the Roper; and, in the end, the survivors of his party—the naturalist, Gilbert, had been killed by blacks—arrived at Port Essington, in North Australia, in December, 1845.

The party had been given up as lost, and when the news filtered through that they were safe and were on their way to the capital, there were great demonstrations of joy and relief, and it was determined to give them a fitting welcome.

By an announcement in the "Shipping Arrivals" column of the *HERALD* of the 26th March, 1846, we learn that on the previous day the schooner *Heroine*, of 130 tons, had arrived in charge of Capt. Mackenzie from Bally and Port Essington. The passengers on board were Dr. Leichhardt, Mr. Roper, Mr. Calvert, Mr. Murphy and two aborigines. Mr. Brewer tells us in his notes that "so glad were the Government of his return that they honoured him by firing a salute of four guns from one of the forts, and some of the merchant ships in the harbour did the same. His portraits were lithographed and sold by several booksellers. Indeed, so general and warm a welcome had never before been accorded to any one in Sydney. . . . *He had the pleasure of reading some verses, written by Mr. Silvester of the HERALD, on his own grave.*" The italics are our own.

The *HERALD* at once entered into arrangements to publish his report, and it appeared in the issue following that which contained the notice of his arrival, together with a leading article expressing the general relief and satisfaction. As the report takes up more than eight full columns of the paper this feat provides good evidence of the enterprise of the proprietors and the skill of their staff. Mr. Brewer gives us a pleasant portrait of the explorer, whom he had the opportunity of seeing when he called at the office "to correct the proofs" of his report. "In personal appearance," he says, "he was tall and rather thin, but his frame was just the build for endurance. His face was certainly handsome and refined. He wore a short beard and moustache, and had a *distingué* air."

The publication of this report was a great feather in the HERALD's cap; and even to-day we can gather from Mr. Brewer's notes some idea of the excitement which was associated with the "scoop." When, therefore, Leichhardt set out upon his later journeys, the paper naturally took a more than ordinary interest in his activities, and devoted a considerable amount of space to chronicling every possible item of news associated with his work. The expedition of December, 1846, which wandered in somewhat aimless fashion through the same north-western area of what is now Queensland, can hardly be considered a success; and then came the start of that last sad journey, the mystery of whose termination has never been solved. The last communication ever received from Leichhardt or any of his party was a letter dated 3rd April, 1848, addressed by him from McPherson's station on the Cogoon River. In it Leichhardt gave no intimation of the route he proposed to take from that point; and his future movements and ultimate fate are matters upon which the most varying conjectures have been made. But they still remain conjectures and, most probably now, they ever will.

On the 1st January, 1846, the HERALD, as was customary upon such an occasion, devoted its leading article to a review of the past year, concluding with an interesting reference to its own affairs. "In the political page of Australia for the year 1845," it said, "there are only two events which stand out with peculiar prominence. Those, by an unlucky coincidence, relate to the two great branches of Australian industry—wool-growing and agriculture, and involve a lamentable want of that 'tenderness' and 'forebearance' towards her distant offspring for which His Excellency gives so liberal a credit to the Mother Country." The article condemns the Home Government for refusing free admission into the British market of Australian corn, and thus continues:

And yet we did not ask that the admission should be absolutely free, but only that it should be as little restricted as that conceded to Canada. A moderate demand, surely! Its moderation, however, was rewarded with a stern refusal. The speech in which the Premier attempted to explain and justify the refusal, is on all hands acknowledged to have been the most wretched that ever fell from Sir Robert Peel's lips—a speech of which, whether as an orator, a statesman, or a British subject, the Right Honourable Baronet ought to have been ashamed.

The other notable event in the political annals of 1845 concerns that to which Australia is indebted for all the prosperity she has hitherto enjoyed, and upon which depend all her hopes for the future—her pastoral interest. . . . As the Prime Minister has wounded the feelings of the agriculturists, so the Secretary for the Colonies has wounded the feelings of the graziers. As the one has refused to admit her corn, so the other has refused to concede to her the use of her waste lands upon terms equally favourable with those granted in both cases to Canada. Canada—whose rebellious arm strove the other day to overturn British sovereignty—Canada can not only be allowed to enter the British market as a son, while loyal Australia must enter it as an alien, but can be left to manage her own lands and to appropriate her own territorial revenues according to her own discretion, while loyal Australia is forbidden to set foot upon an acre, or to lay hands upon a single territorial shilling, unless at the immediate dictation of Downing Street! Rebellion at a premium—loyalty at a discount. . . .

If we turn from the political past to the political future, we may discern a streak or two of hope in the pending change in our local administration. Sir George Gipps, the boasted liberal in political creed, the unbending autocrat in political government (that is to say, touching Crown Land Prerogative) having served nearly two years beyond the customary period, is about to leave our shores, to be succeeded we know not by whom. The change *may* be for the better. As regards the Land question, it cannot be for the worse. . . .

In a commercial point of view the past year was one of growing brightness and, compared with any of the previous four, of high prosperity. Insolvency had run itself down—had worn itself out. The cheering advance in the price of wool had diffused universal gladness and changed the whole aspect of the land. The only thing to fear now is relapse into the speculation mania. . . . The experience of the past ten years should teach us to beware. We have seen how prosperity when not discreetly used, first intoxicates and then destroys. . . .

We must not conclude . . . without some allusion to the affairs of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD. Depending for our success, as we entirely do, upon the complacency of Public Opinion, we refer to that success only as an index to the sentiments of the great bulk of our intelligent community. We therefore acknowledge, with the liveliest feelings of satisfaction and gratitude, that the progress of our journal, during the past year, has been all that we could desire. Our increase of subscribers has been steady and uninterrupted; while our advertising friends have poured their favours upon us with a most bounteous hand. . . . It shall be our constant endeavour to deserve, not only the success already ours, but a still larger measure of the public support.

This matter of the right to sell and utilise the Crown Lands of the Colony, so eloquently referred to in the earlier part of the above article, was indeed the burning question of the day—ranking even higher in importance, if that were possible, than the suggested revival of the transportation system. For, whereas, as we have seen, there was a certain section of the community, and by no means a small or unimportant one, which was strongly in favour of that revival, not a single voice beyond those of the Governor and his immediate supporters, could be heard to support the absolute restriction in regard to the Crown Lands which the Home Government had imposed. Not only had the local legislature no say whatever in the manner or degree of the sale of the unoccupied lands, it had no say whatever in the disposal of the proceeds of such sales. In 1844 the Legislative Council, by formal resolution, and the colonists by public petition, had besought the Home Authorities “to avert them from the impending calamity” born of this iniquitous restriction. In 1845 the Home Authorities replied “with insulting calmness,” that the petitioners had no calamity to fear and that the obnoxious regulations would not be withdrawn. And now, in the dawn of 1846, the great “question of questions”—as the HERALD called it—remained as unsettled as ever. “Notwithstanding all that has been written from the Colony to Downing Street,” said the paper, “and from Downing Street to the Colony, neither the Government at Home nor the Government here appears to understand their own minds. Bungling attempts to legislate in the one country and to rule and regulate in the other . . . serve only to show that both Minister and Minister’s men are bewildered in the fog of their own accumulated errors.”

This vexing sore was brought to a head by the action of the Governor, who was shortly to retire, in sending down to the Legislative Council a measure, entitled the “Crown Lands Occupation Bill,” for their consideration. The Act governing the sale and occupation of Crown Lands was just about to expire, and it had been hoped that on its expiration the obnoxious regulations and restrictions might be allowed to expire with it. But the Governor’s Bill killed all such hopes. It was, indeed, regarded by the colonists and their elected representatives as being a change for the worse, and a regular campaign of opposition to it was initiated. The HERALD, in a leading article, called attention to the Bill’s demerits, declaring it to be a measure which would still further prolong, and possibly increase, the exclusive rights over Crown Lands, and the revenue derivable therefrom, which the Home Government already possessed and utilised to what was considered to be the grave disadvantage of the Colony; and it called upon the elected members of the Council to reject it. The debate began upon the 3rd June, 1846, and lasted two days. In the end the Bill was rejected by a majority of nine votes. Wentworth, who in the preceding year had also strongly opposed the introduction of the original regulations—so strongly indeed as to suggest that the Council should refuse to proceed with the estimates unless the Government agreed to hand over to the local legislature the right to deal with the proceeds of Crown Lands sales—was the leader of the opposition to the new Bill; and as the HERALD pointed out in a triumphant leader the day after its defeat, the only Councillors who had voted for it were those who had been

appointed by the nomination of the Crown. Every elected Councillor, without exception, opposed the measure.

This was not, however, the last fight which the Council—and the *HERALD*—had with Governor Gipps. That determined gentleman, ignoring the defeat of his measure—and also the fact that the original Act under which they were collected, was about to expire—caused the usual gazette notice to be issued, intimating that the license fees of Crown Lands would be collected in the customary way. The Legislative Council thought to prevent further gubernatorial interference by adjourning for a month, in the knowledge that during that month Gipps would leave, and in the hope that during the interregnum before his successor, Sir Charles Fitzroy, could arrive, they would be enabled with the assistance—or compliance—of Sir Maurice O'Connell, who would be acting as Lieutenant-Governor, to reassemble and put through a good deal of very necessary legislation. But they had a very wily and determined man to deal with. Sir George Gipps was sick—sick unto death, as it proved—but sick or well, he would not be dictated to, or played with. So he countered this move by proroguing the Council until the 25th August, by which time Sir Charles would have arrived, and would be able to deal with the recalcitrant colonials as he deemed best. It was a pleasant little legacy to leave his successor, certainly; but it certainly spiked the guns of those who had tried to get the better of him.

It was Gipps' last official act, and it drew from the indignant *HERALD* no less than three leading articles, entitled respectively "The Last Blow," "Has Sir George Gipps been an Impartial Governor?" and "Has the Governor Been Actuated by Good Intentions?" The last two, as may well be imagined, contained exceedingly definite answers in the negative to the questions they themselves had propounded. We quote the final paragraph of the second article, as not only a sample, but a summary of the *HERALD*'s opinion of the departing Governor:

"Hence it is that we have given it as our deliberately formed opinion that, with reference to great and momentous interests, Sir George Gipps has been the worst Governor that New South Wales has ever had. He has done for it the least amount of good—he has inflicted upon it the largest amount of injury. We write these hard words 'more in sorrow than in anger.' We sorrow that we should take leave of His Excellency in terms so unkindly and so harsh; but we sorrow most of all that he should have bequeathed to our adopted country, to our children and our children's children, a legacy of thralldom which, as we said on Saturday, will cause generations yet unborn to rue the day he ever set foot upon our shore."

The *HERALD* here hardly allowed for the difficulties which had surrounded a man who was an honest servant, loyal to the Government which employed him. Gipps occupied a position which, by reason of its anomalousness, exposed him to a double burden. On the one hand were the direct instructions of the Home Government, unable to comprehend the desires and needs of the growing Colony; on the other a people determined to gain for themselves the freedom of self-government, and whose desire for that consummation had been but whetted by the modicum of legislative control they had obtained. The combined effect of these two forces was to place the Governor between the horns of a dilemma, from which there was no escaping. Gipps had been a strong man, but the strain was too much for him, as it would have been too much for anyone. It broke his strength if it could not break his spirit. He had arrived in the Colony eight years before, a hearty, vigorous pro-consul, determined to give of his best, and believing that his best would be worthy of the position he was to take and of the race whose blood ran in his veins. He left the Colony a physical wreck. Despite the attacks to which he had been constantly subjected during his stay in Australia, there were many who, recognising his real goodness of heart and uprightness of character, were grieved at his

departure. Numerous addresses were presented to him, deprecating the animosity with which he had been pursued, and testifying to his talents, industry and impartiality, which they declared "the candid historian would confirm." Gipps was much affected by these expressions of goodwill, and in bidding his well-wishers farewell, he prayed that the Almighty would dispose their hearts to retain a favourable recollection of himself and his wife. He concluded thus: "I have laboured to the best of my ability to advance the true interests of this land—interests which I most conscientiously believe must, for all ages to come, be inseparably connected with those of the parent State."

Gipps left the Colony on the 26th January, 1846, worn out with the unequal conflict he had been called upon to wage, and cut to the heart by the treatment accorded him. The later researches of historians have largely confirmed the verdict of those who testified to his talents at the hour of his departure. The demands of the colonists for complete self-government were justified by the event, but there can be little doubt that, if Gipps had had his way and the Home Government's Crown Lands policy had continued, much of the trouble that afterwards arose in consequence of the methods of land administration adopted by the colonial authorities would have been avoided. Gipps reached England after a troubled and protracted voyage, during which he had denied himself, for the benefit of others not so well provisioned, comforts that might have helped his flickering health to recovery, only to sink into a serious illness and to die. The end came on the 27th February, 1847, when he was but fifty-seven years of age; and a few days later his wearied form was laid to rest in the southern aisle of Canterbury's beautiful cathedral.

PART III.

Fitzroy arrived on 2nd of August, 1846, and the HERALD (somewhat in the manner of a policeman informing an arrested suspect that whatever he said might be used in evidence against him) ventured "with seemly deference" to warn His Excellency in its leading article of the following day, that, in view of the difficulties of his position, it would be better for him to adopt the methods of Agag and "walk delicately." As the article in question also refers to the position of the Crown Lands tangle at some length, it may very well be quoted from at this point:

The new administration has now fairly set in. Sir Charles Augustus Fitzroy is Governor *de facto* as well as *de jure*. He has taken the oaths—he is seated in the Vice-regal chair—the honours and responsibilities of office are upon him—and the colonists are waiting with anxiety to see how those honours will be worn, how those responsibilities will be discharged. He comes amongst us at a critical juncture. May he have the wisdom and the firmness, and the patriotism, which the crisis so peculiarly requires!

It is worthy of remark that each of His Excellency's last two predecessors, as well as himself, entered office under circumstances which may be considered epochs in our history.

Sir Richard Bourke arrived immediately after the promulgation of Lord Ripon's new code of Land Regulations, by which the free grant system was abolished, and the system of putting up the waste lands for sale by auction was introduced. He arrived, too, when the Colony was just emerging from the severest depression it had then ever experienced; he had the good fortune to witness its continued advancement from the commencement to the close of his administration; and when he retired from our shores, he had the satisfaction of knowing that he left behind him a contented and prosperous people.

Sir George Gipps entered upon his government just as the Colony had pushed itself beyond the boundaries within which the hoodwinked policy of the Minister had sought to restrain it. As the surges of the ocean disregarded the interdict of Canute, so the prolific flocks and herds of our graziers had set at nought the barriers of Government maps. "Let the evils of dispersion be what they may," said Sir George, in his despatch to the Secretary of State of 28th September, 1840,

"they must here be borne with. Our flocks and herds already stray over a country 900 miles long by 300 wide; and I hesitate not to say, that any attempt to bring them within the limits even of our 20 contiguous counties would end in failure, if not in the ruin of the Colony." No such mad attempt, it is true, was ever made by Sir George; but no sooner had the sexennial term of his office expired, than he attempted to superinduce upon this physical peculiarity a system of arbitrary domination, on the part of the Crown, to which no community of free Britons could tamely submit for one moment, since its inevitable result would have been to bind on our necks the yoke of a feudal vassalage. This audacious blow at our liberties, however, was resisted, as tyranny ever will be resisted by enlightened Englishmen. The conflict was maintained to the very end of the Gipps administration, and maintained with such unflinching firmness on the part of the colonists, and with such sullen obstinacy on the part of the Governor, that the final conference between the latter and the Legislative Council was one of the most painful exhibitions of mutual distrust and incivility that can well be imagined. Had Sir George Gipps remained at the helm of affairs, it is clear that his government would have come to a deadlock. The rupture between him and our representatives was past healing.

This is the critical moment at which our new ruler steps into office. The paramount question in the politics of New South Wales, at the present moment, is that of the occupancy and administration of the waste lands—in other words, the Squatting Question. And this question of questions is unsettled. Nay, it is in a much worse position than that of being merely unsettled. It is associated with all the bitter remembrances of the tyranny of Sir George Gipps and Lord Stanley. It is the monster grievance which that tyranny has so aggravated and distorted that the colonists have come to look upon it with abhorrence. It is no longer a mere theory of political science, which they should be prepared to discuss calmly and philosophically; it has grown into a symbol of oppression, the mere mention of which galls and irritates a people whom no portion of Her Majesty's subjects surpass in the love of constitutional freedom, and the detestation of arbitrary power. Sir Charles Fitzroy has to take up this question with all these unfortunate accessories clinging to it. He has to take it up at the very outset of his career. He has to take it up with the disadvantage on his own part of local inexperience. He has to take it up with the bad precedents of a Governor who was infatuated with an almost idolatrous reverence for prerogative, and of a Minister who had flattered the hot-brained devotee with official plaudits and caresses. Can Sir Charles take it up successfully? Can he so take it up as to prepare the way for a good understanding between himself and the colonists, for an amicable intercourse between himself and our representatives in the legislature? To do so he must approach it with settled equanimity of temper. He must show, *in limine*, that whilst he remembers his duty to the Crown, he is not indifferent to the rights of the subject—that whilst he knows he has to watch over the claims of the Empire, he is ready to make every just concession to those of the Colony.

Sir Charles comes among us with a high character, personal and official. We trust he will maintain it from the beginning to the end. So far as our humble influence extends, he shall have fair play. We will do for him what we ever did for Sir George Gipps—defend him, to the utmost of our ability, from the attacks of wicked and unreasonable men. But we shall, nevertheless, watch him closely, vigilantly and fearlessly. With every disposition to respect his high office as the representative of our most gracious Sovereign, and to view with candour his official acts in the trying emergency of our present affairs, we shall assert the freedom of a Press to which the rights of the Colony are a supreme law.

The conditions were indeed changed, and the man who had taken up the gubernatorial mantle was a very different man from him who had last worn it. Fitzroy was not committed to the decisions of Gipps; and from the first he showed no disposition to rush his decisions. Indeed, the only fault that the *HERALD* and those who supported it could find with him in the gravest crisis of his term of office, was that he had taken their original advice too well and could not, or would not, make up his mind. Fitzroy was, as a rule, the soul of courtesy, and he possessed the art of disarming his opponents, not with argument but by his personal charm; but, withal, he must have aggravated many by his consistent policy of "wait and see." This attitude, at the beginning of his term, was judicious; but to keep to it, after making himself acquainted with the full position of affairs in the Colony, was a mistake. However, for some considerable time,

he got on well with everybody, and for the happy political conditions which marked the latter portion of his term, he is entitled to a large share of the credit.

The new Governor summoned the Legislative Council to meet upon the 8th September, 1846, and announced that he would only propose to the members such measures as were immediately necessary. He asked them to give him their unreserved confidence and assured them of his desire to co-operate with them in promoting the public weal. A cordial address to His Excellency was moved and passed; but members made no attempt to retract from the position they had previously taken up with regard to the land revenue, and Wentworth almost immediately gave notice of his intention to bring in a Bill to repeal all the measures then in force which invested the revenue elsewhere than in the Legislative Council. The Council, moreover, managed to obtain a great deal more control of the finances generally than it had possessed during the administration of Gipps. The land trouble was allayed by an Imperial Act which gave the squatters the right of leasing their runs for a fixed period, and in October, 1846, Fitzroy was enabled to issue an order abolishing the quit rents which had proved so vexatious. One great trouble, at least, therefore, was removed from the list of grievances under which the community had suffered so long at the hands of the Imperial Authorities; and in securing this desirable result the *HERALD* had, as we have seen, played a strenuous and consistent part ever since the days when the Wakefield scheme had first found favour in the eyes of the Home Government.

Unfortunately, just as this partial settlement of the lands question had brought satisfaction to the Colony, the transportation question was revived by the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, a young man who was to make great history in later years—one William Ewart Gladstone. His suggestion, as communicated to Fitzroy, was that for each convict sent out, a free emigrant should be sent also; and that men and women should be sent in equal numbers. Fitzroy favoured the scheme, and so did a number of the landed proprietors, for the reasons already mentioned. Indeed, for a short time, even the *HERALD* was inclined to relax its opposition, subject to certain stringent conditions which it proposed. But the conditions were clearly impossible; the paper became even more hostile to the revival suggestion than ever, and never again did it waver in its opposition.

The agitation in favour of the resumption of transportation had been in evidence for some little time, but it was not until 1845 that it really came to a head. That year was conspicuous for the energy with which the squatting interests endeavoured to re-establish the system. They found an eloquent advocate in Wentworth, of all people, and their strongest and most consistent opponent in the *HERALD*. Wentworth's attitude which at first sight seems incomprehensible in one who won—and for so many reasons rightly earned—the title of "the patriot," was apparently based upon two reasons. The first was that the Imperial expenditure upon—and in—the Colony was very much increased under the transportation system, and therefore tended to increase the wealth of the community generally; and the second was that the squatting industry—upon which Wentworth believed that the whole fortunes of the Colony depended—was very greatly benefited by the cheap and constant supply of labour available under the system, and without this assistance might find itself in sore straits. Any injury to the "wool trade" would be fatal to the prosperity of New South Wales; and, conversely, any policy which benefited it was to be supported. So argued Wentworth at this time, and so argued many. But the anti-transportationists would have none of their arguments. Even if they were sound, they said, it were better for the country to suffer financially than to march to success behind such a flag. The stigma of being a penal colony overweighed all the

alleged advantages; and a crusade, backed by the HERALD in "leader" after "leader," was instituted.

By another touch of the ironical finger of fate it was Lowe, the representative of the squatters, who now became their strongest opponent. And as the breach between him and his constituents widened, so Wentworth became more and more their advocate, until the two men came to be recognised as the great protagonists in one of the most important social and political dramas in the history of the Colony. It is true that the duel was not long sustained. Lowe was to leave the Colony in a few years, never to return; Wentworth was, ere long, to reassume that mantle of leadership in the great cause of constitutional freedom, which at the time he seems to have allowed to slip from his shoulders. But while it lasted the duel was a great one, and all the more interesting from the fact that while fighting it, each antagonist had reversed his original role.

By an Order-in-Council of September, 1848, Earl Grey, who had followed Gladstone as Secretary of State for the Colonies, once more endeavoured to make Australia a penal settlement, although he camouflaged the attempt by terming his proposed transportees "exiles." Naturally the general community of the Colony was indignant to the point of fury at this betrayal of its interests, and resolved to do what it could to prevent the effectuation of the Minister's decision. But the squatters and those whose interests were akin to theirs, were largely in favour of the scheme, since it promised them a supply of employees over whom they would have large powers and for whose services they would have to pay little. Wentworth was their spokesman, and Lowe, with voice and pen, both in the legislature and on the platform—and even in the street—left no opportunity unused to fight the cause of the majority. On 8th June, 1849, the ship *Hashemy*, with a "cargo" of "exiles" on board, originally consigned to Melbourne, but of which the spirited residents of that settlement had refused to "take delivery," arrived in Port Jackson with the announced intention of landing her unwanted freight in Sydney. A public meeting of protest was held at Circular Quay three days later and a series of resolutions protesting against the revival of transportation in general, and the landing of the convicts from the *Hashemy* in particular, was moved and carried amid immense enthusiasm. Lowe, who was to have been chairman, but did not arrive until too late to occupy that position, was nevertheless the soul of the meeting. His speech, reported at length in the HERALD, makes excellent and exciting reading even to-day, and one can well understand the cheers and applause with which the report shows it to have been punctuated. One can appreciate, too, the enthusiasm of the old lady who, crediting to age that which was really due to albinism—for Lowe was then but 37—exclaimed at the end of it, according to Rusden, "Bless his dear old white head!" The HERALD, too, expressed its admiration, not only for this particular speech, but also for another which Lowe delivered at a second public meeting, held a week later, and necessitated by the hesitation of Sir Charles Fitzroy to act on the protests conveyed to him. Eventually, the protests proved fairly effective; for, although the convicts were landed from the *Hashemy*, all but a few of them were sent inland, and most of them, indeed, so far away as the new settlement at Moreton Bay. The effect of Lowe's attitude in this grave matter upon the HERALD is evidenced by the flattering comment which the paper passed upon his speech on the perennial land question a few days later. After a few preliminary suggestions that it might perhaps be over-florid, the "leader" refers to the speech as "able and eloquent," and concludes with a sentence which may well be regarded as the *amende honorable*:



PAPERS OF THE PERIOD.

A few of the many newspapers that, during the early history of the Herald, were its contemporaries. All have long since passed into oblivion.



*Sydney from the old Point
Piper Road.*



Double Bay (centre)

*These illustrations are from
prints of various dates in
the early 'fifties.*

*Parramatta, with the Sydney
coach in the foreground.*



"We thank Mr. Lowe for having so ably addressed himself to this great inquiry; and we anticipate the pleasure of having by and by to thank him for the successful manner in which he has conducted it to its close."

Unfortunately, the *HERALD* was not to have that felicity. Lowe, in addressing the Council in a debate upon the "Price-of-Crown-Lands" Bill in June, 1847, had declared that if the "Orders-in-Council" to which he had moved an objection were carried, he would have to leave the Colony. They *were* carried, and ever since Lowe had been gradually preparing to effect his announced determination. He completed his arrangements during the last part of the year of the Hashemy incident, and left in January, 1850, for England and a destiny which led him, in turn, to the House of Commons in 1852, to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in the Gladstone Ministry of 1868 and to a peerage (as Lord Sherbrooke) in 1880.

There is nothing but the mere mention of his name in the advertised passenger list of the "Kate" to mark his leaving; for Lowe was allowed to depart without that public recognition which assuredly his supporters were right in believing that his services deserved. Even the *HERALD* made no mention, either of regret or relief, at the passing of one who had, at any rate, during his sojourn in these parts, provided its leader-writers with a theme of never-failing interest, and its columns with a constant supply of exhilarating "copy."

The Hashemy affair was the last effort of the Home Authorities to revive the transportation system. In 1850 the Legislative Council sent home an absolute refusal to accept convicts of any sort under any conditions, and Grey, very unwillingly, was forced to accept the ultimatum. A year later he was out of office and his successor gave the required assurance to the Colony that, so far at any rate as Eastern Australia was concerned, transportation had come to an end. In Van Diemen's Land, however, it was not until 1854 that a period was put to the system, and it took another fourteen years (for Western Australia ceased not to be a penal colony until 1868) to remove the accursed stigma from Australia as a whole. But let us return to 1846 and take up again the regular trend of our chronicle.

On the 29th June of that year the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel resigned and, the news arriving in Sydney by the Ship "Enterprise" on the morning of the 31st October following, the *HERALD* signified its appreciation of the value of the intelligence by issuing an "extraordinary"—the first ever published by the paper—announcing the event. This extraordinary took the form of a small four-page sheet, and gave the *HERALD*'s readers a summary of the proceedings in the House of Commons upon the historic occasion. Curiously enough, considering the importance with which the *HERALD* regarded the news, the paper made no editorial comment upon it whatsoever—beyond reiterating that it *was* important—either in the "extraordinary" itself or in the later issues of the paper. Nor had the news of the repeal of the Corn Laws, which had been received a few weeks before, excited any attention from the paper. The explanation probably is that so engrossed was the *HERALD* at this time with the campaign to defeat the threatened revival of transportation, it had little time to devote to other matters, even such important ones as these.

In the beginning of 1847 a change was made by the proprietors of the *HERALD* in their method of paying the compositors. Hitherto, as we have seen, the men had been paid by time—£2/2/- per week and 10d. per hour overtime. In all establishments where a number of men are paid in this way, it is evident that there must be a marked difference in the amount of work done by them individually. The *HERALD* proprietors experienced this, and so had the compositors, with the result that a certain amount of dis-

satisfaction was expressed both by employers and employees. The proprietors, therefore, with the consent of the men, introduced the "piece" system—on the same lines as then employed in the office of the *London Times*—whereby each man was paid in strict proportion to the amount of work he accomplished. The immediate result of the change was that the best men earned the highest wages, while all of them were given an inducement to work well. Time was saved, too, by the change; and the men drew up a set of rules which, by regulating the work, secured better and more systematic methods. The compositors did more work in less time all round, and, while some of them made as much as from £4 to £4/10/ per week, not one of them made less than the £2/2/- he had been previously receiving. This system of remuneration, so far as the compositors and linotype operators are concerned, has been in operation in the *HERALD* office ever since.

A small but significant change was also made in the appearance of the *HERALD* in the early part of this year. On the 14th January, 1847, the "Tory-Whig" motto, which had for so long decorated the front page of the paper, immediately beneath the title, was omitted—never to re-appear. It had for long enough been honoured rather in the breach than in the observance, and probably the proprietors, recognising this fact, determined to rectify the anomaly in the only possible way.

Sydney had ever been the military headquarters for the whole of Australia, including Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand; by far the greater portion of the troops were stationed there, and the Commander-in-Chief resided there as a matter of course. But in 1847 the hostile attitude of the Maoris led to an alteration in these dispositions; the Home Government ordered two of the three regiments then in New South Wales to be stationed in New Zealand, thus leaving Sydney with only one to cover the whole Colony from Port Phillip to Moreton Bay. By this arrangement not only was the Imperial military expenditure in the Colony largely decreased, but the prestige of Sydney was regarded as being very considerably lowered; while for the fairer sex it was impossible to deny that much of the former glamour of the city had departed. The *HERALD* was very indignant about it. In a leading article headed "New South Wales Sacrificed," the paper protested against the removal, pointing out that the one regiment left would be scattered over various parts of the Colony, and not more than 150 men would be left to occupy the barracks and to protect the citizens in a crisis. The legislature, too, was very perturbed over the matter. The last session of the first Council opened on the 4th May, and, on the 26th of the same month, a debate remarkable for its display of intemperate language, took place upon a motion condemnatory of the military withdrawals. The motion was eventually carried after many vicious verbal attacks had been made upon the Home Authorities. But the *HERALD* and the Council had made a bad mistake, as events were soon to show. In less than a month a serious outbreak occurred among the Maoris; and not only were the services of the two regiments stationed there fully required, but every man in addition that could be spared from Sydney was sent across the Tasman Sea to their assistance. The *HERALD* of June 18th acknowledged its error and declares that "the intelligence brought from New Zealand should serve to allay the indignation of the people of this Colony at the removal of the troops." The Legislative Council, for its part, did nothing, and said nothing, about the matter at all—and did, and said, it very well. And nothing further was heard of the condemnatory motion.

The year 1847 closed with a dreadful catastrophe. Lady Fitzroy was driving in Parramatta Park on the morning of the 8th December with her husband and Lieutenant Masters, his aide-de-camp, when the horses, which were spirited animals, took fright and bolted. Sir Charles, who was regarded as an excellent whip, lost control of them

and crashed into a tree, upsetting the carriage. Lady Fitzroy and the aide-de-camp were so terribly injured that they died within a few hours, the Governor himself escaping with a bad bruising. The two victims of the accident were buried in one vault in the Parramatta Cemetery, and on the day of the funeral the majority of the shops in Sydney and Parramatta were closed and the city itself was almost deserted, so large was the concourse at the ceremony. The *HERALD* in a leading article expressed the regret and sympathy of the community, and for three days in succession appeared with a mourning border of black. The paper spoke very highly of the Governor's merits, a fact which adds considerably to the interest of the following document. It is portion of a confidential despatch from Fitzroy to Earl Grey, dated 15th January, 1848, or just a month after the *HERALD*'s article on the Parramatta fatality, and it sets out the Governor's opinion of the *HERALD*. The document is quoted in full in the Commonwealth Historical Records, Series I. Vol. 26:

"*THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD* is published in Sydney daily. This paper is very generally read, and as it contains most of the advertisements published in the Colony, it is well supported by the commercial and trading classes, as well as by the settlers in the country. Its leading articles do not appear to be governed by any fixed rules or principles, but like those of all other papers in New South Wales, more by the bearing which any particular measure or question may have on the interests of those it represents, or by the personal feelings or connections of the writers or conductors; but it is generally considered a respectably conducted paper, and, although its writings are not always read with attention, it is a publication of considerable influence and, as possessing the best information, of much utility. In reference to religion, it is a supporter of the views of the Church of England, and some of the clergy, or their personal friends, appear in some cases to exercise considerable influence over it. It contains generally the best reports of the debates in the Legislative Council and upon the whole this branch of its management is perhaps, as fair as that of most publications in any country, although more attention is no doubt frequently given to speakers whose opinions it advocates, or whose views, from personal consideration towards the individual or association with him in the daily business of life, it upholds. It is perhaps here that the Government, which is neither systematically supported nor opposed, is scarcely on all occasions done full justice to in the remarks made by its officers in explanation or support of its measures, although generally there is no great reason to complain."*

Considering the extreme tension which had existed between the Government and public opinion, as voiced by the *HERALD*—a tension which was quite comparable to that in Canada prior to Lord Durham's report—this comment is far from unfavourable.

The year 1848 was marked, in particular, by the opposition expressed almost universally throughout the Colony against the new constitutional proposals sponsored by Earl Grey. These proposals—in addition to supporting the movement for the separation of Port Phillip into a separate colony—constituted an attempt to foist upon New South Wales a very much more restricted form of local government than that which she already enjoyed. To quote the words of the despatch from Earl Grey to Sir Charles Fitzroy, as published in the *HERALD* of the 25th December, 1847:

"One of the most material of the contemplated changes is that which involves a return to the old form of Colonial Constitution. . . .

". . . . It will be necessary to consider what changes ought to be made in the existing law for the creation of municipalities in order to secure to those bodies their just weight and consideration, and especially whether, with that view, they may not be made to bear to the House of Assembly the relation of constituents and representatives."

The natural interpretation of these proposals by the *HERALD* was that the Imperial Government intended to pass a law not only restricting the limited form of self-government then enjoyed by the citizens of New South Wales, but, by the appointment of a number of outside bodies who would act as intermediaries between the electors and

* See the reference to the *HERALD* in *The Colonial Gazette* of 22nd June, 1844, quoted in Section VI., at p. 240.

their representatives in the local legislature, making it still more difficult for public opinion to find expression in the measures of that legislature. The provision for the creation of a system of local government throughout the Colony which had been incorporated in the Act of 1842, had been steadily opposed by practically all parties in the Colony; and had, indeed, become a dead letter. This new proposal was clearly an attempt to revive these local councils in a more aggravated form, and the HERALD only voiced the general opinion in its attack upon the scheme. The fact that the proposal also advocated the separation of the Port Phillip district may have added fuel to the paper's indignation—for, as will be seen almost immediately, the HERALD had consistently opposed the movement for the creation of the new colony—but, apart from that, there was ample justification in Grey's new scheme for the general apprehension which it created.

The HERALD had a leading article in opposition to the proposed constitutional changes the day after they had been made public, and this was but the first of a series. On 19th January an immense public meeting was held in Sydney, at which a series of resolutions were carried to the effect that the proposed alterations in the Constitution were viewed with dismay, and the HERALD, in drawing the attention of its readers to the necessity of attending the meeting in force, concluded its article with the following exordium:

For the innovation recommended in Earl Grey's despatch no reason whatever is assigned. His Lordship puts forth a scheme at once "alien to the notions of Englishmen" and adverse to the settled usages of the colonists, and yet deigns not to say one word *why* he does so. Thus does he not only attack our liberties but insult our understandings.

But the colonists have this day to teach the noble lord that they know both how to value and how to defend their liberties. Let the colonists do this vigorously. Let the Victoria Theatre be thronged with calm but determined asserters of British rights. Let them avoid dissension, merging all secondary questions in the one great struggle for the integrity of the franchise and the consequent purity of representative legislation.

The colonists responded admirably to this vigorous appeal. They *did* throng the Victoria Theatre; they *did* determinedly assert their rights, although the evidence seems to show that they hardly did it calmly. As a matter of fact the excitement was prodigious, and the shouting and the tumult only died—as is commonly the case with all things mortal—for sheer lack of breath. The meeting was reported in full in the issue of the 21st January, and a leading article upon it and the issue generally appeared upon the following day. The report is of interest not only for the vigour and sound sense which the speeches display, but also for the evidence which it provides of the general and whole-hearted opposition which had been excited. The speakers, among others, included James Martin, afterwards to be Chief Justice, Wentworth, S. A. Donaldson, the first Premier of the Colony (under the Constitution Act of the next decade), Robert Lowe, Charles Kemp, of the HERALD, who on this occasion broke the general rule of the firm that neither partner should take an active part in outside affairs, Michie, one of the leaders of the Bar, and James Macarthur. All parties and classes united to make the occasion a memorable one, and the HERALD was right in proclaiming it "a splendid instance of unanimity." The leading article of the 22nd, which took the meeting and the reasons for convening it as its themes, may well be quoted here:

The resolutions passed at the public meeting, and the unimpeachable arguments with which they were supported, have established the fact, that, in the judgment of the colonists of New South Wales, the measure about to be carried through Parliament by Earl Grey will *be repugnant to the British Constitution*. In passing it, Parliament will have overstepped the limits prescribed to it by the national will. It will have exceeded its powers. It will have intruded into a province which does not belong to it. It will have usurped an authority to which it has no claim. It has

commanded an obedience which is not due to it, and which it cannot enforce. It will then, have done, as we said, a foolish thing.

But to the proof. That brilliant orator, Mr. Robert Lowe, whose eloquence on such a theme is the more impressive from its being associated with a professional knowledge of the law, pointed out the means by which the colonists, when Lord Grey's measure shall come to them in the shape of an Act of Parliament, may prove themselves more than a match for the Three Estates. Those means have in them nothing violent; nothing of which the law can take hold; nothing of which the British Constitution would disapprove. If the Parliament will do a foolish thing, the colonists will not. And a foolish as well as a wicked thing would it be—egregiously foolish—to oppose the puny force of the Colony to the overwhelming force of the Empire. No—but without committing their common sense, without swerving from their allegiance to the Throne, without so much as uttering a breath in disturbance of the peace, they may, they can, and we devoutly trust they will, compel that odious Act to remain a dead letter on the Statute Book.

The Act says—or is to say—that our House of Assembly must be elected by District Councils, and our District Councils by general constituencies. But the Act will not say that people *must and shall* offer themselves as candidates either for the Councils or for the House; nor will it say that people *must and shall* vote for such candidates if they do offer. Here, at any rate, the colonists will be left to the uncontrolled and uncontrollable exercise of their free agency. And in that free agency lies their strength—a strength which without effort and without noise, can break the “green withes” and the “new ropes” with which visionary theorists would bind down their nascent liberties. Judging from the noble spirit which they have already shown—a spirit worthy of their indomitable ancestors—we may venture to predict that, in the event of this fatal measure being adopted by Parliament, the colonists will strangle it in the birth, or, to use a more apposite metaphor, will leave it to die of inanition. There will be no candidates for the House of Assembly; consequently the District Councils can return no members. There will be no candidates for the District Councils; consequently the people can return no councillors. Or, supposing there shall be not wanting a few craven dullards to offer as candidates, the people will not elect District Councils; consequently there can be no House of Assembly. And, if no House of Assembly, no legislature. And if no legislature, no new laws. And if no laws, the local Executive will be driven to its wits' end, and all ranks and conditions of the people be subjected to the most serious inconveniences.

Yes, the colonists themselves will suffer. But they will suffer in a good cause. They will suffer as martyrs to their public principles—as martyrs to their country's honour and their country's weal. Their ancestors suffered in the same struggle; and they suffered with a heroism and a fortitude which their Australian descendants, if occasion shall require, will joyfully emulate. And they, like their forefathers, will eventually win the day.

Eventually the determination of the colonists was too much for “the noble earl,” and although the decision to grant separation to Port Phillip was shortly to be carried into effect, the remainder of his proposals—and in particular those which advocated the objectionable constitutional changes—were definitely and discreetly dropped.

This year saw the birth of one of the most remarkable institutions in Australia—or in the Empire, for that matter. This was The Australian Mutual Provident Society, an institution peculiarly associated with the name of Fairfax, since, as we have said, representatives of no less than three generations of the family have occupied seats upon its directorate. On 31st August, 1848, a meeting from whose deliberations this great Society was to develop, was held at what was then No. 470 George Street, to discuss the preliminaries of its institution, as set out by the Rev. W. H. Walsh, a few days previously in a draft prospectus. The names of those present on this historic occasion were—in addition to Mr. Walsh—Thomas Holt, Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, Charles Lowe and William Perry. Several other meetings followed, that of the 2nd December being attended by—*inter alia*—Charles Kemp, of the HERALD. On 15th December, the first appointments were made, the trustees being S. A. Donaldson, Charles Cowper and T. S. Mort. The first meeting of the Board was held on the 19th December, the first advertisement notifying its institution and objects appeared in the HERALD of the 21st, and on the 28th the office

(then established at 487 George Street) was opened for business. But it was not until the 4th of January of the succeeding year that the first proposals were received. Such was the genesis of an institution which to-day is one of the largest, most prosperous, and best-known of its kind within the Empire.

The later middle years of the 1840-50 decade were, on the whole, years of comparative calm. Socially or industrially there was little to chronicle. The gold discoveries in California had badly affected the community and, despite an increase in the flow of immigration, such large numbers of persons were constantly leaving to try their luck in the American Eldorado that the net result was almost negligible. Business was slack and there was an air of lassitude about the community generally. But despite the lassitude and the pull of the golden magnet in California, there was some progress. Neither great progress nor sufficient progress; but still, progress. And there was one matter at least which, starting in the early 'forties, grew to its maximum of importance in the later ones, and ended gloriously—or, unfortunately according to the views of the respective participators in its alarms and excursions—in the first month of the last year of the decade. This was that great question, so often alluded to already in this chronicle—the separation of the Port Phillip area from New South Wales, and its formation into a new colony.

To give the story of this great movement it will be necessary to hark back a little to the days of 1835, the days of Batman the pioneer, and of Fawkner, the man who, camping in September of that year (three months after Batman) on the eastern bank of the Yarra River, saw, without ever moving from his location, the future city founded, and watched it grow from nothingness into a metropolis of 100,000 inhabitants. It was just twelve months after Fawkner placed his camp on "Batman's Hill" that Captain Lonsdale was sent from Sydney by the Home Authorities, officially to found the infant settlement. His instructions were issued to him early in September, 1836, and the first reference that can be traced in the *HERALD* to a movement which was to give it immense concern so soon thereafter takes the form of the following announcement in the issue of the 9th of that month:

By reference to the *Government Gazette* it will be seen that . . . a regularly organised establishment is about to be formed at Port Phillip. We are glad of this. The country is in every respect highly eligible as a pasture and sheep country, and we recommend parties to lose no time in "squatting" there until orders shall be received from Home, as may be expected, to sell the lands. . . .

Port Phillip is, we are told, a most desirable sheep country; and, if so, we think it but common prudence in those emigrant colonists who, in this part of the Colony, are outbid and cheated by vile landsharks, to turn their attention to a quarter where no such practices can, as yet at least, interfere with their interests; and where with patience and tolerable perseverance they cannot fail of securing that for which alone every honest man leaves his native country—an independence.

On the 17th November, 1836, the *HERALD* printed a graphic description of the infant settlement at Melbourne, and concluded it with a prophecy which reads interestingly enough to-day:

The town at present consists of an inn, a store, some wooden houses, a blacksmith's shop and a few mud huts. A wooden church is also building. The newly formed camp from Sydney gives a gaiety and city-like look to the place which it did not before possess. Can anyone doubt that in a few fleeting years the mud huts will be replaced by handsome stone or brick buildings; the solitary store by elegant shops, containing a variety of useful and ornamental goods; the humble wooden church by the stately structures of rival persuasions; the river, now the abode of wild fowl, busy with human life, and in the bay, on which three ships are now gazed on as an uncommon and prosperous sight, numerous vessels will ride, loaded with the riches of the world?

By the beginning of the following year the trek to Melbourne had fairly got into its swing, and the *HERALD*, in the issue of the 19th January, 1837, "strongly advises everyone who can scrape together the means, to go to Port Phillip." Two months later—on March 27th—the paper again draws attention to the fact that another party of intending settlers was being organised, "urges upon settlers who are pinched for land to embark in the Port Phillip speculation," and refers to Melbourne as a "thriving settlement." On the 13th April a paragraph announces that the first sale of Crown Lands in the "new township of Melbourne" is to take place on the 1st June following; that on the same date seven allotments are also to be offered in the township of "Williams Town," and that the northern extremity of Port Phillip is to be called Hobson's Bay. The sale was duly held, and on the 22nd June, we learn that "one hundred allotments sold in Melbourne realised upwards of £3,800, some going as high as £90 each."

Two years later—April 22nd, 1839—we find an announcement that "Allotments of Crown Lands have recently been sold at very high prices in Melbourne. They sold at from 30/- to 38/- per foot frontage." And on 3rd June, in the same year, the *HERALD* records the death at Port Phillip, on May 10th, of John Batman, the man whose name is imperishably associated with the earliest fortunes of the southern Colony.

Up to this date it will be noticed that the *HERALD*, whenever it had occasion to mention the Port Phillip district, or Melbourne, its chief centre, did so with a certain enthusiasm, calling upon settlers to take up land there and generally encouraging the infant settlement in every way. But from the beginning of the 'forties the rage for land speculation in the new settlement—a rage that was to work untold mischief there a little later on—caused the paper to express very different sentiments. But it must always be remembered that it was not so much the actual movement for separation which roused its ire as the exploitation of the separation movement by the land gamblers and land grabbers, who, like vultures scenting a prey, did their best to ruin the prospects of the settlement.

It was hardly likely that the Port Phillipians would appreciate this distinction, however, and it is made clear by many references that the southern settlers, in turn, had no great liking for the *HERALD*. Accordingly, when one of the Melbourne news-sheets described it as a "bitter enemy to Port Phillip" the paper defended itself in this way:

"This accusation we deny in the most positive terms. We have always opposed those who, by their South Australian system of puffing up land, have given or attempted to give an inordinate price to it, and by inducing newcomers to give that price, cripple their means and prevent them from either benefiting themselves or the Colony, as they might, or probably would have done, had land been at its fair price. We never have had any enmity towards Port Phillip, but we have towards land puffers. . . . When we hear of a town allotment of half an acre selling for upwards of £1,000 in a place like Melbourne, we imagine there must be something rotten!"

Presently the proposal was mooted by the residents of the Port Phillip area that their district should be separated from New South Wales and created into a separate colony. This was towards the end of 1840; but ten years were to elapse before the proposal was translated into accomplishment. That decade was one long battle for the cause of separation, and in it the *HERALD* led consistently the army of opposition.

In the issue of the 6th March, 1841, there is an article describing an overland journey from Sydney to Port Phillip, and, in particular, the appearance and status of Melbourne at this time, which is so rich in "local colour" and so replete with informative detail that it simply clamours for quotation. It takes the form of a contributed article signed "Timothy Bushman," and the following copious extract will show its interest and value:

The road overland from Sydney to Port Phillip is very uninteresting. On all this road, measuring upward of six hundred miles, there is little to be seen but gum-trees and public houses. The only difference is, that as you recede from Sydney, the grass for your horses improves, in the same ratio as the accommodation for yourself becomes worse. In those towns, *viz.*, Liverpool, Campbelltown, Berrima, Goulburn and Yass, through which you pass, and in which Post Offices are established, there is a choice of accommodation; but from the time you leave Yass, until you reach Melbourne, a distance of four hundred miles, you are fairly in what is called the Bush. In short, you are beyond the region of civilisation. On this journey of four hundred miles there is neither Post Office, church, clergyman or schoolmaster. The consequence is what might be expected—that a large proportion of the inhabitants are living like heathens. The children of overseers and small squatters grow up in total ignorance of their duty towards God and man. On one large establishment belonging to Mr. B., the people had actually lost their reckoning in the days of the week, so that they kept (they knew not how long) Friday for Sunday! It may be said of the convict population of this district, in particular, that every man does that which is right in his own eyes. One great, if not the sole cause, of this trying evil is to be found in the numerous public houses and sly grog shops. These sinks of iniquity absorb all wages paid in the district.

You know that you have to cross only four great rivers on your way from Sydney to Port Phillip. The first of these is the Murrumbidgee; the Hume is 140 miles further on; the Ovens is 50 miles beyond the Hume, and the Goulburn is 90 miles beyond the Ovens and within 60 miles of Melbourne. There is either a punt or canoe at the crossing place at every one of these four rivers. At the Goulburn there has lately been built by Clarke, who keeps the inn there, a punt about sixty feet long and about forty feet wide, at a cost, he says, of £450. In this punt, a couple of loaded drays, with their full complement of bullocks, could cross together. But it so happens that Clarke, by being in too great a hurry to become rich, defeats his own object. He charges 3d. a head for crossing sheep and 30/- for a loaded dray, with bullocks, in his punt. These high charges induce many people to dispense with his punt altogether when the river is fordable.

Mr. Brown, at the crossing place of the Hume River, is now building a splendid punt for the accommodation of the public. Hitherto there was only a rough canoe at this river, and in the time of flood serious accidents have occurred.

Before you start on a journey overland from Sydney to Port Phillip, I would recommend to you, if you are at all fond of sport and of a good dinner, to provide yourself with a double-barrelled gun and some powder and shot. All the way from the Hume to Melbourne, you will have an opportunity of shooting hundreds of wild duck and pigeons. We shot an immense number of them. You will see some lagoons literally covered with wild ducks, which will allow you to get close enough to them. Both they and the pigeons, which are very plentiful, are quite fat and are capital eating. If you ride with your gun and dogs at a distance off the beaten road you may chance to start several kangaroos and emus; but you would require very good dogs and fleet horses to run down any of them. I never knew an instance of a dog being able to kill an "old man kangaroo." It requires at least two good dogs to grapple with him.

On the Port Phillip road, between Yass and Melbourne, there are three townships lately laid out by the Government. The first of these is "Gundagai," near the crossing place of the Murrumbidgee, sixty miles from Yass. In this township there is no house of any description, neither is there any in its neighbourhood, except one public house and a blacksmith's shop. The next township is "Albury" (140 miles beyond Gundagai) at the crossing place of the Hume River; a more eligible spot than this could not have been selected for a township. As yet there are only two or three houses here, a public house (kept by a very respectable man named Brown), besides a blacksmith's shop. There are also Police Barracks here, where a few policemen are always stationed. The third township is "Violet Creek," known here only by the name of "Honey Suckle Creek," situated about halfway between the Ovens and the Goulburn Rivers, being nearly fifty miles from each. It is a miserable scrub in the midst of a barren wild, with not a human habitation near it. The soil is poor; the timber is stunted and perfectly useless, except for fuel; and the water, which is by no means in abundance, has a very muddy appearance. It is quite blue, hence the new name, I suppose, imposed on the place.

Although I fear that I have already extended this letter beyond the limits of your patience, yet I cannot conclude without making a few remarks on Melbourne. As you approach within 40 miles of the town, the country gradually opens, presenting extensive plains naturally cleared and thickly covered with grass. Seven miles from Melbourne, at a place called Butler's Inn, on the Sydney Road, a considerable quantity of land has been lately sold in small portions at about £20 an acre.

It realised this high price, certainly not for the excellency of the soil, but for its being contiguous to a long chain of deep water-holes. This water, however, is unfit for either man or beast to drink. Our horses would not drink of it, and such of our men as drank of it have ever since been troubled with dysentery, a complaint which is at this moment quite prevalent in Melbourne, in consequence of the brackish water which the people drink. You will doubtless ask why they do not send to the Yarra Yarra for their water? They do so, but even the river is brackish for a considerable way up, and the town being almost entirely supplied with water by the carters who thus earn a livelihood, it is seldom these lazy fellows go sufficiently high up the river as to fill their cask at a place not rendered brackish by the tide. Though I dined and drank tea in several of the most respectable families in Melbourne, it has not hitherto been my lot, except in one instance, to drink any water that is not positively disagreeable to the taste. The only way in which you have good water is to send your own man with a horse and cart for it.

The land in the neighbourhood of Melbourne produces splendid crops. The maize which is now growing on the farm of Mr. —, lately a merchant in Sydney, would surprise you; his potato crops for this year will pay the whole of the original cost of the land, and also the expense of cultivation. I have seen several gardens here which, though but recently formed, prove the superior fertility of the soil and the genial character of the climate. Vegetables, however, are scarce, and consequently dear, in Melbourne. This scarcity is partly owing to the long droughts and partly to the people not having had time yet to attend to those matters, which are certainly of minor importance. Rock and water melons, turnips and cabbages, etc., are hawked about in the streets; but the price is nearly double what would be asked in Sydney.

You complain of Sydney being very dusty, but Melbourne, let me tell you, is tenfold worse. It is only during a strong southerly wind, vulgarly called a "brickfielder," that your Sydney people are annoyed with dust; but here every wind blows the dust, so as even to darken the light of the sun. In consequence of the scarcity of money, everything—except the dust—has fallen in Melbourne. But the dust still continues to rise, move about and insinuate itself into your eyes, nose and mouth. In short, the only condition on which you can possibly walk out during dry weather is that you shall consent to swallow a bushel of dust.

Melbourne, as I have just hinted, is now severely suffering from scarcity of money. The people here have nothing but bills for any goods they may require, and when these bills become due they relieve them by others of a still longer date. But as for money, there is nothing of the kind in Melbourne. One instance out of several which I could produce, will give you some idea of the scarcity of money here: Capt. Berkenshaw, of the "Christina," has lately brought down here from one of your Sydney merchants a £12 (twelve pounds) order for freight on a highly respectable firm in Melbourne. They could not pay it. They told the captain they could not raise so much money as £12, but in order to save the credit of the firm, they offered him land in payment! I saw working bullocks offered at £5 a head, but as the terms were cash, no purchasers could be found. The people here seem to have ruined themselves by their land speculations. Except what is done by bills, business seems to be at a stand. The pecuniary crisis, however, has already had some good effect. It has lowered the price of labour, which has been extravagant. It was the Phillipians who were mainly instrumental in raising the wages of shepherds, stockmen, bullock-drivers and farm labours from £25 to £40, £50 and in some cases £60 a year. The old settlers could not afford to pay these high rates. The consequence was that many of them lost their servants. I was much gratified to learn that a great number of shepherds, stockmen and labourers are now here who would be glad to engage at about £35 a year.

The size and appearance of Melbourne would surprise you. It is really surprising to see such an extensive mass of fine buildings thus rapidly springing up in a wilderness. The township, which is beautifully situated chiefly in and on the sides of a valley, is larger than Parramatta, and contains several shops which would do no discredit to the most fashionable streets of the English metropolis. The houses are chiefly built of brick; the streets, like those of Cape Town, are wide, straight and cut one another at right angles. As yet there are but few public buildings. The only respectable looking place for Divine Worship that I can see, is that belonging to the Wesleyans; it nearly adjoins the Bank of Australasia, which is also a fine building. The foundation stone of a Presbyterian Church has lately been laid; and, judging from the plan of this building and its commanding site, this church, when finished, is likely to be a great ornament to the town. An attempt was made some time ago to build on a grand scale an Episcopalian Church, but the work has been discontinued for want of funds. In the meantime, the Episcopalian clergyman preaches in a weather-boarded hut, which adjoins the unfinished walls of the intended church. It would

delight you to witness the appearance of the town on a Sunday—the places of worship all well filled, the people dressed in their best attire, the shops shut, the streets quiet as in an English town, and no visible signs of riot or drunkenness. This moral superiority of Melbourne over Sydney I can attribute to nothing else than the absence of convict influence. The only man that I saw drunk on a Sunday on the streets of Melbourne was a convict servant who was one of our own party.

I suppose you are aware that the shipping is down opposite to William's Town, which is nine miles below Melbourne. Only small crafts can come up the river, and goods to and from all large vessels are conveyed by barges. This is a great obstacle to the prosperity of the place, for, not to speak of the additional expense of this mode of conveyance, the goods, owing to the carelessness of the men who work the barges, are not infrequently injured by salt-water, etc.

Much as I feel myself indebted to the kind and hospitable people of Melbourne, I shall consider it my duty to warn all the settlers with whom I am acquainted in the Port Phillip district, against coming here for their supplies. I have been obliged to pay from 20% to 30% over the Sydney prices on almost everything except tobacco which I bought. The difference in the prices of these articles would more than defray all the necessary expenses of the teams, even of the settlers residing on the Goulburn River, to and from Sydney.

"Timothy Bushman" contributed other letters to the *HERALD* almost as interesting as this one; and, although he describes himself as "uneducated," his style is sufficient evidence of his modesty in this regard, while his matter proves equally clearly that he had a keen and most observing eye.

The paper believed that the suggested "dismemberment of the Colony" would be fatal to its prospects; and it attacked the proposal with all the weapons in its armoury. And, at first, with success; for, although at one time, early in the campaign, it appeared that the separation movement had gained the support of the Home Authorities, the representations of the opposition proved too strong, and it fell through before the end of the year. On the 19th December, 1840, the *HERALD* was able to state that "thanks to the gentlemen who drew the attention of Sir Robert Peel to the proposed dismemberment of the Colony, it will not be carried into effect at present—or, at least, if it be, it will not be with the authority of Parliament; and, therefore, there are still hopes for the Colony."

Three years later, when the action of Dr. Lang in supporting the separation movement had stirred the *HERALD* to its depths, it found time and the occasion to refer to its Melbourne contemporaries in the following paragraph, which is taken from the issue of the 8th April, 1844:

"We duly received our Port Phillip papers on Saturday, but it has rarely fallen to our lot to look through any columns so uninteresting—uninteresting, that is, to those who do not rejoice in slander and personal abuse. We cannot find a single paragraph worth extracting. All that is to be said, and all that will be found in these papers, is that the editor of the *Port Phillip Patriot* has been committed for trial for libel . . . and that the editor of the *Port Phillip Herald* is very glad that he *has* been committed!"

When the first elections to the Legislative Council, of 1843, had been held, Dr. Lang had surprised everybody and annoyed the *HERALD* very much by standing for the constituency of Port Phillip—and, in succeeding in scrambling in as the fifth member of the five which the electorate was entitled to choose. That was bad enough, but it was a thousand times worse when the honourable and reverend member moved a resolution in the Council, in August, 1844, in favour of the separation scheme for which the *HERALD* had so consistently expressed aversion. Naturally the paper was incensed, and in a leading article dated the 20th of that month, it expressed its anger in no uncertain terms:

UNION IS STRENGTH.

At least, so says the proverb, and so most people think. Not so Dr. Lang. He seems to be of the opinion that union is weakness, and that strength lies in division. Hence, he intends to move to-day, "that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty the Queen, praying that Her Majesty

will be graciously pleased to direct that the requisite steps may be taken for the speedy and entire separation of the district of Port Phillip from the territory of New South Wales, and its erection into a separate and independent colony."

And what is to be *gained* to Port Phillip by the separation of its government from our own? It will gain the proud distinction of being "a separate and independent colony"; but beyond this it will gain nothing but an increased civil list, a host of appointments from home, and a heavy drain upon its exchequer. The address, if our Council be unwise enough to carry it, will no doubt be responded to most cordially and most promptly; for it will throw into the hands of the Minister a golden ball of patronage too precious to be rejected. He will forthwith have places at his disposal which will enable him to provide comfortably for a score or two of his favourite hangers-on. To one he will give the appointment of Governor, to another that of Colonial Secretary, to another that of Attorney-General, to another that of Solicitor-General, to another that of Surveyor-General, to another that of Auditor-General, etc., etc., etc., etc., etc., etc. Delightful! What Minister could hesitate for a moment to grant a boon which would return so richly into his own bosom? And how grateful would the Port Phillipians be to His Lordship for sending out so respectable an accession to their society, with orders that the new functionary should be in receipt of such salaries as might enable them to live in style! What an interchange of good offices! What a reciprocation of smiles and thanks! The Right Honourable Secretary, grateful for the privilege of appointing; the Phillipians for the privilege of paying.

But while the "separate and independent colony" would gain these manifold advantages, both the new colony and the old would lose the advantage indicated by our proverb motto—the political strength of political union. To dismember the Colony as it now exists would be to weaken its influence with the Home Government, and its power to assert consolidated rights. Each of the two separate colonies would be too weak to wrest concessions from the Minister which could be won by their undivided strength.

And it appears to us that the proposed "repeal of the union" would be as "unnatural" as it would be impolitic. The people are of one race; the country is one territory; our pursuits and resources, our habits and our interests are all identical. Then why should we split? Why untie the bundle of sticks? The proposition is so wild and chimerical that we may exclaim with the late Mr. Canning, "Repeal the Union? Restore the Heptarchy!"

The Doctor's motion was badly defeated, however, and once more the matter was shelved. But the activities of the Port Phillipians were not to be denied. They pursued the policy of persistency, and persistency was to win in the end. In 1847 Earl Grey coupled his suggested reforms of the New South Wales Constitution—a matter upon which we have already dealt with at some length—with a further proposal for the separation of Port Phillip; and the proposal naturally caused immense delight among the settlers in that area. But the withdrawal of the proposals for the amendment of the Constitution also carried with it the withdrawal of the proposals for the Southern separation; and again the people of Port Phillip were doomed to the heart-sickness of a deferred hope. The elections for the second Legislative Council came on in July, 1848; and the event roused the Port Phillipians to an action which at the time created the greatest consternation.

It was necessary to elect one member for Melbourne and five for the Port Phillip district. The people of Melbourne declared that as Sydney was so far from their own electorate, and as the New South Wales Council was so notoriously averse from considering Southern interests, to elect local men to represent them was a farce. Therefore, they argued, if we must elect somebody, let us effect an election that, while making a farce of the whole thing, will yet bring the injustice of our position before the Home Authorities in the most effective way. So they nominated—and elected (by a majority of seventy odd votes over Mr. Forster, their former representative)—no less a personage than Earl Grey himself! Protests were made against votes being recorded for him on the ground that, being a member of the House of Lords, he was ineligible. But the returning officer declined to consider the protest, asserting that it was a matter for the

Government to decide, and thereupon declared His Lordship duly elected as the member for Melbourne. On the matter being referred to them, the authorities in Sydney gave it as their opinion that there was nothing in the Constitution Act to prevent such an election; and so the farce held good. In the meantime the nominations for the Port Phillip district were also received in Melbourne. At first, the electors refused to nominate anybody at all; but the Government, deciding that it had the power to do so, called for fresh nominations and altered the place of nomination to Geelong. On the day appointed (September 21st, 1848) five local candidates were duly nominated, together with Mr. Macarthur, from Sydney, and—taking a leaf out of the Melbourne electors' book—five prominent personages living in England, *viz.*: The Duke of Wellington, Lords Palmerston, Brougham and Russell and Sir Robert Peel. The returning officer declared the five local men—Messrs. McKinnon, Dixon, Williamson, Palmer and Curr—elected; but a poll being demanded on behalf of Macarthur and the English statesmen, the polling day was fixed for the 2nd October. On that date the electors having evidently come to the conclusion that the jest had been carried far enough, the five local candidates were returned at the head of the poll.

It can be well imagined that the *HERALD* was not silent on the subject of this extraordinary affair. It expressed its opinions in a number of leading articles, freely condemning the methods of "the Port Phillipians," and referring to their action in electing Earl Grey and the other English notables, as an "abominable conspiracy" and a "dastardly offence" for which its perpetrators "ought to be whipped." When the Geelong election had somewhat cleared the air, however, the *HERALD* devoted a short sub-leader to the result, congratulating all concerned "on the triumph of good sense and patriotism over folly and faction."

But a period was very shortly now to be put to the necessity for the people of the southern district to elect any representatives at all to the New South Wales Legislature. Just a year after the curious political events lastly related, the news arrived that the British Government had passed the Act, so long promised and so eagerly expected, granting separation and its own legislature to the Port Phillip district. On the 13th November, 1850, the intelligence reached Melbourne; and the excitement was great. Bonfires flared, streets were illuminated, balls were held, games and sports indulged in and, in fact, the whole population abandoned itself to a frenzy of rejoicing. And when, on the 1st July, 1851, the formal act of separation was consummated, the day was proclaimed a public holiday and high festival was held throughout the boundaries of the new Colony of Victoria, so named in honour of the Queen.

The reactions of the *HERALD* to these events are worth noting. For some time the paper had realised the futility of further action against "dismemberment"; but it had never ceased to argue against the folly of it. We need only quote two further extracts from its columns, to show the manner of its acceptance of the inevitable. The first is from the leading article of the issue of 23rd November, 1850:

Our Port Phillip friends appear to have lost their senses on the separation question. Business suspended for four days. Illuminations, fireworks, thanksgiving services in the churches, royal salutes, processions—these are the topics in the papers received yesterday. Why this excitement should be felt, we, in Sydney, are at a loss to tell. When the revenues of the two districts were ordered to be kept separate, the only benefit likely to accrue from separation was effected, and that event, important as it was, was scarcely noticed.

Apparently feeling that this grudging acceptance of the inevitable was hardly worthy of its reputation, the *HERALD* a few days later referred to the same subject, and with the following quotation from the leading article of the 29th November, 1850, our references

to this particular matter may well be brought to a conclusion. After again referring to the festivities with which the inhabitants of "Victoria Elect"—"Victoria *de jure*, but not yet *de facto*"—had "celebrated the receipt of the news of the passage of the Act conferring 'Separation' upon them," the article continues:

Well—though we cannot deeply sympathise with these extraordinary manifestations—though we do not exactly understand *why* they should have been carried on to such a pitch, and can hardly forbear a smile at their fantastical exaggeration—we shall indulge neither in ridicule nor in cavil. The good people of Victoria were determined that Separation and Happiness should be convertible terms. Far be it from us to carp at an hallucination so pleasing, and so innocent withal. And our earnest wish is, that Separation may be followed by a long train of blessings more solid and more lasting than the ecstasies with which its advent has been hailed.

When we look at what the new Colony *is*, and at what, little more than a dozen years ago, it *was*, we can have no difficulty in imagining what it is *to be*. Its wonderful Past presages a still more wonderful Future. We know of no British Colony whose growth, all things considered, has been so rapid and so prosperous. South Australia, it is true, though nearly as young in years, appears to have made more prodigious strides in commercial wealth. But then the prosperity of South Australia resembles the good luck of a lottery ticket. She thrust her hands into copper-fields, and drew the magnificent prize of Burra Burra.

In 1836, the population of Port Phillip amounted to no more than 224 persons; in 1841 it amounted to 11,738; in 1846, to 32,879; at the end of 1847, to 35,960; and at the present time it is probably not much under 60,000. In 1837, the first year of its official settlement, its export of wool was 175,000 lbs.; in 1845, nearly 5,000,000 lbs. In 1843, its horses numbered 6,300; in 1849, 16,700. In 1843 its horned cattle numbered 167,200; in 1849, 346,600. In 1843, its sheep numbered 1,603,000; in 1849 they had increased to 5,318,000. In 1837, its revenue was £6,070; in 1849, £206,800.

These statistics, imperfect as they are in point of range, having been rapidly gleaned from a variety of sources, supply an index to the rapid, the magnificent, progress which characterised the infant years of the fair province of Victoria. May her after progress be great in proportion! We may feel some regret (it is natural we should) at her separation from the parent Colony. But it is a gentle, a kindly regret,—accompanied by the best wishes for the prosperity of her future career, and by the consoling assurance that her prosperity must naturally reflect advantage upon our own territory. However divided by the artificial distinctions of different names and separate Governments, Her Majesty's Australian possessions must still remain one great brotherhood, banded together by the ties of a common race—a common allegiance—and a community of religious, political, and commercial interests. *Esto Perpetual*

During the last year of the decade and the first two months of the next, there happened little of interest, beyond the matters already referred to, which to any great degree affected the HERALD or the community it served. The Californian rush was subsiding, the transportation trouble, so far as New South Wales was concerned, at any rate, was satisfactorily ended; and, although recovery from the financial crises of the early 'forties was not complete, at least quietude and a reasonable hope had taken the place of panic and pessimism.

SECTION V.

"THE ROARING 'FIFTIES"

1851-1860

PART I.

IN the early part of the year 1851, which was to prove the *annus mirabilis* of our Australian history, the proprietors of the HERALD became involved in a curious case, which necessitated their appearance as quasi-criminals before the Courts of their country. William Thurlow, an alderman of the Sydney Council, had, during the previous November, been a member of a committee of the Council which had presented a report—subsequently published in the HERALD—wherein it was alleged that one, Daniel Egan, also an alderman of the Council, had abstracted certain documents from the possession of the Council. On the 2nd and 5th December, Egan had written to the HERALD denying the charges, and on the 8th February, 1851, the paper published a further long letter from him, insinuating in turn, that Thurlow himself was responsible for the disappearance of the documents referred to. Whereupon Thurlow, who had now become Mayor, laid an information, not against Egan for writing the letter, but against the proprietors of the HERALD for publishing it. The case came on at the Criminal Court on the 6th June, 1851, before Mr. Justice Therry. After hearing the evidence the Jury returned a verdict of guilty against both defendants, who were remanded. On the 11th July, Mr. Justice Therry ordered Messrs. Kemp and Fairfax to be called up for judgment, and proceeded to pass sentence. He said that the impression upon his mind was that "a libel of more mitigated character never came before a court of justice. . . . The object of the defendants was not to attack Thurlow, but to allow a fellow citizen an opportunity of defending himself . . . and if in doing so he libelled Thurlow he was responsible for it. . . . Why, then, commence proceedings against the publishers when the author was willing to take the responsibility upon himself? This appeared to him to be a hardship on the defendants and an improper course. . . . Neither in this case must it be forgotten that it was admitted by the counsel for the prosecution that the defendants were not given to libelling, but that they conducted their paper with great propriety and a remarkable abstemiousness from libels or personal attacks. The conduct of the prosecutor was unwarrantable and unjustifiable. . . ." The sentence of the Court, therefore, was that each of the defendants must pay a fine of one shilling to the Queen and be imprisoned until the fine was paid.

The HERALD published in the same issue a short leading article on the result of the trial, wherein the writer stated:

"Although guilty in the eye of the law, it is clear that the Court did not consider that any moral offence had been committed. . . . We, however, must go one step further than His Honour and say that it was impossible for us to have followed any other course than we did pursue. Having published Mr. Thurlow's accusation against Mr. Egan, we could not shut our columns against Mr. Egan's reply. We should have been unworthy of the character of journalists had we done so; and we believe that there is not one of Mr. Thurlow's friends who does not consider his conduct in this matter altogether indefensible. He has more cause to regret the prosecution than we have."

Although it had been known for some time that gold existed in various parts of Australia—as, indeed, is shown by the several references in the *HERALD*—it had never yet been found in anything like payable quantities. But the Californian allure of “forty-nine” had induced a fever of excitement all over the world, and gold was “in the air.” One of those who had answered to the siren call across the Pacific was a young man named Edward Hammond Hargraves. He had not been long at the Californian diggings when he noticed the curious similarity between the natural formation of the gold-producing country there and that of certain areas he had known near Bathurst. Satisfied that what had been done in the one country could be done in the other, he returned to Australia and started off immediately for the Blue Mountains. In company with a young bushman named Lister, he reached the spot where the Summer Hill Creek—a tributary of the Murrumbidgee—comes in from Frederick’s Valley. And there, upon the 12th February, 1851, a day for ever memorable in the annals of Australia, he found the gold he had so surely felt was there. He has told us of that wondrous find in his own graphic way:

“I found myself,” he wrote, “in the country that I was anxiously longing to behold again. The resemblance of its formation to that of California could not be doubted. I felt myself surrounded by gold, and with tremendous anxiety panted for the moment. We now seated ourselves on the turf, as it was necessary to satisfy the cravings of hunger before I ventured on my grand experiment. Had that failed but little appetite for food would have been left me. After making a hasty repast I told Lister that the gold was under his feet and that I would now find it. He stared with incredulous amazement. My own excitement was probably far more intense than his. I took the pick and scratched the gravel of a schistose dyke, which ran across the creek, at right angles with its side. I dug a panful of earth which I washed in the waterhole. The first trial produced a small piece of gold. ‘Here it is!’ I exclaimed, and then I washed five pansful in succession, obtaining gold from all but one.”

But the pick of Edward Hammond Hargraves had done more than find those tiny flakes of gold. Just as the later history of the world may be divided cleanly into ante-war and post-war periods, so may the earlier history of Australia be divided into ante-gold and post-gold years. And it was the pick of Edward Hammond Hargraves that turned the key upon the one and opened wide the postern of the other. As William Charles Wentworth eloquently put it on a subsequent occasion, “The gold discoveries precipitated the colonies into a nation.”

Although Hargraves made this famous discovery in February, it was not disclosed to the public for some months. Hargraves had promptly announced his find to the Government, but it is hardly a matter for wonder that the authorities, having confirmed the discovery by official inspection, should have regarded it somewhat in the nature of a Greek gift. They had the happenings in California in like case within their immediate knowledge and they feared a repetition of the lawlessness, the extravagances and the general *bouleversement* of the normal conditions of society which had attended the discoveries there. Moreover, the social conditions of the Colony were such that the worst experiences of the Californian excitement might very easily be challenged and even surpassed, if once the gold fever broke out in New South Wales. And that it would at once break out should the news of Hargrave’s find be made known was as certain as the sunrise. Hence the very mixed feeling with which the news was received by the Government and the hesitation it displayed in making it public. But it was impossible to keep silent for long; at any moment any of those in the secret—and there must have been quite a number of them, even though Hargraves and his immediate associates kept quiet—might blurt out the truth, apply the spark to the powder and explode the magazine. Therefore, after taking what precautions they could in the way of formulating regula-

tions for licenses, and so forth, the news was announced in May. The first reference to it in the *HERALD* occurs on the 5th of that month and, strangely enough, considering the importance of the matter, it is mentioned in an unobtrusive paragraph placed midway down the column devoted to "Domestic Intelligence." The paragraph is headed "The Gold Discovery," and runs as follows:

"It is no longer any secret that gold has been found in the earth in several places in the western country. The fact was first established on the 12th February, 1851, by Mr. E. H. Hargraves, a resident of Brisbane Water, who returned from California a few months since. While in California, Mr. Hargraves felt persuaded that, from the similarity of the geological formation, there must be gold in several districts of this Colony, and when he returned here his expectations were realised. What the value of the discovery may be it is impossible to say. Three men, who worked for three days with very imperfect machinery, realised £2/4/8 each per diem; whether they will continue to do so remains to be seen. The subject was brought under the consideration of the Government, who admitted Mr. Hargraves' claim for some consideration for the discovery, but, of course, could make no definite promise until the value of the goldfield was ascertained. Mr. Stutchbury, the Geological Surveyor, is now in the district, and Mr. Hargraves has proceeded there to communicate with him, and in a few weeks we may expect definite information. At present all that is known is that there is gold over a considerable district; whether it is in sufficient quantities to pay for the trouble of obtaining it remains to be ascertained. Should it be found in large quantities, a strict system of licensing diggers will be immediately necessary."

Once the news had been permitted to appear, the *HERALD* did not fail to make the most of it, both as news and as a theme for cautionary leading articles. It must be said that the paper handled the matter with a discernment that contrasted finely with the general excitement and feverish acclaim of the new El Dorado. The proprietors of the *HERALD* immediately recognised the dangers that almost certainly would accrue from the discovery and, while also recognising its beneficent possibilities, they refused to be led away into anything approaching hysteria.

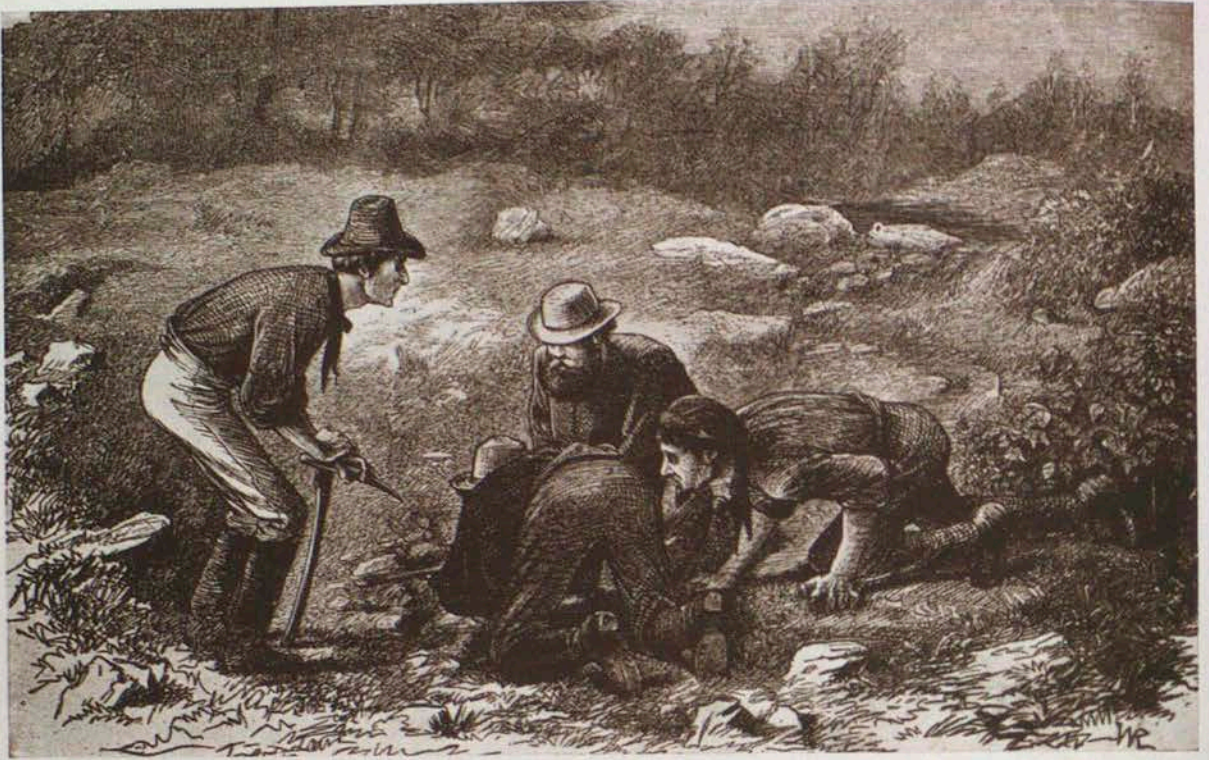
The first leading article on the subject which the paper published appeared upon the 15th May, and consisted of a series of historical notes upon the "history of the progress made from time to time in the investigation of the auriferous rocks of the Colony." The writer asserts that the first investigator was Count Strzelecki, and quotes the latter's report upon the subject of his Australian explorations, dated the 28th September, 1840, wherein under the heading "Gold" he referred to his discovery of "an auriferous sulphuret of iron . . . yielding a very small proportion of gold, sufficient to attest its presence, insufficient to repay its extraction . . . in the Vale of Clwydd." The article points out, however, that this can hardly be regarded as a "discovery of gold," and ascribes the honour of being the first actual discoverer of "native gold" to the Reverend W. B. Clarke, "who found the metal in the Dividing Ranges separating the eastern and western waters of the Macquarie in the beginning of the year 1841." In view of the subsequent correspondence on the subject, which appeared in the columns of the *HERALD*, and the various claims to be the pioneer of gold discovery in Australia, which are even to this day advanced, it is of interest to read this early pronouncement of the paper. The claims of Hargraves, in particular, have often been argued, and that he himself believed that he was the first to find gold in Australia is as certain as that, although *not* the first, he was certainly the man who first found it in payable quantities and made gold-digging a practicable industry here. It was entirely as the result of his own knowledge and of his recognition of the similarity between the Californian gold-bearing areas and certain parts of the Bathurst areas, that he was enabled to do this, and whether he knew, or—as he himself asserted—did *not* know of the preliminary activities of the Rev. W. B. Clarke, matters not at all. By his energy and initiative he gave Australia that start which made her for a time the greatest gold-producing country



A sly-grog "shop" at the diggings. The artist has well depicted the various types of the period.



The trek over the mountains to the diggings in 1851. By waggon and dray, on horseback and afoot, the procession of seekers after El Dorado never ceases.



"We've struck it!" A group of diggers finding gold. The artist has excellently portrayed the excitement of the moment.



The great majority of the diggers were doomed to disappointment. The above sketch represents one of the unlucky ones.



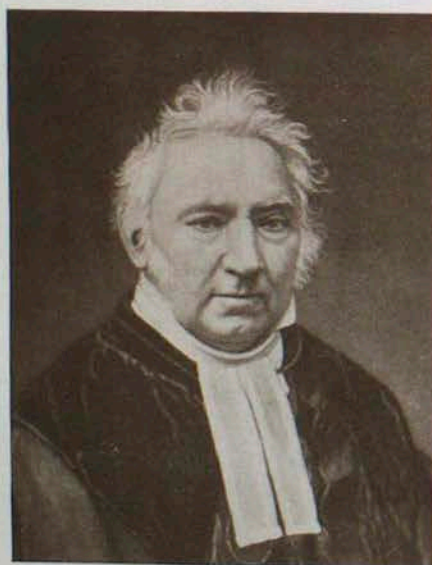
Arrival in Sydney of gold escort on August 21, 1851. The picture has additional interest, as it shows the old Treasury, just before its removal to the present site, and Scots Church, which was demolished in 1927.



Off to the diggings. Typical of the scenes when every kind of conveyance was used and loaded with goods with which to set out on the hunt for gold. On the back is a cradle for washing alluvial.



The Treasury was transferred to this building, erected for the purpose on the site it still occupies, at the corner of Macquarie and Bridge Streets, on October 17, 1851. The picture is dated July, 1852.



DR. JOHN DUNMORE LANG,
Who played a very prominent part in the early religious, social and political activities of the Colony.



DR. WILLIAM BLAND,
Whose name must ever be associated with that of Wentworth in the great fight for Constitutional Government.

on the globe; and that is a sufficient claim upon our memory and for the establishment of his own repute. This was certainly the view of the *HERALD*, and it lost no opportunity of stating it.

That the *HERALD* from the first regarded the discovery of Hargraves as a very doubtful blessing is evidenced by the "leader" of the day following that on which it published the article to which we have just referred. As showing how sanely and cautiously the paper took the news which sent the majority of Australians into a ferment, this "leader" is well worth quoting.

"From the intelligence received from Bathurst yesterday, it appears that this country is to be cursed with a gold-digging mania. Whether the goldfields will ultimately turn out productive is still problematical, but the success that has attended the exertions of some of the pioneers is sufficiently exciting to cause thousands of persons to proceed to the diggings. . . . As it appears to be impossible to avoid the trial which the Colony has to go through, it must be met boldly, although we fear it will be attended with the ruin of thousands. It behoves the Government to lose no time in promulgating a strict code of licensing laws for those who proceed to dig on Crown Lands. The digging cannot be prevented, but it may be regulated, provided no time is lost in framing the regulations."

As we have said, the Government had already been considering this matter of regulations; and within a few days of the appearance of this article they had been framed and gazetted.

From this date forward for a period of several months, the *HERALD* is as full of reference to gold as is the story of Miss Kilmansegg—some appropriate lines from Hood's poem, indeed, being appropriately quoted on several occasions—and from leading article to advertisement the whole paper takes on perceptibly an aureate tinge. This, perhaps, is not to be wondered at, considering the excitement that had been generally provoked. But the *HERALD*, despite the fact that it was not altogether able to avoid this excitement itself, nevertheless still regarded the discovery as a danger. In its leading article of the 17th May, 1851, entitled "The Golden Prospects of Australia," its attitude is very clearly set out.

"Exaggeration would be as cruel as it is unnecessary. But it becomes the duty of every sober-minded man in the community to look the danger calmly but fully in the face. That there is gold on the surface of our western interior is a fact which cannot now be doubted. But let us cling to the hope, unless driven from it by irresistible evidence, that the treasure does not exist in large quantities; that the cost of finding, collecting and conveying it to the market will prevent the speculation from being more than moderately remunerative; and that experience will soon convince the masses of the people that, after all, the ordinary pursuits of industry are the safest and the best. Should this hope be realised all will be well. The rage for emigration from these Colonies to California will be quelled; whilst New South Wales will in her turn become the object of attention and of powerful attraction. If the precious metal be no more than an *auxiliary* to our general resources, augmenting and not superseding our ordinary sources of wealth, then shall we have reason to rejoice in its discovery, . . . for then will a new impulse be given to every branch of industry, and a new character imparted to our country in the eyes of the world. Then shall we become a rich and prosperous people in the true sense of the words, for our wealth and prosperity will be solid and enduring, and attended by a corresponding advancement in those moral and social virtues without which riches are not a blessing but a curse.

"But should these hopes be disappointed—should our gold be abundant in quantity, rich in quality, and easy of access—let the inhabitants of New South Wales and the neighbouring Colonies stand prepared for calamities far more terrible than earthquakes or pestilence. On the fearful pictures which the bare thought of such a consummation calls up to the mind, we will not, dare not dwell. Nor would it be right to allude to them, even in these vague and general terms for the mere purpose of agitation. But the mere possibility of their being realised imposes upon the Government, and upon all the intelligent classes of the community, a solemn and

urgent duty. It is the duty of the colonists not only to take every possible precaution, in good time against the disasters which may befall them, but to employ all the influences of reason and good sense in counteracting and subduing the spirit of excitement in its earliest stages. Let every man reflect that upon the prevalence of those influences his own safety, the safety of his person and property, the safety of all that is nearest and dearest to him, may ere long depend."

How quickly the anticipations of the *HERALD* were justified, the leading article of a week later (May 23) may be quoted to show. Omitting certain immaterial portions, that article runs as follows:

"We need hardly say that the greatest excitement prevails among all classes in Sydney, and many persons are going to dig for gold who are wholly unfit for such work; men who would hesitate to walk the length of George Street in a shower of rain are going, at the beginning of winter, to a climate that is almost English and where they will not be able to get shelter in even the humblest hut. What can be the result of such reckless conduct but that which has happened in California—ruin, misery, disease and death.

"Rumours of the most extravagant character are circulated in Sydney with an activity which shows that their originators are most anxious to add to the already prevailing excitement, and we would advise our readers to receive with caution any reports that they do not see confirmed in the public press. The news from the mining district is too important, is too anxiously looked after, to permit the suppression of any authenticated facts, even if there existed a desire on any part of the conductors of the press to do so. On the other hand, it must be remembered that during the last few days there has been the most intense speculation going on in Sydney; every article of ordinary consumption is advancing in price and is being greedily sought after, with the hope that exorbitant rates may be obtained before further supplies can be procured, and every man who has purchased a ton of flour or a bag of sugar, with the intention of holding on for a further increase of prices, has a direct, obvious and stimulating interest in giving currency to any reports, however absurd, which may add to the present mania, and cause an influx of population from without."

Again, the next day, and the next, and the next after that, the paper tried to instil some element of caution into the eager and excited public mind, and while not forgetting that its main business as a newspaper was, if not to adorn a tale, at least to tell it fairly, it did most earnestly endeavour to point the moral of that tale as clearly and as fearlessly as possible. We quote some extracts from these articles as follows:

"Amongst the many delusions which, in the present unsettled state of the public mind, under the influence of the gold mania, are likely to prevail throughout our community, the most natural and the most dangerous is the supposition that the profits of the diggings will be confined to the diggers, or, at any rate, most largely shared by them; and that, consequently, if a man expects to reap any good portion of the golden harvest, he must leave his home, and start for the mines and buckle to in good earnest. This supposition is natural, because, under the excitement caused by a discovery so sudden, so unlooked-for and so astonishing, and heightened by the wonderful stories which are every day getting into circulation, men, unfitted for calm reflection, become the children of impulse, the first impulse being to go where gold is to be had at once, and for the trouble of picking it up. But that the supposition is a dangerous one, and ought therefore to be discountenanced as much as possible by all reasonable men, a moment's consideration will show. If *all* were to go a gold hunting, the Colony would be ruined outright, and that in a very short time. . . . To share, and to share largely, in the golden spoil, it is not necessary that a man should go to the mines. He may stay quietly at home and pursue the ordinary avocations of life and yet be enriched by the produce that costs his more hardy and adventurous neighbours so much toil, privation and suffering. And there can be no doubt that more fortunes will be made by those who stay than by those who go—always providing that the numbers who stay are sufficient to provide for the necessities of those who go—in other words, that the delusion we speak of does not spread so widely as to entail the calamities we have described. The gold-diggers must have meat and drink, clothing and implements; and in proportion as they are successful in the search, they will be better able to purchase largely and to pay dearly. The money they will thus be compelled to lay out will circulate through the Colony and benefit all classes of inhabitants, especially those classes who are most directly employed in

the production of the necessaries. . . . Farmers particularly, on whose industry we depend for the staff of life, will do well to reflect on the immense profits they can hardly fail to realise by sticking resolutely to their farms. The demand for bread will not only go on amid all the excitement and confusion of the times, but assuredly will be greatly increased. Besides the ordinary increase of our existing population, it is quite certain that we shall soon be visited by thousands from without; from the neighbouring colonies and from the Mother Country. Let the farmer take a comprehensive view of the effect which this rapid increase in the number of mouths must have upon his own interests. Let him compare the number of bushels of wheat he can grow and the price he is sure of obtaining for it, and the clear profit which every bushel will add to his income, with the number of ounces of gold he could reasonably calculate on procuring at the diggings and the net surplus that would remain after his heavy expenditure in necessaries and as the reward of his toil and miseries, and perhaps of a constitution ruined for life—and there can be no doubt as to the side on which the balance will lie. He will find that, taking all things into consideration, chance against chance, probability against probability, the cultivation of his farm is a better speculation than slavery at the diggings.

" . . . If we attempt to compare the first four months of the present year when Australian gold was a thing unthought of with the last two weeks of the current month of May, when Australian gold is the *only* thing thought of, we shall be at a loss for any metaphor that can adequately illustrate the stupendous change. If we were to say that the Colony has been panic-stricken, that the whole population has gone mad, we should use a bold figure of speech, but not much too bold to indicate the fact. It is as if the Genius of Australia had suddenly rushed from the skies and proclaimed through a trumpet whose strains reverberate from mountain to mountain, from valley to valley, from town to town, from house to house, piercing every ear and thrilling every breast—"*The destinies of the land are changed!*"

Meanwhile, the very effects which the HERALD feared and had prophesied, were happening in almost every centre throughout the Colony. Advertisement after advertisement is directed either to the would-be adventurer to the diggings (by this time named "Ophir") or is tinged in some way with the restless spirit of the times. The correspondence columns are full of letters, some expressing glowing hopes, some narrating experiences already grim; the commercial news is all of rising prices, and the industrial of the scarcity of labour and abandonment of normal work. And the news from the country centres is of a piece with that from the city. Here is a paragraph from the correspondent of the HERALD at Bathurst (May 20th, 1851):

"The discovery of the fact by Mr. Hargraves that the country from the mountain ranges to an indefinite extent into the interior is one immense goldfield, has produced a tremendous excitement in the town of Bathurst and the surrounding districts. For several days after our last publication the business of the town was utterly paralysed. A complete mental madness appears to have seized every member of the community, and as a natural consequence there has been an universal rush to the diggings. Any attempt to describe the numberless scenes—grave, gay and ludicrous—which have arisen out of this state of things would require the graphic pen of a Dickens, and would exceed any limit which could be assigned to it in a newspaper. Groups of people were to be seen early on Monday morning at every corner of the streets, assembled in solemn conclave, debating both possibilities and impossibilities, and eager to pounce upon any human being who was likely to give any information about the diggings. People of all trades, callings and pursuits were quickly transformed into miners, and many a hand which had been trained to kid gloves or accustomed to wield nothing heavier than the grey goose-quill became nervous to clutch the pick and crowbar, or "rock the cradle" at our infant mines. The blacksmiths of the town could not turn off the picks fast enough, and the manufacture of cradles was the second biggest business of the place. A few left town on Monday equipped for the diggings; but on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, the roads to Summer Hill Creek became literally alive with new-made miners from every quarter, some armed with picks, others shouldering crowbars or shovels, and a few strung round with wash-hand basins, tin pots and collanders, garden and agricultural implements of every variety, either hung from the saddle-bow or dangled about the persons of the pilgrims to Ophir. Now and then a respectable tradesman, who had just left his bench or counter, would heave into sight, with a huge something in front

of his horse, which he called a cradle and with which he was about to rock himself into fortune. Scores have rushed from their homes, provided with a "blanket" or a "damper" and a pick or grubbing hoe, full of hope that a day of two's labour would fill their pockets with the precious metal; and we have heard of a great number who have started without any provision but a blanket and some rude instrument to dig with. Such is the intensity of the excitement, that people appear almost regardless of their present comfort and think of nothing but gold. Of course, all this must end in disappointment. The wet weather of the last two nights, with the damp ground for a bed, and the teeming clouds for a canopy, will do much towards damping the enthusiasm of numbers. We have the authority of an experienced man in stating that from the imperfect and unsuitable instruments used by all who have left for the diggings, coupled with their miserable provision in other respects, success is impossible; that the labour necessary to success is extremely severe, and he ventures as his opinion that no more than three per cent. will become permanent miners. One of the consequences has been a rapid rise in the price of provisions. Flour, which ranged from 26/- to 28/- per roolb., has been sold for 45/-; tea, sugar and almost every other eatable commodity have advanced in equal proportion. A large amount of the wheat of the district is in the hands of a few speculators, who will maintain their hold in the hope of a golden harvest. But for the very extensive supplies now on their way from Sydney, flour would soon be at a famine price, and should a rush take place from below, as may be reasonably expected, it is to be hoped that there are capitalists enough to adventure in one of the safest speculations of the times—the purchase of flour for the supply of the district."

Bathurst, of course, was the nearest centre to the diggings, and such a contiguity would naturally create the effect described by the correspondent whom we have quoted. But other places much further away were exhibiting almost equally frantic scenes. The local correspondent of the paper at Carcoar sent a report dated the 19th May, which appeared in the *HERALD* four days later, and which read as follows:

"The excitement prevailing at Bathurst since the discovery of the goldfield at Summer Hill has reached this generally quiet township, and a perfect mania has seized upon all classes of the community. The blacksmiths' shops have been resounding with the noise consequent on the manufacture of the 'picks,' the price of which has increased daily during the last week as the news arrived by the Bathurst mail of the doings at the 'diggings.' The weather being unusually wet prevented many from leaving the town, but on Saturday and Sunday numbers started for the diggings, some well provided with cradles, implements and provisions for a week; others without either the one or the other—some with the intention of trying their fortunes at digging and washing, others to see what was going on, with a view to return and take back blacksmiths' tools, etc. The few who are left in the town are making preparations to visit the Australian El Dorado; in fact, there appears to be now no other source of employment in the town. The prospect is anything but cheering; if our farmers neglect to sow their seed and the gold mania continues attracting, as it is sure to do, thousands from all quarters, starvation will be the consequence. . . ."

And here is a letter from Maitland, some hundreds of miles away, dated the 29th May, and appearing in the issue of 2nd June:

"If the present mania for gold continues to exist for any time, this town will be literally drained of its population. Every hour some person may be seen sounding the note of preparation for the Bathurst gold diggings. Our merchants show a most laudable desire to hasten the departure of intending gold seekers. The price of all kinds of provisions has advanced within a few days at least 30 per cent. Labour of any kind is hardly procurable. Permanent engagements are out of the question."

And another from Orange in the same issue:

"A few weeks since and the plough was busy at work, and on every available piece of ground, from Frederick's Valley to Orange, the sight was gladdened and the ear cheered by the inspiring view and voice of industrious husbandry. But now how changed! Stillness reigns without a sound or echo to break the sad and gloomy monotony."

And from Goulburn in the issue of the 7th June:

"Pilgrimage to Ophir.—Exciting Scene.—Yesterday (June 3) Goulburn presented a most exciting appearance by the departure of about seventy of our townsmen, principally

mechanics, who left this for the gold regions; there were six teams well laden, with plenty of horse-power attached to each; they all go well provided for a stay at the diggings, not only with provisions, but each company has a cradle and implements, picks, crowbars, shovels and everything requisite for the enterprise; they all seemed full of spirit and the sanguine expectation of realising a speedy fortune was seen in every face. The wives and children of some of those who left, as well as acquaintances, conveyed those who were departing some distance out of the town. The excitement was greatly enhanced by our townsman McKenzie, with his pibroch, who blew as if he would send his heart's blood into the bag. Altogether such a scene and such an occasion never presented itself in this district before. This is the third batch that has left, and a fourth goes on Friday. The town will in a few days be completely deserted. In consequence of the recent discovery of gold in the vicinity of Bathurst, wheat rose here from 8/6 to 12/6, and a little above that was given for small quantities, and there was a great demand for flour; at the mill flour rose to £35 per ton for fine, and parties apprehending a further rise were ready with their cash at that figure, to pay before delivery."

The main roads from Sydney and other centres to Bathurst must have presented extraordinary sights during those hectic days. Here is a vivid description from a *HERALD* correspondent at the field, which appears in the issue of the 28th May:

"The stupidity of many of these people is almost beyond belief . . . numbers I passed on the road without provision of any kind, either food or bedding; one, an Irishman, evidently, had nothing whatever but a pick without a handle, which he carried over his shoulder by the point, with the air of a second Cortez, marching upon Mexico. Many are totally unfitted for such a life, but the generality of those passed are strong, healthy men, in parties of five and six, with a fair outfit, many of them with a packhorse or cart among them. Even they, however seemed to suffer severely from laying on the damp ground in such cold frosty nights as we have. After commencing to rise the mountains from the coast on the first day's journey they were all alive, and on the grin, whenever the mines were mentioned; but the next morning they were miserable, and on the third day all I passed were fagged and footsore, with barely spirit to return 'good day' to a passerby; and yet they had encountered neither wet nor hunger. What will it be when winter fairly sets in. . . ."

In the leading article of the same date there is a further reference to this extraordinary "trek" along the western road, which is worth quoting. "A gentleman who arrived in Sydney yesterday," says the writer, "counted eight hundred persons on the road between Bathurst and Parramatta, the greater portion of whom were without common necessities, and some of them were so destitute that they were actually begging for bread and craving permission to sleep in outhouses or stables."

On the 14th June the *HERALD* drew attention to the distress occasioned in the city as a result of the abandonment of wives and children by former breadwinners who had succumbed to the lure of the diggings.

"Few of our readers," says the article, "will be prepared for the announcement which we make on what we believe to be competent authority, that the number of families who have been so abandoned during the last four or five weeks, and who are at this moment suffering extreme destitution, within and about this city, cannot be less than five hundred! To such an extent has the lust of gold proved stronger than the instincts of conjugal and parental love! Men who were in full and constant employment, and whose wages were maintaining their households in comfort, have recklessly thrown up their situations and hurried to the diggings, leaving their wives and children utterly unprovided with the means of subsistence. The cases of distress, in very many instances amounting almost to actual starvation, which are thus brought under the notice of the clergy, are enough to melt the hardest heart. It was bad enough during the mania for emigrating to California; it is infinitely worse under the present mania for rushing to our own gold-field."

Nor was the mania confined to the regular inhabitants of the Colony. On the 24th June, 1851, the leading article of the *HERALD* is devoted to a consideration of the fact that the gold fever had "infected many of the crews of ships in our harbour" and, having quoted a number of cases of desertion on the part of seamen in proof thereof, it

deals with the powers of the new Mercantile Marine Act to prevent such desertion, and to punish it. But as the golden legends grew, so did the desertion both of breadwinners and seamen; and for many months the city was as hard put to it to carry on as the ships in her harbour.

By this time the Turon diggings had also been discovered and rumours were rife of many other "strikes," where greater riches were to be picked up than even at the Turon or at Ophir. A wave of madness had swept over the country, and for a time at least it was impossible to check it. And by now its effect had passed beyond the confines of the Colony. The HERALD of the 14th June says:

"By the Port Phillip papers we learn that the news of the Bathurst goldfield has caused as much excitement there as it did in Sydney. It has caused a stagnation in business. Many parties who purchased land at the late Government Land Sale had determined to forfeit their deposits. The talk was of gold and nothing else. Hundreds of people were said to be leaving for Goulburn overland, and about a hundred were expected to come up to Sydney by sailing vessels, which were to leave at the end of last week. In Geelong many people were selling their property, and the town, it was feared, would be deserted. Provisions were, of course, rapidly rising in price. Strict search was being made for gold, in the hope of creating a diversion, and as gold has been found in small quantities in several places, it was hoped that a workable goldfield would be discovered."

How soon and how magnificently those hopes were to be realised, and how immense a diversion their realisation was to effect, everyone knows now. But some months had yet to elapse before the riches of Ballarat and Bendigo were made known to an astonished world; and, during the interval, the settlers in the Port Phillip district were not slow to join up with their brothers across the Murray and try their fortunes at the diggings already established in the older Colony. The first of them arrived on the 21st June, and the HERALD of the 23rd of that month thus chronicles the fact:

"The first draft of the accession to our population which may be expected in consequence of the gold discoveries took place on Saturday, when two hundred and forty passengers arrived, of whom fully two hundred were attracted by the prospect of obtaining gold. About one hundred additional passengers had taken their passages in vessels which had sailed, or were about to sail, from Melbourne for Sydney, and it is expected that the Shamrock, which will be due to-morrow afternoon, will be crowded. From Adelaide and Hobart Town we hear that a number of passengers were coming on, who may be expected the first southerly wind."

These pioneers were quickly followed by the main army, and for months they arrived in battalions. The leading article in the HERALD of the 27th June is devoted to this theme, but only its last paragraph, in which the paper struck a new note, need be quoted. Says the writer:

We have learnt as far as our experience goes, that gold is not to be obtained by large, promiscuous multitudes, however enthusiastically and perseveringly they may labour. Its pursuit, like human pursuits in general, requires judgment, skill, science, capital, as well as manual strength. To be conducted with anything like permanent success, it must be conducted systematically, under the ordinary arrangements of master and servant, employer and employed, capitalist and workman.

The discoveries at Ballarat and elsewhere in Victoria soon placed the boot upon the other leg, so far as the golden rivalry was concerned; and by the end of the year, although there was still considerable activity at the Turon and other New South Wales diggings, the tide, which so quickly rose to frantic flood, had begun definitely to turn towards the southern colony. The first mention in the HERALD of these Victorian diggings appears in the issue of August 25th, 1851, and in the same issue we also find the paper advocating in a leading article the establishment in Sydney of a branch of the Imperial Mint. This advocacy was immediately followed up by the legislature, with the

result that, despite a bitter opposition to the proposal on the part of Melbourne, the authority of the Home Government was obtained for the establishment of the Mint in Sydney a little less than two years later, and on the 14th May, 1855, it was formally opened. It is interesting to note, before leaving this subject, that, by the end of 1859, the Sydney Mint had coined over five million sovereigns from Australian gold.

By the end of September, 1851, the production of gold had grown to such proportions in Australia that the *HERALD*, in a leading article of the 30th of the month, was able to assert that "Wool, tallow and gold are our three chiefs exports"; while, on the first of January, 1852, in a leader reviewing the year just concluded, the writer very aptly compares the "golden event" of 1851 to "Aaron's Rod which swallowed up all the rest, and rendered them comparatively insignificant."

As a particularly good example of the many articles descriptive of the scenes at the Victorian diggings which appeared in the *HERALD* about this time, the one which appeared in the issue of the 10th May, 1852, may well be quoted at length. The writer had journeyed from Melbourne to the diggings at Mount Alexander "for to admire and for to see," or to report, anyway, whether he admired or not; and this is what he wrote:

The first thing that struck me was the number of women and children about. I certainly never expected to see these domestic comforts in such profusion; and when I was more initiated into the mode of life pursued, for be it known I had never been among dwellers in tents before, I was still more astonished. Wretched tents of canvas or calico, adapted neither to keep out the sun or the rain, with here and there a bark shed, in which no well-bred dog would have deigned to reside, were the homes of numbers of families. When we consider that a large population was living in this manner, exposed to sudden changes of temperature, as well as an almost constant dampness at night, with scorching heat by day, and, added to this, that they were drinking water, in many instances, of the consistency of gruel, it can scarcely be wondered at that sickness was prevalent. Gold seemed to be abundant, if I can judge from what was brought to the store during the day, and sold at 56/- per ounce; but there seemed no uniformity in the earnings of the diggers, so far as I could learn, some getting *pounds weight* in a single day, others being weeks without a single speck. The majority, however, seemed satisfied, and those who had done nothing, spoke of "pitching upon it" some day as a matter of certainty. There certainly was more money among them than I have ever seen among men of their class, and they spent it with that degree of recklessness which generally attaches to the easy acquirement of money by working men. They thought nothing of giving a shilling for a glass of rum or a pint of cider, at any of the numerous grog shops, which, tempted by the enormous profits of the trade, were, in spite of the risk of seizure, to be found in all directions. Other articles of luxury, too, which even in towns must have been beyond the reach of most, except at exceedingly rare times, were purchased here at enormous prices and in large quantities. . . .

. . . . The want of protection was loudly acclaimed against. Organised bands of ruffians were known to be walking about with impunity, openly avowing their occupation; so hardened had they become from feeling their power and the almost certainty of getting off scatheless from any robbery or violence they might choose to attempt. An instance was publicly spoken of as having occurred within a day or two of my arrival, where a party of three, who were known to be doing well, had their tent attacked in the night by one of these gangs, and on one of them running to the Commissioner and applying for assistance, being answered with "I have no more policemen here than I require to protect the tent and the gold in it; if persons break into your tent and rob you, you must shoot them, for I cannot protect you." The consequence of this state of things was, that all who could were arming themselves. One poor fellow got shot during my short stay by his own mate, who, waking up suddenly in the night, and finding, as he thought, a strange man with his hand on the bed, fired and wounded him severely. It appeared the unfortunate fellow had been out of the tent for a little while, unknown to his companion, and, returning in the dark, was feeling for his own bed, when the unfortunate accident occurred.

As it was generally known that the diggers kept their gold under their pillows while asleep, it was not an unusual occurrence for a tent to be ripped open opposite the pillow, which was generally close to the canvas of the tent, and the dust stolen from under, and the thieves off before the

unfortunate victim was quite awake to the full knowledge of his misfortune, and by that time the attempt to follow would be perfectly hopeless. . . .

Upon Melbourne itself, the effect of the gold discoveries at Ballarat and Bendigo was naturally tremendous. We quote from two articles which the *HERALD* published—the first on September 4th and the second on October 16th, 1852—both descriptive of the Victorian capital at the height of the gold boom; and when the tide of eager gold-seekers from overseas was at its flood. The first report, after telling of the writer's adventures in getting to Melbourne, proceeds to describe what he saw when he entered the city:

" It is well laid out, on gently undulating ground, the general direction of the streets being from east to west, and from north to south. The thoroughfares are all at right angles, and on the whole are perhaps wider than those in Sydney. The chief portion of the streets are unmade, unpaved and undrained. In wet weather they are seas of mud; in dry, clouds of dust beset them. Bad as is Sydney in this respect, Melbourne is infinitely worse. The bills of 'pains and penalties' so often preferred through your columns against the Corporate Body of the Queen of the North, might with equal fairness find their way into the Melbourne press; but, in the pursuit of gold, it is extraordinary how much mud the masses will wade through—male and female dash through the mud here with a resignation truly wonderful, and which despair alone can give. . . ."

"Save the crowded state of the streets, the continual bustling of the people, the high pressure physical power called into action by everyone, there is little to indicate that we are in the great centre or capital of the Victoria gold mines. There is not that display of gold in the shop windows which we see in Sydney; but in almost every other shop the precious metal is bought, and it is not until we get behind the scenes in these establishments that we can form any notion of the immense quantity of auriferous wealth constantly pouring into the town. Men, whose weather-beaten countenances—indicative of the severe toil through which they have passed—with bags under their arms containing 20, 30, or 40, or even 60 pounds of the dust—women, who have shared in their labours, with reticules filled with bags of the precious metals, may hourly be seen disposing of their gains, and struggling with the merchant for an extra penny per ounce. A flaming placard, big as the little shop window, announces that the shopkeeper wants '10,000 ounces of gold this day, the highest price given.' How can he buy it? He cannot, perhaps scrape together as many shillings. He *chances* it. The great bullion merchant turns over his little capital so many times a day, always purchases at two or three pence per ounce below par from some of the careless diggers, who are not over particular, and thus the 10,000 ounces are always wanted. Large sums of money are thus made, the seller being often dispirited at being bandied about through the muddy streets with heavy bags of gold under his arm, and thus often gets rid of his troublesome charge at a sacrifice. . . . But if the external and more tangible evidences of wealth are not so great in Melbourne as in Sydney, there are other features indicating the fact which are not quite so pleasing. Drunken men or women stagger about or ride through the streets in cabs at a guinea per hour, never under, with hundreds, nay, some with thousands, of pounds in their pockets in cheques and notes. Or go into the Bank of Australasia; watch for an hour and see the immense amount paid over the counter in that time. Examine the *class* of persons, many of them are of decent exterior, others are drunk, and there is an air of dissipation, telling of the lowest haunts—men whose ragged garments and lacerated countenances tell of the terrible debauch they have still left unfinished. See how they grasp the notes handed to them by the cashier; they do not trouble themselves to count them. Their drunken companions are waiting for them outside; and did we follow them for the remainder of the day and night we should find them in the lowest taverns; if they escape the drugged liquors prepared for them by their friends, they have another ordeal to pass through; they have to make their way home, but in a dark spot (for there is no gas amidst all their wealth) they are 'bailed up.' . . . There appears to be a bold bravado in some of these attacks most pleasing to that good-natured portion of the public who are participating in the enormous distribution of wealth from the goldfields. A gang the other day pounced upon the Chief Constable of Melbourne, a man of gigantic stature, and who prides himself as being the strongest man in the country; they overcame him after great resistance, but there was little to be had in the shape of cash or wealth. . . . It is not always that these affrays so terminate, as robbery is too often attended by murder; the numbers of

prisoners now awaiting their trial for felony, highway robbery attended with violence, and cases of murder in all parts of the Colony, but more especially in Geelong and its neighbourhood, too plainly prove that the social state of Victoria is daily retrograding, and that the law as at present organised, is most lamentably defective. It may be asked why, with all its wealth, the executive does not take more active measures to insure security for life and property? There seems to be one reason only, and that is that a sufficient number of *trustworthy* men as police officers are not to be had; all rush to the diggings, and those who are unfortunate and whose character is a little improved by their want of success, offer themselves, and the government have no choice. . . .

In the midst of this chaos, this unsettling of everything, and while the large proportion of the classes of great and small capital, are making rapid fortunes, there are pleasing evidences of confidence in the future stability of the Colony. Not the least significant of these signs, is the fact that the enormous wealth gained at the mines is chiefly invested in the purchase of *real* property—the land. This it cannot be questioned is one of the healthy signs of the times. Hence it is that the land, especially in the neighbourhood of Melbourne and Geelong, has risen enormously in value. Building ground in one of the principal streets in the capital was recently sold at £100 per foot, and on the day in which I now write, quarter acre suburban allotments were sold at the rate of *three thousand pounds per acre*. Speculation, of course, runs very high, and many capitalists are, by the purchase and sale of land, making rapid fortunes. . . .”

The second report is more concerned with an endeavour to show the sordid realities of the El Dorado whereto so many hurrying voyagers were thronging; and to dissipate, if possible, their over-roseate hopes:

I see the fortunate and the unfortunate diggers every day—the one as poor as Lazarus, and the other as rich as Dives; one without a shirt and the other spending his £50 per night. Such is the state of affairs, and the town is crowded to suffocation, if that were possible; certainly, every habitation within it is. The streets are thronged in every direction by eager, anxious faces, all bent upon doing well, as they call it, and really it is painful to answer the question of the newly arrived on that most important epoch of their lives, namely, a settlement in this land of promise—a Land of Promise only, I fear, alas! On each new arrival, to see the creatures—men, women and children—crouch down on the street at night, and, drawing themselves closely together for warmth, whilst neither love, charity, nor money, can procure for them the shelter of a house, is truly pitiable, and yet the infatuation of gold draws them here, instead of pushing to the other colonies, where, by a judicious distribution of labour, they would eventually be better off. I saw two pounds paid by one family for the privilege of sleeping in a canvas tent *for one night only*, and that without covering of any description but their wearing apparel. It is awful; and the daily increase of our population will, so far from improving matters, make it worse. No doubt but that the rate of wages here at present has its effect upon the human mind as well as the more glittering incentive of gold finding, but it should be borne in mind that the rates of wages bear no proportion whatever to the rates of expenditure; and I do assure you that I have seen men have more real comfort at home on 28/- per week, than can be commanded here for £6; in fact, at present, money cannot even command the ordinary courtesies of life, much less its comforts. And when the reaction comes, as come it will, and that sooner than is anticipated, were I paid for advising, I should at once recommend your good citizen merchants to lay in, not only a good stock of provisions for shipment here, but to provide as far as private investment can go, house accommodation in or without the city boundary, for the houseless which will be driven from here in the course of the next twelve months. Depend upon it this, like the beggar's ball, is too merry to last long.

I have spoken before of the sanitary state of this City, and now I fear my surmises will be but true, for fever, and that too, I fear, of an epidemic kind, has broken out. Several instances have occurred, nor is it to be wondered at, when you take into consideration the frightful overcrowding of the dwelling house—the total absence of drainage—the disgusting accumulation of excrements, animal and human, in the streets, lanes and alleys—the stagnant pools of filthy water—the unpaved, unswept streets—the immense masses of stable debris, allowed to be laid down within a few hundreds yards of the town—and the low, swampy marsh upon which the city is built. It is not to be expected that the place will escape without sickness, and when it does break out, an Egyptian plague will be but children's play to what will occur here. No hospital—no means of erecting even temporary sheds—no medical advisers fit for the cure of a respectable

dog—no Government fit to grapple with the emergency. Rank risk will it run, and for all drunkenness, robbery, debauchery, cheating, legal swindling, and hypocritical religious cant, for which, during the past year, this place has been pre-eminent, there will be a day of awful retribution. . . .

It must be remembered that the Government had to deal with an unprecedented problem; that nothing could stay the incoming flood; and that it was humanly impossible to cope with the incessant demands of the occasion. When we read (in the issue of the 12th January, 1853) that the arrivals at the Victorian capital from overseas alone during the past week had been over 4,000, that during the same period 48,501 ounces of gold had been brought down from the various fields of the southern colony; that since the original discoveries had been made at Ballarat considerably less than eighteen months before, just 102 *tons* of the precious metal, having a total value of over eight and one-half millions sterling, had been shipped to England from Victoria; and when we remember that this was but a typical week of that extraordinary period, we can perhaps appreciate in some degree both the difficulties of the problem which confronted the authorities and the very substantial reasons which had created it. And it must also be remembered that these figures do not nearly represent the total of the gold won from the almost incalculable richnesses of the Victorian mines. On that point we may quote the report of a correspondent of the *HERALD* in the Ovens River district (at that time one of the important fields of the Colony) which appears in this same issue of the 12th January, 1853. The extract also describes the departure of the gold escort—in this case not to Melbourne, as usual, but to Sydney:

These diggings are now decidedly the most important in Victoria, and they are daily becoming more interesting to New South Wales, not simply because more than half the population that is working there have come from that Colony, but from the fact that the richest portions have already extended to the boundary between the two provinces. Immense quantities of gold are being procured, and there appears to be no presumption of decrease in the yield. The amounts sent to Melbourne by escort do not afford a criterion of the success of the diggers, as by far the greater portion of them prefer forwarding their dust to Sydney. In the course of a few weeks, some parties who were working in adjoining claims accumulated such an immense weight of metal that they were apprehensive that something would befall themselves and their riches. They consequently united in forming an escort to convey their treasure to Sydney; and on Friday, the 17th ultimo, one hundred and fifty pounds' weight of gold was placed on a dray at the lower diggings and, guarded by fifty-five mounted men, well-armed, started towards the metropolis. On arriving near Yass the chief part of the escort returned to the diggings, leaving six or eight of the party to proceed on to Sydney with the treasure. On last Sunday se'night, they skirted Goulburn, all safe, and long ere this have reached their destination.

The drought of 1851, which might well have created considerable pessimistic comment, had been allowed to burn itself out almost unnoticed amid the hectic excitements of the gold fever. But it had been followed by the great floods of June, 1852, and these not even the hysteria of the times could prevent from attracting public notice and public depression. In particular, the flood which swept the basin of the Murrumbidgee in the last week of that month—probably the most disastrous catastrophe of its kind in the history of New South Wales—moved the *HERALD* to publish a series of descriptive articles of great power and poignancy. It was not until the 5th of the following month that the news of the disaster reached Sydney—a fact which throws a significant light upon the dilatoriness of news even in those comparatively advanced days—and on that date the paper printed the first of the contributed articles we have referred to, and also devoted its "leader" to the same subject. The correspondent's article was written from Gundagai, and runs as follows:

That part of the town that is on the north bank, has suffered most; it extends principally over a flat, separated from the high ground by a creek which rises quickly, and long before there are any

apprehensions, can only be crossed by boats or by swimming. Late on Thursday evening, the flat was covered and preparations were made to withstand a flood. On Friday morning at about 9 o'clock the water attained the height to which it rose last year. A boat came from the other side of the river at about 9 a.m. to relieve Mr. Thatcher, whose family had taken to the loft. In re-crossing the river the boat was swamped, and five children and one of the boatmen were drowned. From the fearful current, and the enormous logs it was carrying down, it was impossible to attempt to take off any more that day. As night drew in, the unavailing cries for assistance all around became fearfully harassing. Crash after crash announced the fall of some house, and the screams that followed the engulfing of those who clung there till the water attained its greatest height, about 11 o'clock at night, and began to fall at 3 a.m. on Saturday. Up to this time, about 34 houses had been washed away, and 60 lives lost. Numbers of those who were carried away by the stream saved themselves by clinging to the trees. I myself was on a tree from 11 o'clock on Friday night until about 3 o'clock on Saturday afternoon. Many were so placed for two nights; some of these were saved, though, no doubt, many perished from exhaustion. One melancholy instance is the fate of Miss Hemphill, who on Saturday night was alive in the tree in which on Sunday she was found dead. Those on the high ground exerted themselves to the utmost. Two strangers manned a boat, and took several from the trees, myself amongst the number. The black-fellow, "Jackey," belonging to Mr. Andrew, afforded in this respect the most valuable assistance, saving a great many lives. The scene on the high part, where the remainder of the inhabitants are congregated, is truly distressing. At every step you see someone lamenting the dead.

A movement instituted by the *HERALD* to start a relief fund was warmly taken up; and at a meeting hurriedly arranged that same day a sum of over eighty pounds was collected in the room. Further sums poured in and financial and other aid was sent to the devastated areas as quickly as possible.

The arrival in August, 1852, of the "Chusan," the first P. & O. liner to visit the waters of Port Jackson, deserves some detailed reference. For the event marked the definite establishment of steamship communication with Great Britain, and it, therefore, provides an appropriate point for us to give a little consideration to the history of steam transport by sea in relation to Australia up to this date. The subject naturally divides itself into two sections—first, steam navigation on the waters of Port Jackson, the coastal waters of Australia and across the Pacific Ocean so far as "The Feejees" and New Zealand; and, secondly, steam communication with the Old Country. Fortunately, in both cases, we are enabled to give the story in the *HERALD*'s own words. On the 19th May, 1851, just twenty years having elapsed since the first vessel was propelled by steam power in these waters, the paper took the opportunity of devoting a leading article to the history of "Our Steam Marine," that is to say, of such steam vessels as are included in the first section above mentioned. In view of the importance and interest of the chronicle, we quote from it at length:

"Messrs. Smith Brothers were the first persons in the Colony who turned their attention to steam navigation. In the latter end of 1830 they commenced building in Neutral Bay a small river steam boat which was launched in March, 1831, and was therefore the first steam-boat that floated on the waters of Port Jackson; but, as it was the 23rd July before her machinery was fitted, and the *Sophia Jane*, which arrived on the 13th May, made her experimental trip on the 17th June, to her attaches the honour of being the first vessel that moved by steam in the Australian Colonies, or the Pacific Ocean.

"About the beginning of 1831, the late Mr. J. H. Grose commenced building the *William IV.* steamer; and we well recollect that, on the arrival of the *Sophia Jane*, a general feeling of regret was expressed that Mr. Grose should have entered into a speculation which had been thus interfered with, as the idea of two steamers finding employment in our coastal trade was not entertained.

"In 1832, however, the Colony began to feel the impulse given to it by the immigration of persons of capital, and it was determined to form a company called 'The Australasian Steam Convey-

ance Company,' which was to have the power of extending itself with the wants of the Colony. It commenced humbly by building a very neat little vessel for the Parramatta River, called the Australia. We never understood the exact circumstances that caused this company to fail, except that it got into the meshes of the law, but with whom or what about, we do not remember, nor is it necessary now to enquire. The company failed.

"From this time our steam marine gradually increased. The Tamar, originally intended for Launceston, arrived; and was followed by the James Watt, the King William, and that beautiful vessel, the Clonmel. The Ceres, the Victoria and the Maitland were built in the Colony, and our steamers began to run along the coast in all directions.

"Towards the end of 1839 some gentlemen connected with the Hunter River trade, being discontented with the manner in which the steamers were conducted, resolved to have vessels, over which they had some control, and formed 'The Hunter River Steam Navigation Company,' of which the original shareholders were principally settlers or persons in Sydney connected with the Hunter. This Company, which has rendered so much service to the Hunter River district and the Colony generally, imported in 1841 those three excellent vessels—The Rose, The Thistle and The Shamrock—which have been running regularly for ten years.

"Since the importation of those vessels, several have been built in the Colony, but we believe that three only have arrived from England—The Seahorse, the Conubia and the Juno, which were sent out under the auspices of Messrs. Boyd.

The writer then concludes by giving a list of the steam-driven vessels in service in Australian waters at the date of his article, from which we learn that there were fourteen steamers then plying on the waters of Port Jackson and the coast of New South Wales, and four at Port Phillip.

In reference to this list, it is of interest to note that, according to a leading article in the HERALD of the 2nd December, 1840, to the Clonmel belongs the honour of having been the "first sea-going steamboat in the Pacific." That is to say, that her predecessors in steam propulsion had confined their voyages to the waters of Port Jackson. But on the 1st December the Clonmel steamed through the Heads with over fifty passengers aboard, bound for Port Phillip—the pioneer of an ever-increasing tribe. From a Port Phillip report of the 6th December (published in the HERALD of the 19th), we learn that she duly arrived at her destination early on the morning of the preceding day, having made the run from Heads to Heads in seventy-two hours—an excellent performance, all things considered. Unfortunately, on a subsequent trip she was wrecked through careless navigation.

The arrival of the "Chusan" on the 3rd August, 1852, was, as we have said, a matter of the greatest importance to all Australians, and in the HERALD of the 4th August—the day following her arrival at Sydney—the leading article gives us a detailed history of the protracted effort now crowned at last with success, to establish steam communication with the Homeland. As with the somewhat similar article of the 19th May, 1851, this one is of such interest that we quote from it extensively:

If steam communication with England was thought to be of so much importance between the years of 1838 and 1850, when the condition and prospects of these colonies were as different from what they are now as gold is different from wool and tallow, how is its importance to be estimated under our present circumstances? It is of unspeakable importance to England, as well as to ourselves. She is now fully alive to the fact that in Australia she possesses a treasure of inestimable value—and the brightest jewel in the crown of her colonial empire. She is aware that the tidings which now reach her from these shores are not only of the deepest interest to her commercial men and to her people of all ranks and degrees, but are likely to exert a powerful influence upon her national finances, and, indeed, upon the monetary affairs of all Europe. It is to her, therefore, of the utmost moment that these tidings should not be delayed or interrupted, but should reach her with the greatest possible frequency and punctuality.

To ourselves, the benefit of this mighty improvement will not be fully understood, nor adequately appreciated, until they have been unfolded by experience. The immediate effect will be

to reduce the distance between us and old England by at least one half. And this result will arise less, perhaps, from the rapidity, than from the *regularity* of our intercourse. Instances have not been wanting in which sailing vessels have fallen little short, in point of rapidity, of the powers of steam ships; but these instances have been accidental and fitful. The great desideratum is that we should be able to calculate on the arrival of our advices to the *very day*, irregularity being the exception, and strict punctuality the rule. This will secure to us a succession of European news in regular chronological order—a cheering contrast to our present modes of supply, the news of February preceding the news of January, the climax of some stirring event preceding all the circumstances out of which it arose, Omega preceding Alpha, effect preceding cause.

That this regularity of intercourse will materially serve to equalise our markets, to prevent that alternate plethora and exhaustion to which they have hitherto been subject and maintain a healthful relation between supply and demand, in all the principal articles of commerce, is another of the advantages to which we may look forward with delight.

But we must pause and for the present content ourselves with again congratulating Australia upon the auspicious era for which she has long been sighing, but which is now illuminating her horizon with the brightest dawn of promise.

The arrival of the Chusan was celebrated in appropriate fashion. A great ball was held in honour of the ship and her staff, at which the felicitous speeches usual to such occasions were delivered and received with more than usual warmth; and altogether both press and public united in their joyful recognition of a great event successfully accomplished.

The proprietors of the HERALD, having by their enterprise both as newsvendors and advisers so fully catered for the requirements of their readers, naturally profited to an extreme degree by the coming of the gold and all it brought in its train. They managed to retain the bulk of their employees; although, as Mr. Brewer tells us in his reminiscences, a number of them left for the diggings. But judicious increases in wages, both for the compositors and the literary staff, staved off the trouble; and the activities of the paper, indeed, grew to such a degree that large additions to the staff became necessary to cope with them. The paper had, even before the coming of the gold, become a highly successful business concern; the proprietors had now taken the tide of opportunity at the flood, and within a year or so the tide had swept them on to fortune. The immense increase in the population of the Colony which followed the finding of the gold, had its natural effect upon the circulation and the advertising returns of the HERALD. And although the increase at the first was sudden, it continued on a steady upward grade long after the first excitements of the situation had passed. Not only were additions to the staff required, but it became increasingly evident that the machinery and plant were insufficient, also. And so, having now found himself in affluent circumstances, and with the certain prospect of that affluence being largely and increasingly augmented, John Fairfax, partly for private reasons, but principally for the purpose of purchasing the necessary additions to the plant, decided to take that trip to England and to his old home town to which we have referred in our story of his life. He left Sydney early in 1852, and his eldest son, Charles Fairfax, assumed and carried out during the absence of his father, a very large proportion of the latter's official and proprietorial duties. In July, 1852, John Fairfax visited Leamington, and was received there with the honour that his actions and his reputation warranted. He took the opportunity to address a meeting of the citizens of Leamington, in the course of which he put the whole position of affairs in New South Wales before his hearers and concluded with a strong recommendation to the younger and more enterprising men of the town to try their fortunes in Australia. The appeal was far from being unsuccessful, and several of those who took his advice were subsequently attached to the HERALD staff for many years.

Having made the necessary arrangements for the purchase and delivery of the requisite machinery, John Fairfax sailed for Australia in March, 1853, by the ship "Albermarle," and arrived in Sydney on the 18th July. In reference to this return, Mr. Brewer relates an incident which is so characteristic of John Fairfax that we quote it in full:

"The ship was signalled just before sundown, and was not expected to arrive in the harbour until too late for any passengers to land. The chief reporter had arranged for himself, Mr. Charles Fairfax, and some members of the literary staff to proceed to the vessel early the following morning to welcome Mr. and Mrs. Fairfax. The 'Albermarle' dropped anchor about ten o'clock p.m., and to the surprise of Mr. Charles Fairfax, who was then with the overseer, about 11 o'clock that night, Mr. John Fairfax came into the composing room, and, walking up to the overseer, who was then making up the formes, enquired in his usual tones: 'What do the advertisements measure to-night?' On being told that the measurement was over six pages, he exhibited great surprise and exclaimed: 'I cannot realise it.' Greetings took place between father and son, employer and employees, Mr. Fairfax going round all the frames, amid cheers, and then he and his son departed for the vessel. The arrangements which had been made for a formal welcome were thus completely anticipated by the anxiety of the master to be again with his men."

The new plant purchased by John Fairfax in England, consisting of a two-feeder Cowper printing machine, and a steam engine to work it, arrived in 1853, together with a competent machinist, and, being installed as soon as possible, the HERALD appropriated the honour of being the first newspaper in Australia to be printed by steam. But an even greater change was at hand. For some time past Charles Kemp, satisfied with the pecuniary position in which the success of the HERALD had placed him, had been talking of selling his share of the business to his partner; but the completion of the negotiations had been postponed by the latter's visit to England. Now, however, there was no need for further delay; and arrangements to their mutual satisfaction having been entered into, the HERALD, on the 30th September, 1853, passed into the sole possession of John Fairfax; and a partnership of twelve years, which, by reason of the continuous friendly relations between the two men, might well be termed a companionship, was brought to an end. The HERALD of the 1st October bears the imprint, for the first time, of that sole Fairfax ownership which has existed, with but slight nominal alterations, ever since. It reads: "Printed and published by John Fairfax, at the 'Morning Herald' (*sic!*) Printing office, Lower George Street, Sydney, New South Wales." And in this form it remained until the formation of the firm of John Fairfax & Sons at the end of 1856, together with the transfer of the paper's headquarters to Hunter Street, necessitated a change in the notification of ownership and address alike.

In the beginning of January, 1854, the HERALD made considerable changes in its appearance, changes which can best be described and explained in the paper's own words. We quote, therefore, the leading article of that date, as follows:

"Our patrons will this New Year's morning scarcely recognise their old friend, THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, under the altered aspect in which it presents itself to their notice. We scarcely need assure them, however, that the alteration is not the result of caprice but of necessity. They must have observed how greatly the number of advertisements has of late increased, and how, notwithstanding our resorts to double sheets and supplements, sometimes extending in all to fourteen pages, our space for general news has still remained more contracted than formerly. It was with the view of obviating this inconvenience that the change referred to was adopted. By widening our columns and printing our advertisements in smaller type, our space will be so effectually economised that on this head we trust our readers will have no cause to complain.

"This remarkable multiplication of advertisements must, of course, be attributed mainly to a corresponding increase in the business of the Colony, and may be taken as a very apt illustration of the prosperity of our times. It must, however, be doubtless attributed in part to the favourable estimation in which our journal is held by all classes of the community. The trading classes are

well aware of the circumstances which bear upon their interests in the matter of advertisements. They know that, upon the good opinion entertained of a newspaper by the public, depends its circulation, and that upon its circulation depends its eligibility as an advertising vehicle. In selecting THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD as their favourite medium, they thus testify their confidence in the high reputation it enjoys, and in the wide circulation it therefore commands. . . .

"Having been led to advert to the subject of our circulation, we may be permitted to state that our *average* circulation is now nearly SIX THOUSAND per day—being larger than that of any of the daily London papers except *The Times* and *Morning Advertiser*. While we are thankful for encouragement so liberal, we cannot but feel proud of the distinction of which the HERALD is thus declared to be worthy. We have certainly practised no *ad captandum* acts to win popular applause. Our course has been as independent as it has been honest. As we have sought success not as a favour, but as a merited reward, so we have never hesitated to advocate what we thought sound principles, even when we had reason to believe that, for the moment, those opinions were anything but popular. And the event has proved that in so acting we were not less politic than right. We have won the approval, the confidence, and the munificent patronage of the colonial public. . . .

"In a commercial point of view, the past year will also be regarded as a memorable era. The permanent effects of our great discovery began then to be felt for the first time, both in Britain and in the Colony. In England these effects were marvellous; the whole aspect of her affairs—commercial, social, and political—was changed, and changed infinitely for the better. . . .

"In these colonies the effects have been much the same as in England, but in some particulars more broadly marked. The advance in the rates of wages which took place last year in all parts of the United Kingdom, and of which employers so loudly complained, was trifling compared with the advance which took place here, the difference being as between pence and pounds. But the most remarkable feature in the colonial history of last year consisted in the realised value of lands and buildings. We speak within compass when we say that the value of country property, throughout the whole of this colony at least, was on the average greater last year than in the year preceding by a hundred per cent. As for real estate within the city and suburbs of Sydney, it is impossible to name any rates of enhancement which would fitly represent the general truth. We may safely state two hundred per cent., however, as the minimum enhancement. Of course, rents have gone up in proportion; and were it not for the extraordinary prosperity of all classes of tenants, they would be felt as an intolerable burden.

"Our gold-digging interest, as we ventured to prognosticate long ago, has now settled down as one of the permanent and ordinary interests of the Colony. It is pursued without disorder, without excitement and with a sober steadiness of increase which promises much future good with but a small alloy of the evils which attend it elsewhere.

"We may sum up our estimate of the past year by recording that it left the Colony of New South Wales in a state of higher, more widely diffused, and more substantial prosperity than the Colony ever knew before throughout the sixty-six years of its existence. . . ."

In addition to the changes mentioned in the article, two other minor alterations in the appearance of the paper were made at this date. The first was the elimination from the front page of the woodcuts of ships which had for long been a prominent feature of the shipping advertisements, the change not only improving the look of the paper, but also giving more space for the advertisements. The second was the disappearance of the "Sworn to no Master, of no Sect am I" motto, which, despite the deletion of its fellow "Whig and Tory" motto in January, 1847, had ever since the birth of the paper continued to appear on the leader page immediately below the title. Small changes, perhaps, but yet in a way significant of the new regime and its attention to details. The total effect of the changes and improvements in the format of the HERALD was to give it quite a different appearance. The change would be apparent even to the untrained eye of one who had no concern with journalism; to the journalist it is a notable one. From the 1st of January, 1854, when these alterations began to operate, the HERALD put on the habit of what we might term modernism; it became, to all intents and purposes, and with but small modification, the journal that we know to-day.

The clarity and style of the typography, the wider, cleaner columns, the advertisements no longer cumbered with ship-blocks, the introduction of a regular "Mercantile and Money" column—all these and many other minor changes combined to improve the paper to such a degree that, as it said itself, it must have been scarcely recognisable by its oldest friends. That John Fairfax was responsible for the alteration there can be no doubt—its advent so quickly after his becoming sole proprietor is too significant to be disregarded. For nearly a year after the changes had been inaugurated, and despite the fact that nearly every issue was of an enlarged size, owing to the fullness and importance of the news that was arriving from England by every mail respecting the war in the Crimea—and, despite, too, the local constitutional changes which were pending and whose interest was immense to the whole body of the settlers—the price of the paper remained unchanged from that threepence per single issue to which it had been reduced in 1849. But on the 1st October, 1854, "in consequence of the increased price of paper and labour"—as the leading article of the 30th September explained—the price was increased from threepence to sixpence a copy, and the cost to subscribers advanced from fifteen shillings to twenty shillings per quarter, at which price it remained until 1857, when it was again reduced to 4d. Certain facts and figures which are given in this article of the 1st October, 1854, are so relevant to the story of the growth of the paper that we quote a paragraph or so for the information of the reader:

"During all these years the daily issue of the *HERALD* has been increasing, and there are one or two facts connected with its past history, and its present position, which we may be pardoned for advertng to. It was the first newspaper in the southern portion of the world to which hand-printing machinery was applied, and it was also the first to which the power of steam was made available in the Colony, for reasons which have been previously stated. The average for its daily issue for the last quarter has been 6,620, or 39,720 per week—giving an annual circulation of two million, seventy-two thousand and sixty, thus showing a larger number than is printed by ten out of the twelve London daily journals, viz.: *The Morning Herald, Daily News, Morning Post, Morning Chronicle, Public Ledger, The Sun, The Express, The Globe, The Shipping Gazette, The Standard*. It is confidently believed that *the issue of the HERALD exceeds by upwards of fifty per cent. the whole of the other Sydney journals—both daily and weekly*; and has more than doubled its circulation since it has been competed with by a daily contemporary.

"The consumption of paper for the *HERALD* is more than twenty-six reams of double demy per day, or about eight thousand two hundred and eighty-eight reams per annum; and the entire weight is three hundred and twenty-three thousand two hundred and thirty-two pounds.

"We have not been tempted into these statements from an improper motive; but, as it seems to have become the fashion, both here and at Melbourne, to indulge in personal encomiums, we see no great harm in showing the high position in which the *HERALD* has been placed by the kindness of its patrons and friends."

In November, 1854, there occurred an event which may well be regarded as a milestone in the story of the internal development of the paper. This was the appointment of the Rev. John West as Editor, the first member of the staff to hold, definitely and officially, that high and responsible position. The necessity for such an appointment had long been evident, and as we have seen, the proprietors had on one occasion at least, endeavoured to meet that necessity, but without success. Mr. West had been known to John Fairfax for many years, both through his writings and through his position as a minister of the Congregational denomination to which both men belonged. Mr. West was born in England in 1809, and after his ordination at an early age, he laboured for his Church in several of the southern and central counties of the Homeland. At the age of thirty he offered his services to the Colonial Missionary Society, and was sent by that body almost immediately to Van Diemen's Land. There he quickly made his influence felt, and his work for the Church was both able and continuous for



Earliest picture of the old Herald office, drawn just after its completion in 1856. The present office covers the site of the adjoining buildings as well. The trees show that O'Connell Street then was largely a place of private residences and gardens.



REV. JOHN WEST.

First of the official editors of the Herald. Occupied the chair from 1854 till his death in December, 1873.



RELIC OF THE OLD OFFICE.

The Caxton Head, keystone of the arch at the entrance. It has been incorporated in the facade of the present building.



George Street in 1858, looking north from the General Post Office, which is marked by the pillars on the right. In the left-hand corner is the original shop of David Jones & Co., and across Barrack Street is the Commercial Banking Company's premises, separated by two shops from the Bank of New South Wales.



Pitt Street at its intersection with Spring Street in 1861, from a lithograph by S. T. Gill. The building on the corner is the Bible Hall, and to the left is the Exchange, on the corner of Bridge Street, which was opened in December, 1857.

a period of fourteen years. But great as were his services to religion, it was in another sphere that he achieved his greatest distinction. During his residence in Van Diemen's Land the political atmosphere there was in a very excited state as a result of the British Government's refusal to extend to the island colony that exemption from the transportation system which she had been compelled, after long argument, to grant to New South Wales and Victoria. Public feeling in Van Diemen's Land was aroused and the matter appealing strongly to Mr. West, his trenchant pen was soon enlisted upon the side of those who opposed the retention of the evil system. An anti-transportation league was formed, and both by written articles and spoken word Mr. West did good service for the cause which he had espoused. The occasion found the man; but it found, moreover, a man who could write, not only upon one subject, but upon many, with a force and clarity hitherto unsuspected. He soon became a notable contributor to the journals of the day; and eventually he visited New South Wales in April, 1851, to take part, as a delegate from Van Diemen's Land, in the meetings of the Anti-Transportation League, and there impressed his hearers greatly with his eloquence. It was probably his forceful speaking on this occasion that decided his friend, John Fairfax, later on to invite him to the Editorial Chair of the *HERALD*. At any rate, he was offered the position and accepted it. He had already contributed to the paper a series of notable articles on the question of the Union of the Australian Colonies, and was both familiar with its methods and sympathetic towards its aims. Upon the theme of Mr. West's work as the first editor of the *HERALD* the restrained and appropriate tribute of the *HERALD*'s obituary notice may well be quoted; for it is impossible that it could be better worded. Mr. West died, suddenly, and literally in harness, on the 11th December, 1873, after nearly twenty years' service in the *HERALD*'s editorial chair; and in the issue of the 13th of that month there appeared the notice of which we speak. After narrating briefly the main incidents of his career, the notice concluded thus:

"In what remains to be said we will endeavour to allow that modesty to operate which was so conspicuous in the subject of this memoir. It is due to him, and yet most difficult without violating good taste, to say somewhat respecting his labours in this Colony—for it was here that he spent the meridian of his life—it was here that he poured out the wealth of his experience. Of the nature and influence of his opinions upon this community during nearly a quarter of a century in connection with this journal we cannot speak—and nothing now could be said that would be likely to effect the estimate already formed of them. He was a man, too, in no way impatient of results; in the world of mind as well as in the physical world he recognised a germinal and fruiting time appointed for the seed of opinion, and knew that work truly done never comes to naught. It may be allowable to say, however, that no man ever undertook the duty entrusted to him with a profounder sense of the responsibility of the trust, or a more entire devotion to its fulfilment. His sense of the power of the press amounted to a passion, and this power he endeavoured to wield wholly for the public good.

"As a writer, he may be judged of apart from his contribution to this journal. His 'History of Tasmania' still contains the most reliable and readable description of the period embraced by it. In it there may be perceived the power to cope with details—which marks a patient man—as well as a power to group details for generalisation—which marks a philosophic mind; there is, too, the indication of a certain judicial quality of mind—a mind peculiarly qualified to discriminate and weigh evidence; a quickness to perceive salient points of attack; considerable resources in argumentation; his utterances are without personal bitterness; and while possessing a spirit impatient of oppression, he displays an enlarged tolerance of opinion. His style, as judged of then, was somewhat Johnsonian, glistening at times with a sarcasm which acquired finer edge and polish in other fields. He was content with plain words to express strong sensations, and ever considered the thought of more import than the clothing of it.

"Apart from his labours in the domain of literature he was found to be a ready voluntary helper in all the best institutions of the land. The cause of education was specially dear to him.

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He is known as one of the founders of the Camden College, established for the purpose of training young men for evangelical work, and he presided over the deliberations of the Council. To none of the duties of citizenship was he either deaf or indifferent.

"But his qualities as a man were known fully only to those who grasped his hand as a friend. To them was displayed the singleness of aim—the abnegation of self—the purity of life—the consecration of talents—the beautiful disingenuousness of the man; they saw the working of a singularly tender heart; they admired the strong respect for, the resolute performance of the duties of friendship; they noticed the strong repugnance to any kind of bigotry. These were the qualities that endeared him to a very wide circle of friends, and will ever make his removal from the staff of this journal a matter of profound sorrow to all who were co-operators with him upon it, from the proprietors to the humblest in the ranks of labour."

It was on the 14th November, 1854, that Mr. West arrived in Sydney to take up his duties with the *HERALD*, and almost immediately thereafter one can detect his influence over the editorial columns of the paper, an influence which he continued to exert until the very day whereon his shoulder felt the hand of that fell sergeant who was in his case not only strict but sudden in his arrest.

It was in March, 1854, after months of forebodings, that England became officially involved in the Crimean War. The news did not reach Sydney until the 26th June, when the grim fact was announced in the *HERALD*. Ever since the close of the preceding year the paper had been active in its endeavours to supply its readers with the latest and completest news appertaining to the gathering crisis; and from the day when the actual outbreak of hostilities was announced those activities were increased by every possible means and were successfully sustained until the close of the war, when the announcement of peace was made by the *HERALD*, as will subsequently appear in this chronicle, in circumstances both appropriate and dramatic. *The Empire*—a journal which had been started in 1850 by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Parkes—was at this time the *HERALD*'s only serious competitor, and as the paper and its proprietor will necessarily be referred to many times hereafter, it is appropriate to interpolate here a few words about both.

Henry Parkes—one of the first of the many instances in Australia of men of humble origin breasting the blows of circumstance and attaining to high position in the counsels of their country—was born in Warwickshire in the year of Waterloo, and started work at the age of eight years. A few years later he was apprenticed to an ivory-turner in Birmingham and there, as a young man, he became a member of the Birmingham Political Union and an active partisan of the Reform Bill of 1831. He subsequently associated himself with the Chartist movement and contributed freely, both prose articles and in verse, to the columns of its official journal, *The Chartist*. In 1839 he came, with his young wife, to New South Wales, as assisted—or as the phrase then ran, "bounty"—emigrants, and arrived in Sydney in July of that year. He obtained work for a time as an agricultural labourer in the Penrith district, but soon returned to the city and, after trying various occupations, finally opened a shop in Hunter Street for the sale of toys and ivory work. His activities soon brought him, if not to prominence, at least to the notice of the politicians of the time, and in 1848 he was appointed by Robert Lowe to act as one of his secretaries in the political campaign of the day. He also began at this time to take a prominent part in the anti-transportation movement; and in 1850, as has already been stated, he founded *The Empire*, a journal which made its first appearance on the 28th December of that year.

Parkes was at this time thirty-five years of age, active, intelligent and enterprising. He had already begun to make his mark and to take the first steps upon that path of

public service which was to lead him to fame as a statesman and worthily to win the affectionate title of Australia's Grand Old Man. His new enterprise bid fair to prove successful. The tone of *The Empire* was democratic, and from the first it gained good support, by reason both of the energy of its proprietor and of the freshness and vigour of its matter. Its success was such, indeed, that it very shortly enlarged its size, became a tri-weekly and, eventually, a daily paper. There was room for a second journal, and for some years *The Empire* continued to prosper and to stand as the most formidable competitor that the *HERALD* had known. But no newspaper, however brilliantly it may be conducted from a literary point of view, can withstand the slings and arrows of fortune if it be not stably conducted from a financial point of view as well. And in regard to finance Parkes was ever notoriously incompetent. He could neither understand the necessity for diligent supervision of the purse nor be bothered with that supervision, even when the necessity was with difficulty brought home to him. He was elated with the idea of making *The Empire* the leading paper of the Colony, and with his eyes uplifted to this radiant vision he failed to see, or to avoid, the dangers at his feet. If he had been less ambitious, or more careful, his vision might have "come true." As it was *The Empire* ran into the inevitable storm and failed to weather it. In 1858 the paper ceased publication—temporarily it is true—but when it was restarted in May, 1859, Parkes was no longer at the helm. Nor did he ever again attempt the thorny paths of journalism. The rest of his long life was devoted to the service of his country in the arena of politics. *The Empire* ran again for fifteen years under a different proprietorship and was then—in 1874—taken over by *The Evening News* and disappeared for ever as a separate entity. The story of *The Empire* is a story of a lost opportunity—lost, as so many such enterprises have been lost, upon the rock of a false optimism and the shallows of careless finance.

The *HERALD*'s greeting to its new competitor was, if not exuberantly cordial, at least characteristic. On the 31st December, 1850, it "noticed" the arrival of *The Empire* in these words:

"The first number of a weekly paper called *The Empire* was published on Saturday. It professes to be 'Radical' and promises to act up to its profession. Believing, as we do, that the condition of the Colony will not afford scope for what is known in England as 'Radicalism,' we expect our new contemporary will not find a very extended field for its operations. The franchise was almost the only thing about which anything 'Radical' could be said, and that has been settled for us in England at so low a rate that no one can object to it as being too high. There can, in this Colony, be nothing less than a £10 qualification, unless we have universal suffrage. We shall be glad to find that the writers in *The Empire* continue in the same spirit that they have exhibited in their first number, for if we cannot admit the correctness of their principles we are glad to be at liberty to admire the tone and spirit of their arguments."

This, then, was the paper which in 1854 had become the *HERALD*'s most serious competitor. The duel between them to obtain the latest news of the Crimean War is interestingly referred to by Mr. Brewer. He writes:

"Now began a rivalry between the two daily papers for the latest news that involved a large additional expenditure in the shipping department. The news reached Sydney only by sea, and special efforts were necessary to get the latest papers containing the particulars of the progress of the war. The *HERALD* had a special boat built for the purpose, and kept a crew always in readiness night and day. It was not an uncommon occurrence for the reporters to board vessels outside the Heads as far down as Coogee, in order to secure any and even all the papers on board the incoming vessels not actually in the postal bags or boxes. If the vessel was a sailing ship, the boat had to put back to Circular Quay; if a mail or other steamer, it was towed up as far as the anchorage. When a vessel was expected during the night the reporter and his boat's crew often camped at Watson's Bay on the look-out for 'lights to the south'ard,' and some dangerous

work was done in boarding vessels in the dark. If the news arrived in the day 'Extraordinaries' were issued as soon as possible, and the race of the two papers was continued in their respective offices for 'first issue.' The public excitement of the latest news kept the newspaper people in a whirl to supply the demands. The hunt for papers on the water was often continued on land. When the shipping reporter arrived at the office with his journalistic booty, he and others frequently started off to scour the city for papers sent to merchants and well-known private citizens. Those who do not remember that period can scarcely form an idea of the rush that took place to the daily newspaper offices on the issue of the 'Extraordinaries' and the struggle for copies."

PART II.

In the beginning of 1855 the governorship of Sir Charles Fitzroy came to an end, and he was succeeded by Sir William Denison, an able and resolute Engineer officer, who had previously been Governor of Van Diemen's Land. It was during the early part of his administration in New South Wales, and as a result of the Crimean War scare, that a fort was erected on the prison-island in the harbour then known as Pinchgut, but thereafter to be called Fort Denison. This fort, together with the one standing on the eastern point of Circular Quay and known as Fort Macquarie, and a third on the southern side of the Harbour, near the spot now known as Neilsen Park, thus constituted the Colony's first line of defence and gave confidence to the citizens.

Sir Charles Fitzroy sailed for England on the 28th January, 1855, and died there three years later. He was a capable administrator, and his personality was both lovable and generous. Arriving in 1846, he had had the fortune to preside over the destinies of the Colony during the most momentous period of its existence; and despite a valedictory attack upon him by the irrepressible Dr. Lang, he left Australia holding the esteem of the immense majority of its people. The *HERALD*, in a leading article, published a few days before he left, spoke of him in the highest terms, both as a man and as an administrator, and expressed the regret of the community at his departure. The paper had had its disagreements with him at times, and as we have seen, did not hesitate on those occasions to speak its mind of him with freedom. But these differences were forgotten now, and the article to which we have referred lacks nothing of generous appreciation. The writer took the opportunity to compare the position of the Colony at the time of Fitzroy's departure with that which it had occupied at the commencement of his regime; and the facts and figures it assembled are so valuable as a means of estimating the enormous development effected in all departments of the life of the Colony during the period, mainly as the result of the gold discoveries, either directly or indirectly, that we venture to quote from it at some length. The article appears in the issue of the 17th January, 1855:

"... It may not be uninteresting to glance at certain points of difference between the Colony as it was when Sir Charles assumed its government, and the Colony as it is on the eve of his departure from its shores.

"He found it one great territory, stretching from the 26th parallel of south latitude to the waters of Bass Straits, and from the shores of the Pacific to the 141st degree of east longitude. He leaves it divided into two separate provinces, each vying with each in all that constitutes a prosperous and rapidly rising community.

"He found its undivided territory inhabited by 190,000 souls; he leaves it inhabited, within the province left to it after its division, by some 250,000. To the population of this province there have been added, within the period of his administration, nearly 100,000 souls. To the whole territory which comprised the original sphere of his government there have been added, within that period, at least 300,000.

"He found New South Wales the greatest wool-producing Colony in the world. He leaves it, together with its sister Victoria, the greatest gold-producing country on the surface of the globe.

"Let the remainder of our comparison have reference only to that portion of the Colony which, prior to the separation, was designated the Middle District, and over which Sir Charles Fitzroy presided.

"First, as to the marvellous increase of its live stock, notwithstanding the check to our pastoral enterprise caused by the discovery of gold. On his arrival we had 76,000 horses; we have now 156,000. We had rather more than a million of horned cattle; we have now more than a million and a half. We had under five millions of sheep; we have now upwards of eight millions.

"Then as to our commerce. In the year of Sir Charles' arrival, our imports were a million and a quarter. They are now six millions and a quarter. Our exports were a million; they are now four millions and a half. Our exports of articles, the produce or manufacture of New South Wales, amounted to three-quarters of a million; they now amount to three millions and a half. Our export of wool was ten millions of pounds weight; it is now some seventeen millions. Our export of tallow was 18,000 cwt.; it is now 91,000 cwt.

"In the year of His Excellency's arrival our shipping inwards and outwards numbered 917 vessels, with a tonnage of 233,000 tons; it now numbers upwards of 2,000 vessels, with a tonnage of 680,000 tons. The vessels registered in the Colony in that year were 68, with a tonnage of 4,200 tons; the number registered in 1853 was 190, with a tonnage of 22,700 tons.

"Next, as to our fiscal progress. The proceeds of our land sales in the year of Sir Charles' arrival amounted to £11,200; in the year just expired they amounted to £321,000. The aggregate amount of our revenues, general and territorial, in the former year, was £96,600; in the latter, £991,600. The whole amount of coin in the Colony in the former year, was £827,000; in the latter, £2,300,000.

"Then as to our social progress, indicated by our transactions through the Post Office. In the year of Sir Charles' arrival the number of letters transmitted by post, was 570,000, and of newspapers, 904,000; in 1853, the letters were 1,587,300, and the newspapers 1,515,000.

"Then as to our educational progress. In the year of his arrival we had in the Colony 338 schools, attended by 16,200 scholars; in 1853 we had 420 schools attended by 25,600 scholars. . . .

"Thus prosperous and eventful have been the times in which it has been the lot of Sir Charles Augustus Fitzroy to administer the Government of this remarkable territory. May he long be spared to look back upon those times with the heart-felt satisfaction which a consciousness of having done his duty to his Sovereign and to the Colony is so well calculated to inspire."

The first year of Sir William Denison's governorship was notable in New South Wales for two events which so greatly affected the progress of the Colony, socially, politically and industrially, that their occurrence makes the year deserving of being marked with a red letter in our chronology. These two events were the opening of the first railway in the Colony in September, and the proclamation of the new Constitution Act, representing the complete arrival of representative government, two months later. With both of these great matters the HERALD was naturally largely concerned; and we shall now proceed to show how closely and consistently it had worked for the ends which were now so finely consummated.

The first appearance of the HERALD in the lists in advocacy of railway construction within the Colony is dated the 15th January, 1840. On that date the leading article complains that "The Colony is paralysed for want of communication. . . . Give us immigration, steam vessels and railways, and the Colony will improve even more rapidly." No attempt seems to have been made by anyone to follow up this suggestion for some years, but on the 29th January, 1846, an advertisement appears in the HERALD calling upon "parties favourable to the construction of railways in New South Wales" to "meet at the rooms of Mr. S. Lyons, Charlotte Place, this day at 3 p.m." The HERALD of the following day had a leading article on the subject, giving the idea its unqualified approval, and another on the 7th February, couched in similar terms. On August 7th and 8th the report of the Committee appointed at the meeting of the 29th January was published in full in the HERALD, and a leading article the next day commended the

action of the committee and strongly advocated immediate action. But for nearly two years nothing of importance was done.

On the 15th June, 1848, however, the Legislative Council carried unanimously a series of resolutions moved by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Cowper affirming the desirability of immediate railway construction, and the *HERALD* printed the debate in full. Two days later its leading article was devoted to a consideration of the proposal, and to a wholesale approval of the Council's action. As no further steps were taken for a month or so, the paper once more took up the cudgels on behalf of the scheme, and in its leading article of the 15th September, 1848, not only counselled immediate action, but defined what that action should be. We quote the concluding paragraph:

" . . . The course of action appears to us to be exceedingly simple. A few influential gentlemen in Sydney should form themselves into a Provisional Committee, for the purpose, first, of digesting a plan for the formation of a company; next, of ascertaining the actual extent to which the Government would grant assistance; and then, of publishing their prospectus and inviting the public to subscribe for shares. This would involve neither expense nor liability, while it would smooth the way for ulterior operations."

This advice was followed almost to the letter. On the 24th November, 1848, the *HERALD* published in its advertisement columns the "Prospectus of a Company to be called the Sydney Tramroad and Railway Company." We quote certain particulars of interest from this prospectus as follows:

" . . . The Imperial and Colonial Governments have repeatedly recognised the importance of introducing railway transit in the Colony, and the public have testified their interest in the project by voluntarily subscribing one moiety of the expenses incurred by making a preliminary survey. By means of this survey, it has been satisfactorily shown that there are no physical obstacles of a nature calculated to prevent the formation of a line of railway, at all events through the counties of Cumberland, Camden and Argyle. The information which has been carefully collected from authentic sources has also demonstrated that the traffic must be amply remunerative.

"The first lines will be laid down in the County of Cumberland, commencing from the City of Sydney, or its immediate vicinity. A main trunk will be carried to the point from which it may be hereafter determined that the Southern and Western, or North-Western Branches, respectively, should diverge; and these branches will then be prolonged as far as the funds of the Company will admit. Eventually it is intended to augment the capital, in order to carry the line to Goulburn, and, if found practicable, to Bathurst also. . . ."

The shares were duly taken up and the Company incorporated early in the following year. Mr. Shields was appointed engineer and Mr. Cowper was chosen as president and manager. During 1849 the surveys of the line as far as Parramatta and Liverpool were completed, and, after some little further delay, the first sod of the proposed railway to Parramatta was turned on the 3rd July, 1850, by the Honourable Mrs. Stewart, the daughter of Sir Charles Fitzroy.

The miserable weather certainly dampened the proceedings of that July day, for which great preparation had been made. But no weather conditions could restrain the enthusiasm of the *HERALD*. The leading article of the next day—4th July, 1850—was jubilant and congratulatory, as well it might be; for it had seen the inauguration of a great amenity for which it had worked assiduously and against strong opposition for many years. No one could, or can, begrudge it the complacent satisfaction with which it said:

"Yesterday was a great day for Australia. The first railway was commenced. It is not now a question of whether we shall have railways, but how many miles shall be made every year. Among the thousands who were assembled at the interesting ceremony yesterday, comprising as they did, persons of all ranks and stations, and every shade of political opinion, we did not hear a doubt expressed as to the success of the undertaking. What a difference has a few months made! Even

three months since, few, except the determined band who have been so long . . . working perseveringly and quietly in the formation of the company, thought it possible that we should so soon have seen the actual commencement of the work.

"We have in other columns described the ceremonies of yesterday, and have so often during the last four years urged upon our fellow-colonists the propriety of assisting in this important work, that we do not feel it necessary to do more now than to congratulate the Colony on active operations having been so auspiciously commenced, and to express our earnest hope that nothing may occur to prevent the continuance of the work until Melbourne and Sydney are joined together by a railway, and are thus brought within a day's journey of each other."

But almost immediately after the holding of this function the Company found itself in difficulties, there being, strange to say, considerable opposition to the project, expressed both actively and passively. As a result, the directorate was changed and Mr. Shields resigned, a Mr. Mais filling his place until the appointment of Mr. Wallace, who was brought out from England to succeed him. Certain work had by this time been done, but, owing to the outbreak of the gold fever, and the interference with labour conditions which it created, the contractor, Mr. William Wallis, was unable to carry on and had to be released from his obligations. Further financial trouble overtook the Company, a result which is not surprising when we remember that the original estimate of £120,000 had risen in 1853 to £180,000; in 1854 to £320,000 and in 1855 to half a million. Eventually the Government took over the whole thing and Mr. Randle, the new contractor, so hastened the work that the line was opened to Parramatta Junction—the Granville of to-day—on the 26th September, 1855. It was naturally an occasion for much rejoicing and congratulation. The *HERALD* of the next day devoted a glowing leader to the event, and over four columns of close type to a description of it. We quote from the leading article as follows:

"Our issue of the 4th July, 1850, recorded the turning of the first turf of the Sydney Railway, on the preceding day, by the Hon. Mrs. Keith Stewart, in the presence of the Governor, her father, and a large assembly. . . . That was a great day for Australia. Yesterday was a greater. The work performed—certainly at a heavy cost—has had the one advantage of deliberation. In spite of trivial accidents which are scarcely worthy of record, those who understand engineering pronounce this Australian work to be well and faithfully done.

"We can hardly expect those who have not been familiar with this species of locomotion, to look on with quiet nerves, or to venture with absolute confidence to travel at such a speed. Those who delight in self-torment were full of anecdotes—of rails displaced—of bridges torn down—of embankments sunk, of carriages exploded, and of the eccentricities of drunken engineers. They could not forget that when the first great experiment was tried a Minister of the Crown lost his life, and by his much lamented fate cast a gloom over the festivities of the day.* They did not, perhaps, as clearly recollect that the sacrifice of Mr. Huskisson resulted from his own indiscretion and sudden terror—thus entangling himself in an error which presence of mind would have helped him to escape.

"In all probability the exercise of common care will always carry the passengers safely. If, however, any resolve to precipitate themselves before the mighty engine, under the nervous impression that they must, and cannot help it—or if, like Mr. Gladstone, they jump off to pick up a hat—their escape can only be expected from a miracle which they will hardly deserve. . . .

"The increase of railways in every country where they have been once adopted, is the best demonstration of their utility; and that, considered with all their consequences, they have been deemed to be profitable by the Government and by the people. It is not always possible to estimate the value of public convenience by the direct financial proceeds of its use. It is not the commercial traveller who alone is benefited; it is not merely the consumer who gains by the increased facility of supplying the market—every interest is stimulated by new life, and social and political power is diffused through society by its more rapid communications. Who can tell how many have benefited by the mere mental excitement connected with the railway operations; how—

* The reference is to the accident at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway in September, 1830, by which Mr. Wm. Huskisson, an ex-member of the British Cabinet, was fatally injured.

inhaling the pure air, tempted by the facility of locomotion, beyond the reach of smoke and dust—they have cherished as well as cheered existence; how many have been enabled to obtain a comfortable rural cottage without separating themselves from business, who, but for the existence of railways, must have been content with a shed in some blind alley. There are also political consequences which are but dimly seen in an infant state.

"England has derived advantages from railways during the later terrible conflict, which could never have been obtained by the ordinary means of communication. Perhaps if Sebastopol be conquered, and victory traced through its various causes, the "navvies" of Balaclava will have no mean share in the glory.

"It is not, however, to war that we devote this great instrument of civilisation; we hope it shall be long before it shall be employed in aught but the services of peace. It is by industry first that this country must aspire to greatness, and justify its motto: *Sic fortis Etruria crevit!*"

The article descriptive of the opening ceremony was, as we have implied, written at great length. It is so long, indeed, as to make it impossible of inclusion here, interesting as it is. But an extract from it is desirable, and we therefore quote the following paragraphs, in which the writer, after detailing the history of the railway movement since its inception and the difficulties which had delayed it, goes on to narrate some interesting details of the final work and the ceremony which attended its completion:

The event of yesterday was commemorated with a more universal observance of holiday festivities than we have witnessed on any previous occasion of our remembrance. All thought of business, except it was auxiliary to pleasure, was abandoned. The shops throughout the city were shut from earliest dawn, and there was evidently a restless interest mingled with anxiety as to the result of the "great enterprise" which had never before been excited. The Colony has much to be thankful for that the result was propitious. Thousands who before were averse to railways, thousands who sneered in their ignorance of the advantages they offered, thousands who were timid as to the capabilities and safety of a colonial line—now became staunch friends of the railway enterprise.

The morning was unfortunately wet and gloomy—the more disappointing because unexpected, the weather for some days previous having been unusually bright and cheerful. This did not, however, deter thousands on thousands from congregating round the centre of attraction—the terminus on the Cleveland Paddock. At eleven o'clock, His Excellency the Governor-General arrived at the station, and was received by a salute of nineteen guns, fired by the Artillery (Volunteer) Corps. A second salute of 21 guns was also fired when the train started.

The scene at the station was exciting. Never was a greater concourse assembled in New South Wales. People of all climes, of all ages, and representing every class of society, congregated to witness the opening of the Colony's greatest work. Every elevated spot from which a view could be obtained was covered with human masses, and on the sloping ground in the immediate vicinity of the engine-house, thousands of anxious spectators were assembled.

The platform was crowded to excess by those who had purchased tickets, each of whom was desirous of occupying the first place, so that those in the rear had not the slightest chance of a seat, and scarcely had the train arrived alongside the station platform ere it was literally crammed, much to the disappointment of the outsiders, who had no alternative but to stand over till the next trip. . . .

The trains, with the exception of the first one, were thronged all through the day, and nearly two thousand people must have travelled to and fro on the first line of railway in this Colony; and it is most gratifying to say that not a single accident occurred.

It will be noted that the article refers to the function as the opening of "the first line of railway in this colony." Unfortunately, owing to the delays referred to, the honour of having the first railway in active operation in *Australia* belongs, as we have already said, to Victoria. Had the construction of the line to Parramatta been proceeded with continuously from the date of the first sod having been turned in July, 1850, the line would have been in operation long before that of the southern State; but this was not to be. In consequence, the first line to be operated in Australia was that one which was



FIRST SOD OF THE FIRST RAILWAY.

On July 3, 1850, the ceremony of turning the first sod of the Sydney-Parramatta railway, at Redfern, the first railway work begun in Australia, was performed by the Hon. Mrs. Keith Stewart, daughter of the Governor, Sir Charles Augustus Fitzroy.

[From the original in the Mitchell Library, by kind permission of the Trustees.]

built between Flinders Street, Melbourne, and Sandridge (Port Melbourne), and opened for traffic in 1854.

Two months after this railway inauguration came the official proclamation of the new Constitution Act. The measure was received by the Governor from the Imperial authorities early in November, 1855, and the *Gazette* containing its proclamation was dated the 24th of that month.

The HERALD, having previously published the Act *verbatim*, as a supplement to the issue of the 17th November, also printed, on the 26th, a copy of the *Gazette*. With this proclamation the old order, *ipso facto*, came to an end; the old Legislative Council—so long the only legislative chamber in the Colony, but which, despite its limitations, had done fine service for the State—expired by legislative act, and the people of New South Wales received in place of it that bi-cameral Parliament which, with occasional variations—and they rather of degree than of principle—has lasted till this day. The history of the growth of representative government, from the passing of the Act of 1850, to that of 1855, is full of interest to Australians generally; and the activities of the HERALD in connection therewith were necessarily very great. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the paper was inseparably associated with every phase of the process of democratic growth during that period. It will therefore be necessary to consider the story of those five eventful years at this point, and at some length.

The Imperial Act of 1850, which cut away the Port Phillip district from New South Wales and made it a distinct and separate colony, to be known thereafter as Victoria, had also effected many other changes in the political status of New South Wales. It had increased the powers of the Legislative Council by permitting that body to impose Customs duties without awaiting the Queen's consent. It had liberalised the franchise; and it had, curiously enough, anticipated the Federation of the Colonies in one respect at any rate, by making the Governor of New South Wales the "Captain-General and Governor-General of all the Australian Possessions." It also conferred upon him the commission of Governor of Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia, the actual Governors of these three Colonies being commissioned merely as Lieutenant-Governors thereof respectively. This appointment naturally created great jealousy in the three Colonies named, and particularly in Victoria; and so greatly was public opinion inflamed in the last-named Colony regarding the matter that, although the appointment had been only nominal and was in fact never actively exercised, it was thought better to abandon this Federal experiment, and it was officially terminated in 1861.

But, as was soon to be proved, the most important clause in the Act of 1850 was that which empowered the Legislative Council to amend the Constitution so as to provide for a bi-cameral legislature. For it was by the operation of this clause that the movement in favour of the new form of Constitution was initiated and carried at last to a successful conclusion. Despite these items to the credit of the Act, however, on the whole it had, and naturally enough, given little satisfaction to New South Wales. Besides depriving it of a very valuable and increasingly populous area, it had failed to remove a number of anomalies and restrictions under which the advocates of a more democratic system of government had chafed for long. The Council's control over matters of revenue and expenditure, for instance, was still far from complete; the Home Government could still interfere, and did interfere, in appointments to local offices under the Crown; and, above all, the legislature still lacked complete control over the executive. These anomalies were pointed out by the HERALD soon after the proclamation of the Act of 1850, and the paper consistently harped upon them, and the necessity for their removal, whenever the opportunity arose. So strong became the feeling

in favour of further legislative reform that in 1851 a "Declaration and Remonstrance," setting out the anomalies we have mentioned, was drawn up by the Legislative Council, and, having been signed by the Speaker, was forwarded by the Governor to the Colonial Office for presentation to, and consideration by, the Home Government. The prime mover in the preparation of the petition—as indeed he was to be in all the subsequent activities in connection with the whole movement—was W. C. Wentworth, who in this respect was as untiring in his efforts by word and pen as was the *HERALD* in supporting the cause he championed. Its leading article of the 7th May, 1851, for instance, referring to the "Declaration and Remonstrance" which had just received the approval of the Council, runs as follows:

Nearly the last measure adopted by the Legislative Council, now virtually defunct, was one upon which the members of that body may look back with the satisfaction which a conscientious discharge of duty, however painful or however fruitless, never fails to inspire. Our representatives have placed upon record a Declaration and Remonstrance, with grievances, worthy of free and enlightened Britons. They have therein proclaimed to the Mother Country, in terms too clear and pointed to be mistaken, that they well understand their position as British subjects, and the obligations and immunities which that position implies; and that while they are prepared cheerfully to observe the one, they are firmly bent on demanding the other. With "the prerogatives of the Crown, or the general interests of the Empire," they have no disposition to interfere; but, short of such interference, they claim as their birthright all the powers and privileges of self-government, in the fullest sense in which the term is used by Englishmen.

The protest under consideration, the object of which is to show in what particulars our new Constitution Act falls short of what the colonists conceive to be their unquestionable rights, and to enumerate the specific grievances which the Act has left unredressed, may almost be said to have passed unanimously. Its only opponents were the official members and two nominees, whilst its supporters included all the elective members present, the noes being eight and the ayes eighteen. Had only *one* elective member voted against it, the Minister would have had some pretext for affirming that, even on a matter so fundamental to their own interests, the colonists were divided in opinion. As it is, no pretext whatever remains for him.

The "Declaration and Remonstrance" did not ask in set terms for "responsible government"; it confined itself to protesting against the anomalies of the Act of 1850 and asking for their rectification. But when the next session of the Legislative Council was held in the last months of 1851, Wentworth moved for the appointment of a select committee to prepare a petition to the Home Authorities "setting forth all the grievances of the Colony, whether the result of Imperial legislation or of Imperial Executive Control"—a drag-net petition, in fact, which would enable the whole political and constitutional problem to be attacked. In support of his motion, Wentworth delivered an eloquent, vigorous and effective speech. He traversed the whole position and stressed the importance of the crisis which had now arisen in the relationship between the Colony and the Mother Country, and he declared that a period must be put to the insufferable delay in granting the rightful aspirations of the people of New South Wales to govern themselves. The motion was agreed to; the committee appointed, with Wentworth as its chairman, and in November its report was made. Wentworth, in moving for its adoption, again spoke with magnificent eloquence. The report advised that a petition should be addressed to the authorities, confirming in the first place the terms of the "Declaration and Remonstrance"; but, in addition, asking for the surrender to the Colonial Government of the entire control of the revenues of the Colony and for the establishment of a constitution similar to that already granted to Canada. In return for these recognitions of colonial rights, the report advised that the petitioners would agree to provide for the whole cost of the internal government, whether civil or military, and to grant Her Majesty an adequate Civil List. The report was adopted practically unanimously, the only objectors being some of the official members of the House. The

HERALD, in addition to reporting Wentworth's great speech in full, in its issue of the 9th December, devoted its leading article of the following day to a review of the position, and congratulated Wentworth on his achievement in the following terms:

Large as was the space occupied in our columns of yesterday by the speech delivered in Council on Friday last by the honourable and learned member for Sydney, on the subject of Colonial Grievances, we think few, if any, of our readers will deny that we could scarcely have rendered a more important service to the cause of the Australian dependencies than by thus giving prominence to that remarkable display of eloquence and patriotism.

Remarkable it is, whether we look at the cogency of its reasonings, at the noble principle of constitutional liberty on which the speaker takes his stand, at his triumphant exposure of Earl Grey's political apostasy and administrative despotism, at the withering denunciations poured on that Minister's obstinate head, at the pregnant hints thrown out as to the consequences which may ensue should the present appeal to British justice fail to obtain redress, or, finally, at the overpowering influence which the address exerted upon the House, as when, first by the silence both of the speaker's supporters and of his opponents, the one feeling that the honorable and learned gentleman had left nothing to be added, the other that he had put reply out of the question, and then by an all but unanimous vote in favour of his motion. . . .

On this fact my Lord Grey would do well to ponder with all the seriousness and solemnity he can command. The Assembly which he had himself been the chief instrument of calling into existence, formed of materials which his own judgment had deemed the most fitting for the legislative purposes of the Colony, and armed with powers which his own policy had meted out—this very Assembly has taken the first opportunity of impeaching his Lordship, in his Ministerial capacity, of high crimes and misdemeanours. The Act which he had framed with so much anxiety, which he and his colleagues had so strenuously defended in all its parliamentary stages, of which he had advised his Sovereign to speak in the most laudatory terms from the throne, and which his own despatches had eulogised as the bright Charter of Australian liberties, is by that Assembly denounced as a political thief and robber. It is charged with having virtually taxed us, and with having literally appropriated a large portion of the produce of our taxes, without our own consent, thus outraging a fundamental principle of the British Constitution. And no sooner has the Act been brought into operation, than the three estates of the realm are severally called upon, in the strongest terms in which the feelings of loyal subjects can be expressed, to repeal some of its main provisions.

Fitzroy wrote at once to the Home Government, forwarding the petition and supporting the cause of the petitioners; but in the meantime Grey had sent a reply to the "Declaration and Remonstrance," in which he refused to admit the grievances complained of and expressed himself generally in such impolitic terms that the receipt of the document merely added fresh fuel to the flames of discontent in the Colony. The Legislative Council immediately replied to Grey's despatch in terms even more vigorous than before. This was in August, 1852; but meanwhile Wentworth had moved, and the House had agreed to, a proposal that a select committee should be appointed to draw up a Constitution for the Colony. The committee being doubtful as to the powers to that end given to the Council by the Act of 1850, came to the conclusion that the best way to achieve their aim was to draw up an Act to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for its approval, empowering the Queen to assent to two Bills—which the committee also drafted—entitled respectively "An Act to Grant a Civil List to Her Majesty" and "An Act to Confer a Constitution on New South Wales." Roughly summarised, this latter Act provided that the Legislative Council should be replaced by a Parliament of two Houses—a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly; that the members for the former should consist of not less than twenty-one persons, of whom two-thirds should be persons who were then, or had previously been, members of the Council; and that the members of the Assembly should consist of seventy-two members to be elected by inhabitants of the Colony having the necessary qualifications.

On the first October, 1852, this suggested Constitution was brought before the House and, having been read the first time, was set down for a second reading in De-

cember. But as at this time members had not yet received a reply to their second petition of remonstrance, despatched in August, it was decided to await that reply before going further. The decision was well advised; for, as the result of political changes in England, Grey had been succeeded as Secretary of State for the Colonies by Sir John Pakington, a man of very different calibre, and one who appreciated at once the justice of the claims which the Council had presented. Knowing nothing of the second petition and remonstrance, which in fact did not reach him until a fortnight later, he advised his Government to concede the claims put forward in the original declaration. However, before any such definite action could be taken, the Ministry of which he was a member was in turn forced to vacate office, and all he could do was to advise his successor that he should grant the desires of the Colony. But he had already written to Fitzroy, suggesting that the Act of 1850 gave the Legislative Council sufficient powers to reform the Constitution in the way it desired; that it should use those powers; and that, so far as the Civil List and Waste Lands revenues were concerned, his Government would be prepared to meet the wishes of the petitioners. This despatch was dated the 14th December, 1852; and it was followed by another from the Duke of Newcastle, who had followed Pakington as Secretary of State for the Colonies, expressing the agreement of his Government with the views of his predecessor.

The receipt of this friendly despatch from Pakington, and of the confirmation of it from Newcastle, altered the whole aspect of affairs. Fitzroy laid both documents before the Council on the 10th May, 1853, and they were received with the liveliest satisfaction everywhere. The HERALD voiced its relief in an effective article on the 14th May; an article notable for the answer it gave to Grey's allegations of 1851, that to grant the wishes of "an utterly unbalanced democracy" would result in the severance of the Colony from the Empire. The HERALD confuted this assertion in one simple sentence. "The effect of these noble concessions," it said, "will be to strengthen the loyal attachment of the Australian Colonies to the parent State," and that this opinion was no mere *ipse dixit*, but the reflection of the sentiments of the immense majority of the citizens of Australia, the history of the subsequent years has abundantly proved.

The invitation which had been offered to the Council to draw up a new Constitution was promptly accepted, and on the 20th May Wentworth had again the satisfaction of moving that a Select Committee, consisting of the mover, the Colonial Secretary (Deas-Thomson), the Attorney-General (Plunkett), Martin, Cowper, J. Macarthur, Murray, Thurlow, Macleay and Dr. Douglass, be appointed to prepare the necessary measure. As we have seen, an Act for presentation to the Home Government had already been drafted during the previous session, but in view of the changed circumstances it was thought better to proceed *ab initio*. The Committee was accordingly appointed, Wentworth being, of course, Chairman; and on the 28th July, 1853, it brought in its report and the two measures which it deemed necessary. One of these was "A Bill to confer a Constitution on this Colony and to grant a Civil List to Her Majesty," the other was an Act which the Imperial Parliament was to be asked to pass, giving validity to the Bill. But although the Constitution which the Committee now proposed was in the main upon the lines of that which had been suggested the previous year, there was one alteration in it which occasioned the liveliest differences of feeling, not only in the Legislative Council, but among the citizens of the Colony at large.

This was the introduction of a system whereby the members of the Council should be given hereditary titles, and from the "colonial peerage" thus created the Upper House should be continually formed. The proposal created prolonged discussion, but the

measure managed to pass the first and second readings without the subject clause being eliminated. Public opinion was intensely strong against it, however; and, as the *HERALD* put it on the 17th August, 1853, in an article which, while pointing out the real value of hereditary legislators, as evidenced by the House of Lords, was yet clearly in opposition to the application of the principle to New South Wales, "the ridicule and indignation heaped upon the scheme of hereditary honours" plainly reflected the general estimation of the suggestion. Eventually it became so evident that the country was overwhelmingly hostile to the proposal that it was dropped; and in committee a clause was substituted for it which provided for the Upper House to be comprised of not less than twenty-one members nominated by the Governor upon the advice of the Executive Council. At least four-fifths of its members were to be chosen from the non-official class, and the nominations in the first place were to be for five years, but at the expiration of that period, new nominees were to be elected for life. For the rest, the Lower House was to consist of fifty-four members (this number was raised to seventy in 1858) chosen, for a term of five years, by the electors of the various constituencies into which the Colony was to be divided. These electors must hold freehold property of the value of £100, or occupy premises of the value of £10, or be in receipt of a salary of £100 per annum, or pay £4 per annum for lodging. To meet the case of the squatters, the vote was given to persons who held a pastoral license for a year. Certain other qualifications were also required, but these were the principal ones, and an elector was to be allowed to vote in every constituency wherein he was qualified. Largely increased powers were to be given to the Legislature. The anomalies referred to in the Declaration and Remonstrance were to be removed. All revenues formerly controlled by the Imperial Authorities were to be placed entirely within the control of the new Parliament; and all expenditure was to be equally governed. Appropriation and Taxation Bills were to originate in the Lower House, and the Parliament was to have the right to frame laws relative to Crown Lands, and the power, on certain conditions, to amend its own constitution. The purity of justice was to be safeguarded by the appointment of the judges for life, subject to removal only on the vote of both Houses, and only on the ground of bad conduct.

Wentworth himself had fought strenuously for a hereditary Upper House; but he now accepted the rejection of the principle with a good grace, and on the 21st December, 1853, he moved the third reading of the Bill in a speech which, as it was the last he was to make in an Assembly he had graced with his eloquence for a decade, so also was it probably one of the best and most powerful he had ever delivered. The Bill passed its final reading by a majority of twenty-seven votes to six, and the *HERALD* of the 23rd December voiced the general satisfaction in the following terms:

The Session is over. The Bill is safe. Protracted and busy as the Session has been, all its other labours sink into insignificance compared with those which have given to the Colony the great Charter which secures at once the liberties of the people and the just prerogatives of the Crown. The years 1843 and 1853 will ever stand as conspicuous eras in the annals of New South Wales, the one marked by the deepest adversity to which a civilised community could sink—the other by the highest material prosperity to which such a community could rise. More conspicuous still will those eras be in their relation to our political development. To the first belongs the distinction of having witnessed the advent of our Representative Legislature; to the other the yet prouder distinction of having witnessed the advent of a Constitution which promises to redress all our political wrongs, and to consolidate all our political rights. 1843 was the deep midnight of our monetary distress, and the early dawn of our civil amelioration; 1853 is the meridian splendour of our monetary affluence, and the bright morning, not only of our civil freedom, but of our civil greatness.

To Mr. Wentworth the retrospect must be interesting in the extreme. In the first of these ten years he commenced his career as a representative legislator; and a dark and cheerless commence-

ment it was, with scarcely a ray of hope for his wronged and prostrate country. In the last of these ten years his representative career terminates, but it terminates gloriously, among the plaudits of his admiring and grateful countrymen. He has reached the goal—he has reached the prize.

We said, the Bill is safe. It has yet to receive the confirmation, first of both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, and then of Her Majesty's Ministers. And this confirmation, says its colonial opponents, it will never receive, partly because some of its provisions are adverse to notions entertained by influential British statesmen, but chiefly because it is repudiated in the petition sent home by the Sydney Public Meeting Committee.

We venture to think that neither one nor the other of these considerations will have the slightest preponderance. After one of the most animated and protracted discussions on record, in matters purely colonial, the House of Commons and the House of Lords arrived at one and the same conclusion—namely, that the task of framing Constitutions for the Australian Colonies ought to be left to those best able to perform it, the Australian colonists themselves. It is not likely that, having adopted this conclusion, and embodied it in a statute of the realm, the House will renounce it, by undoing what was left to be done by the Colonies. British legislation is not wont to be so fickle and so dishonouring.

As to the petition, there are several good reasons as to our declining to put faith in its efficacy. The first is the fewness of its signatures, being less than five thousand, out of a population exceeding a quarter of a million, and against an Electoral Roll of more than twenty-one thousand constituents. The petition, therefore, so far as it represents anything, assuming all its signatures to have been affixed *bona fide*, and upon a mature consideration of the difficult question to which it relates, represents about one-fifth of the members on the Electoral Roll, and one FIFTY-SECOND of the entire population.

In the next place, Parliament by its enactment, the Minister by his instructions, the Governor-General by his writs, required the colonists to choose for themselves such men as they might think fit to frame a Constitution, to return such men as members of the Legislative Council, and then to repose confidence in the wisdom and fidelity with which the representatives of the people would discharge the great duty thus delegated to their body. This was the only constitutional way in which the Imperial Parliament could arrive at a knowledge of what the colonists wished. And having adopted this constitutional plan, Parliament must abide by it. They may give a candid attention to what the petitioners have to say on the score of facts and arguments; but to allow the mere opinions and assertions of these petitioners to outweigh the grave decision of the local Legislature, would, were a British Parliament capable of such a conduct, be an act of flagrant folly, monstrous injustice, and scandalous breach of faith.

But, oddly enough, the Constitution which will be submitted to Parliament as the one agreed to by the Legislature of New South Wales, is not the one to which the petition is opposed. Looking merely at the two documents, the Bill and the petition, Parliament will be at a loss to account for the discrepancy between the actual features of the one and the pretended portrait drawn by the other. They will see, not a caricature, nor a distorted likeness, but a sketch drawn, for aught that appears, from the fancies of the limner's brain. The truth is, the petition was absurdly premature. It mistook the beginning for the end. It mistook a Bill in its rudimental shape for a finished and adopted Act. Hence the grotesque figure it will present to the Imperial authorities.

No—we have no fears for the Bill. We feel quite satisfied, not only that it will be placed on the Statute Book of the British Empire, but that it will be hailed by the vast majority of the people of New South Wales as the most valuable boon ever bestowed on their country.

Wentworth, who had some little time before announced his intention of visiting the Homeland, was commissioned by the Legislative Council to assist, while in England, the passage of the Constitution Act through the Imperial Parliament. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Deas-Thomson, the Colonial Secretary and a staunch supporter of Wentworth and the Bill, being in ill-health and desirous of visiting England at this time, was also given leave of absence, and a similar commission by the Council. Both men, it may be said at once, carried out their responsible duties with the effectiveness expected of them. On the day of Wentworth's departure a large assemblage gathered together, despite the rain, to bid him farewell, and the *HERALD* of the following day (March 21st, 1854) expressed the feelings of the whole body of the citizens when it tendered him

a fervent farewell and commented in feeling and appropriate terms upon the great services he had rendered to his country.

Despite the general satisfaction over the passage of the Bill, there was still—as the HERALD article of the 23rd December, 1853, shows—a small but constantly active opposition to it. Particularly had this opposition been aroused, as we have said, by the “hereditary Upper House” proposals of the first and second readings; and although those proposals had been eliminated, the objection to a nominee house at all was still fairly strong. This opposition party drew up a petition to the Home Authorities, praying that the Bill should not receive the imprimatur of the British Government; but, thanks largely to the efforts of Wentworth and Deas-Thomson, the petition proved ineffective. Indeed, as the HERALD had pointed out in that same article, the petitioners were largely “barking up the wrong tree.” They were confusing the measure as it had finally emerged from the House, with that which had called forth their anger on its previous appearances, and it was the recognition of this confusion which mainly helped to effect the defeat of their petition. It only remains to add that, after some slight amendments by the Colonial Office, the Bill was presented to the Imperial Parliament in the beginning of 1855, and, despite some strenuous opposition to some of its clauses—mainly from Robert Lowe, who was now a member of the House of Commons—it passed both Houses. The Royal assent was given on the 16th July, 1855; and, as we have seen, the measure was received, duly proclaimed, and thus became the law of the land, on the 24th November of that year.

Although the HERALD had naturally given its first attention to the advocacy of the measure and to reporting the speeches of its supporters, the paper had throughout exhibited anything but a partisan spirit in regard to the amount of space it had devoted to the whole question of constitutional reform. Practically every member of the Council spoke in the many debates of those critical five years; and every one of those speeches, whether they were those of opponents of constitutional reform or of its advocates, are given in the paper almost at full length. The same remark applies to the public meetings held to protest against the provisions of the Constitution Bill. The speakers were treated with a generosity in the matter of space which would strike the reader of to-day as almost quixotic, did he not remember that it has ever been the proud boast of the paper that it lives up to the principle of *audi alteram partem*. Finally, when in December, 1855, the old Legislative Council met for the last time, the HERALD marked the occasion with a leading article, the opening and closing portions of which we may appropriately quote:

Yesterday the old dispensation closed. A new order of things has begun. . . . Sir W. Denison has ascended to a loftier position. Formerly the servant of the Cabinet of England, he has become the representative of the Queen. Hitherto, responsible solely for the conduct of legislation—himself the Government, he now becomes one of the three recognised estates. He will surround himself with men whose place and power will depend on the support of the Assembly; who, if unable to maintain their own position, will be obliged to yield up the staff and make way for more favoured successors.

We do not say that the success of this great experiment of the Government will depend on the Governor himself. This is often affirmed on similar occasions, but it is contradicted by experience. The first who attempts to destroy an evil, or initiate the good—to reconcile the reality and the theory of freedom—to clear away the ruins of the past, and gather materials for the temple of the future—will often be sacrificed to the attempt. They will leave to those who succeed them the fruit of their toils. The success of the future Government will depend on the elections; it will depend on the chastening liberalism, the generous boldness, the watchful yet kindly spirit of the Assembly to come. . . .

We congratulate the country on the new epoch. We have full confidence in the ultimate conclusions of dear old John Bull, whether he be found agonising his rather dull, but sound understanding, at Westminster or Macquarie Street.

It must be expected that many efforts will be made before the many aspirants to power will be reduced to practicable dimensions, and that it will be long before the unquestionable truth becomes intelligible in a political sense, that "if two men ride on one horse, one must of necessity ride behind." The effect of political changes always disappoints original calculations. Ambition is quickened into unnatural activity, examples multiply of sudden leaps into popular esteem, and excite at once the envy of the unfortunate and the emulation of the obscure. There were in the House—now no more—several aspirants to the highest position in the State, with whom numbers of colonial youths might compare notes without apprehension. It will thus be long before parties by their by-laws can defeat that eagerness for position which has always marked the career of young colonial politicians.

The advent of responsible government is, however, a solemn moment in the life of a nation. It points to that doubtful centre from which two roads depart, one to vigorous and enlightened government, and the other to collision and revolution. The future is, however, unknown, and dealing with the present, we should be prepared to support any body of men who, while seeking the comforts and dignity of place, prefer, beyond even these, the claims of justice, and the interest of the country.

Thus, not in any spirit of overweening complacency or congratulatory triumph, but rather with a fitting solemnity leavening its hope for the future, and with a savour of retrospective thoughtfulness, did the HERALD greet the new political dispensation, for whose advent it had worked so hardly and so long.

For some considerable time prior to its proclamation the coming of the new constitution had been anticipated, and the first echoes of the elections that were inevitably bound to follow its advent had been already heard. But now that it was actually existent, the interest rose at once to fever heat and the land was filled with politics and would-be-politicians from one end to the other. As we have said, there were fifty-four members to be elected; and, as practically every constituency was contested, the excitement was State-wide. But, curiously enough—or so it seems at first glance—the excitement was centred, not upon any particular cause or policy, but upon the personalities of the candidates. Never was there such a case of the reversal of the old cry: "Measures, not men." The matter, however, was not really so curious as it looked. For, as a matter of fact, there were, for the moment, *no* measures to disagree about and *no* particular platform for any "party" to stand upon. The great question which had obsessed all men's minds to the exclusion of almost everything else for some years had been suddenly—almost dramatically—settled by the granting of the Constitution. That settlement left the community without a political cry. All that could be done was to get the Parliament elected as speedily as possible and await events. Doubtless the occasion would bring the problems—and many of them. But for the present the choice to be made between the candidates had to be based almost altogether upon personal likes or dislikes. There was, to be sure, a tendency towards "radicalism" on the one side and "conservatism"—though the term was not yet in general use—upon the other; but the line of cleavage was so uncertainly drawn that it was often very doubtful upon which side of it a candidate stood. That this was so is evidenced by two things. The first is the fact that when the Governor had presently to bestow the mantle of the premiership, the three men between whom he had eventually to decide were differentiated not by their policies—for any two of the three might well have served in the cabinet of the other—but simply by trifling variations of standing and popularity. This peculiar indefiniteness of policy, indeed, extended beyond the persons we have referred to, and to such an extent that during the first four years of responsible government there were no less than five ministries, and in what particular the planks of their respective platforms differed



Medical men had, like everyone else, to put up with rough accommodation in the bush in the early days. The picture shows the headquarters of "Dr. Smith, Surgeon."

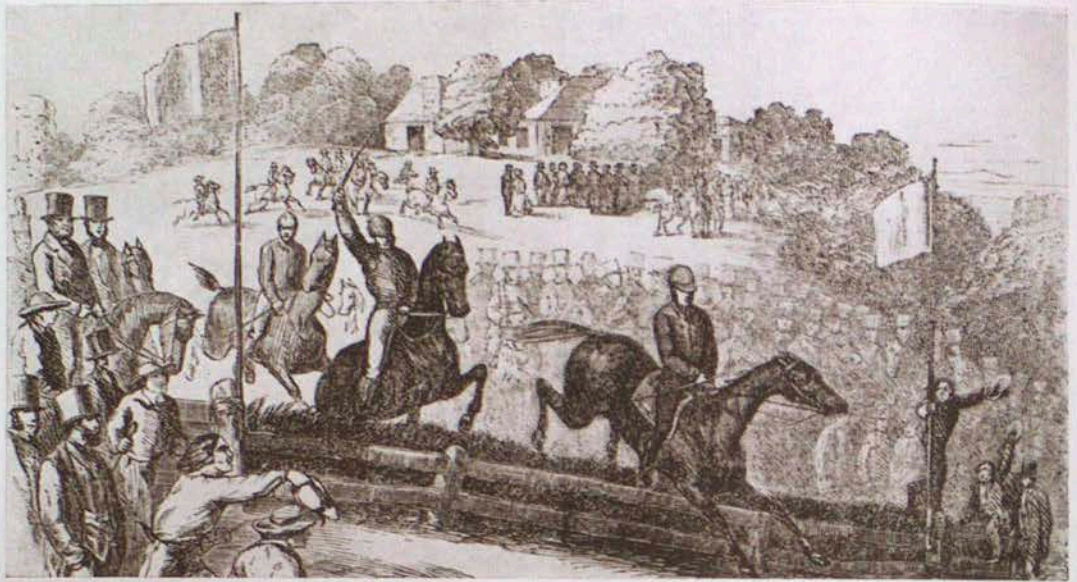


An old print representing "the squatter" of the day. The type has changed vastly since then; and so has the homestead.

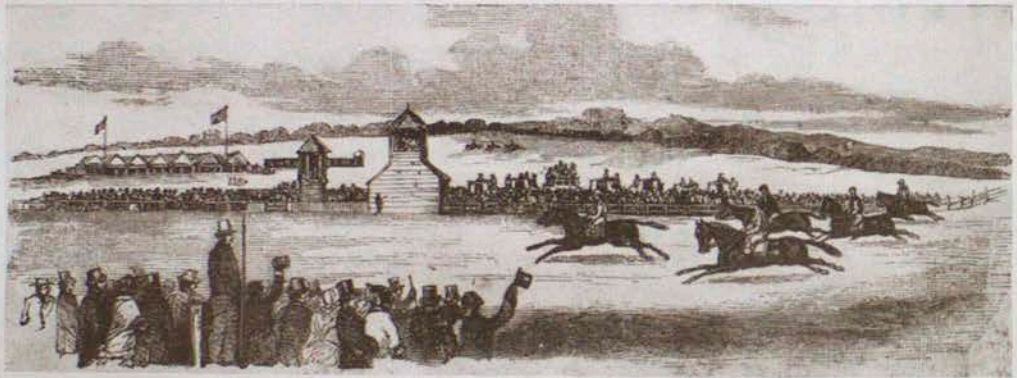
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Another type of the pioneer settler. He is bartering with the blacks, whose womenfolk are receiving rations from his wife.



The "Grand Newtown Steeplechase," run in October, 1854. It was strenuous steeplechasing, too, for the course was three-and-a-half miles in length, and there were 28 obstacles



The Homebush Racecourse in 1854. The first meetings of the Australian Jockey Club were held there.



"A party of gentlemen off to the races" is the title of this old print. It is associated with the Homebush race meeting pictured above.

it would be hard for the unprejudiced historian to define. The second proof of the existence of this peculiar state of political affairs is provided by the attitude of the *HERALD*. It is true that it affirmed that there were many important matters with which the new Parliament would have to deal; but it neither enumerated them, nor sought to show that they would be better handled by any particular party. It certainly leant towards the side of the conservatives and expressed a distaste for radicalism; but right through the campaign it was the character of the candidates, and not their political principles, which moved it to support or opposition. And the attitude of the *HERALD*, in this respect at any rate, was typical, we may well believe, of that which was adopted generally throughout the Colony.

Prior to completing the elections, it became necessary, as we have said, to decide the question of the Premiership. To whom was Sir William Denison to entrust the reins of Government? We need not detail the arguments, the manœuvrings, the agreements and disagreements that the question caused. It is sufficient to say that, for one reason or another, the choice was narrowed down to three men—Messrs. Deas-Thomson, Charles Cowper and Stuart A. Donaldson—and that eventually it was upon Donaldson that the honour fell.

Stuart Alexander Donaldson was born in London in 1815, the son of a merchant whose business included an Australian connection. After a few years' commercial experience in England and Mexico, he came to Sydney in 1840, and entered the employ of Messrs. Dawes, Gore & Co. Eventually he rose to be head of the firm and changed its name to that of Donaldson & Co. In 1848 he entered the Legislative Council as member for Durham and retained the seat until 1853. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Speakership, but by his abilities and personality he at once became one of the most prominent men in the legislature. He associated himself strongly with Wentworth and Lowe in their endeavours for legislative reform, and was a consistent supporter of the philanthropic activities of Mrs. Caroline Chisholm, and of the efforts in support of steam communication with England. In 1853 he resigned his seat in the Council and visited England. When the Constitution Act came into force Donaldson was nominated for the constituency of Sydney Hamlets, and was now called upon to form the first Government under the new Constitution.

On the 23rd January, 1856, the *HERALD* informs us that "Yesterday Mr. Donaldson informed the Governor that he would shortly be able to announce his Ministry"; but it was not until two months later, on the 29th April, that the announcement was actually made. It was then found that, with himself as Premier and Colonial Secretary, Donaldson had associated Messrs. Thomas Holt as Colonial Treasurer, W. M. Manning (afterwards Sir William Manning, Chief Judge in Equity of the New South Wales Supreme Court) as Attorney-General; J. B. Darvall (an eminent barrister of the day who had been for long a member of the Council and was created K.C.M.G. in 1877) as Solicitor-General; and George R. Nichols (the first native-born Australian, it is believed, to be admitted as a solicitor of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, and for many years a member of the old Legislative Council) as Auditor-General. Later on, Mr. William C. Mayne was included in the Cabinet as the Government representative in the Upper House.

As the date of the elections approached the excitement was intensified, and naturally that excitement was keenest in the city. Sydney, according to the result of the census taken this year and published in the *HERALD* of the 13th May, 1856, was now a city of over 53,000 inhabitants, and was entitled to four representatives under the new Act. This was the city proper, consisting of the six wards of Gipps, Bourke, Brisbane,

Macquarie, Philip and Cook; while the suburbs held a further population of considerably over 28,000. By this time, too, the population of the Colony had increased to close upon 287,000 souls. For the four Sydney seats six candidates presented themselves—Messrs. J. H. Plunkett (the one-time Attorney-General), Henry Parkes, Charles Cowper, Robert Campbell, James Robert Wiltshire and a certain Dr. Duigan, who seems to have represented one of those lost causes which are forever sending hapless candidates to a hopeless fight. The *HERALD* cared little, apparently, which three of the other five got in so long as Mr. Plunkett was returned. It wrote voluntarily and strongly in his favour, and on nomination day Mr. John Fairfax, making one of his rare appearances in public, delivered an eloquent speech in naming him to the electors as a fit and proper person to represent them in the new Assembly. The proceedings are recorded in full in the issue of the 13th March, and sufficiently lively they seem to have been. A portion of the speech delivered by Mr. Fairfax on this occasion is quoted here, both for its intrinsic interest and because it is so characteristic of the man who delivered it:

"Would they forgive him (Mr. Fairfax) if for a moment he referred to himself? They had all heard of a Holy Alliance. Now, he had been associated in a public advertisement in what was called 'The Holy Alliance' with Mr. Plunkett, with his friend the Rev. Mr. West, and with that venerable man, Archbishop Polding. (Cheers.) He felt that it was an honour to be associated with such gentlemen. Why was this alliance formed? And why did he belong to it? It was because he, as well as those whose names he had mentioned, 'loved liberty too.' (Loud and continued cheering.) He (Mr. Fairfax) was a Protestant to the backbone, and, therefore, it was not because Mr. Plunkett was a Roman Catholic that he supported him, but because he was a lover of liberty. In the present instance he put religion out of the question, and he despised the objection that had been urged to Mr. Plunkett on that ground. (Cheers.) Those men who maintained, who put forward, such an objection did not understand liberty; they might prate about liberty, but they did not understand it. (Renewed cheers.) The people of this Colony, no matter whence they came, were Australians when they became inhabitants of the Australian territory. . . ."

Cowper, Parkes, Campbell and Wiltshire had "bunched," and the combination proved too much for the supporters of Mr. Plunkett. The *HERALD* in its leading articles, and Mr. John Fairfax on the hustings platform, denounced the unfairness of this combination; but all to no effect. The "bunch" was elected and Mr. Plunkett was beaten by the narrow margin of 101 votes, Dr. Duigan, of course, easily winning the wooden spoon.

The Parliament was fully constituted, and met for the first time on the 22nd May, 1856. It was an historic occasion, and the *HERALD*, in the issue of that day, not unnaturally devoted an appropriate leading article to its significance. Said the writer:

"The opening of the Legislature is an event not to be unnoticed or forgotten. A few yet survive who remember the days of Bligh and Macquarie, when legislative and administrative power vested in the Governor alone; perhaps some one or two may be found—for such we have known within the last few days—who landed with the passengers from the first fleet. An aged and intelligent colonist will retrace the steps with interest and satisfaction, by which this Colony has attained its political majority—still, however, subject to those eternal laws which enjoin filial piety to the parent land. We have during a long literary career read, and perhaps contributed to augment, whole reams of reproach on the colonial government of England. We believe history will give prominence to a few of these complaints. When all circumstances are considered, we rejoice—we are content—to own that of all parent States, England has been the most parental; that of all powerful governments, she has borne reproach and insult with most mildness and condescension; that none in her situation have conceded so much in a struggle so short; reserving to herself so little of the inheritance which was hers by every claim. . . ."

"The youth of the Colony will cherish the memory of this day. They, if spared for the term of human life, will see still greater organic changes. They will see the Colony expand into a nation; a few troops multiplied into an army; the Government raised into a Federal State. Perhaps still

united to England by some silken thread; perhaps rallying round her as a political support; never we hope her enemy, or friends of her enemies. What a stimulus to study, to noble ambition, to the close examination of the just principles of government, and the rights of mankind! We see in one part of America a great nation, bearing to every land the evidences of moral and political affinity with England. We see in another, wretched Republics, ever torn by anarchy, ever defiled by blood, with whom liberty is but the shrieks and capers of an unhanded madman. Will Australia improve upon the pattern of the north, or follow the footsteps of the South? The notion once often inculcated on Australian youth was that Government is a thing not only to be watched, but to be despised—not only to be called to account, but to be opposed and abhorred. It is not by such a training that patriots are to be formed; but boastful, flaunting, and bitter demagogues, who become the opprobrium and tyrants of their country.

"Not such patriots will Australia rear if the warm wishes of her friends prevail—who, with deep sympathy and hope, not without some misgiving, will follow the ceremonies of this day."

The story of the politics of the Colony during the period which immediately followed is one that we need not go into. It is, as we have said, a story of short-lived ministries and of little noteworthy work accomplished by any of them. But there is one other small matter associated with the formation of this first Parliament under the new Act which deserves a passing mention, by reason of the fact that the *HERALD* was more than a little concerned with it.

When the personnel of the new Council was being originally discussed—that is to say, during the first few months of 1856—it was suggested that the heads of the various religious denominations, and particularly the Anglican Bishop of Sydney, and the Roman Catholic Archbishop, Dr. Polding, should be nominated as members. To this suggestion the *HERALD* at once offered implacable opposition. In the leading article of the 3rd May, 1856, it pointed out the manifest error of such a course, and declared that the presence of ecclesiastic members in the Council would be at once an anomaly and a danger. Moreover, the new Constitution Act definitely provided that no minister of religion should be eligible to sit in the Assembly; and the paper asked why what was deemed unfitting in the Lower House, should not be also deemed unfitting in the Upper. The trend of public opinion was so clearly with the paper that, although invitations to accept nomination were extended to the ecclesiastics in question—or to some of them—they one and all declined the honour, and from the roll of the Council, when finally constituted, their names were missing. Curiously enough, however, it contained no less than three Judges—one of them, Sir Alfred Stephen, the Chief Justice, being actually elected its first President—and this selection not only incurred no opposition from the *HERALD* or the public, but with a certain amount of hesitation was, on the whole, approved of by the paper in the leading article of the 15th May. It is true that the paper referred to these judicial nominations as an "experiment"; and that the experiment was deemed to have proved unsuccessful may be deduced from the fact that, when five years later the life nominations for the Council were made, no judges were included among them.

In the meantime, a very great and important change had occurred in the fortunes of the paper itself. It had been evident for some time that the premises in Lower George Street had become totally inadequate for the requirements of the business; and the great impetus given to the growth and prosperity of the paper by the events of the first half of the "fifties" had made it absolutely necessary that a new home for it should be obtained as speedily as possible. Soon after he had become sole proprietor, John Fairfax, being unable to find in the city a building that would provide the peculiar essentials of an up-to-date newspaper office, decided to build one for himself. For this purpose he purchased the triangular block situated at the junction of Pitt, Hunter and O'Connell Streets, whereon a portion of the present home of the paper is situated. The situation

was perfect for the purposes of the paper, being handy both to the Post Office and to the shipping; and at the same time central, as regards the business portion of the city. Also the fact that three sides were open to the light was of great importance. The designs for the new building were supplied by Messrs. Goold & Hillings, a leading firm of Sydney architects; and provided for a building fronting Hunter Street, of three storeys and basement. The Pitt Street elevation was 61 feet in height, the others being slightly less, owing to the slope of the ground upwards towards O'Connell Street. The basement of 18 feet in height from floor to ceiling, gave sufficient room for the presses and the engineer's workshop, etc.; the ground floor was utilised as the place of publication and for the general business offices of the firm; the first floor was reserved for editorial and reporting departments, the second floor for a warehouse and storeroom, with a kitchen for the use of the employees; and the third floor accommodated the compositors and readers. This last apartment was so arranged as to provide every facility for carrying on during the night the business of the morning publication. The building, as erected in conformity with these plans, was aptly described at the time, as one of the most striking and conspicuous offices in the city. In the design a marked expression was given to the strength and solidity of its construction, the peculiar nature of the site rendering a more elaborate form incompatible with the business to which it was to be devoted. "The bold cantilever cornice, however," says an official description of the building published at the time of its being opened, "stamps the designs with a revived Italian character of the seventeenth century, in which style of architecture many noble edifices have been erected on the Continent of Europe. In the keystone of the arch over the principal entrance is the head of Caxton, the first English printer."

This reference to Caxton's head may well be enlarged upon a little; for in the erection in 1928 of the noble pile which now houses the HERALD upon the same site, this fine head, already familiar to the public of Sydney for over seventy years, was incorporated in the facade of the work—the sole survival of the building of 1856. It was not practicable to place the head in its former situation immediately over the main portal of the new building, but it was placed in the next best position, a little above the first storey, in the centre of the main frontage to Hunter Street. The sculptor of this remarkable piece of work was the late Mr. Matthew Willis, who had, before his arrival in New South Wales, done some notable sculpture in England. Examples of the work of his chisel are to be seen in the British Houses of Parliament, on the front of Lichfield Cathedral, and also in a number of English churches and country seats. He came to Australia in 1848 at the age of 37, and died in 1890. When he first arrived in Sydney there was little demand for his work, and he therefore started a private school at Cook's River. It was while he was so engaged that John Fairfax, who had heard of his abilities as a sculptor, asked him to model the head for the HERALD building. "How do you want it?" asked the artist, "as the head of a young man, middle-aged or quite old?" Mr. Fairfax preferred middle age. "Well, where's the stone?" was the next query. "Above the entrance," was the reply; and so, on the top of the scaffolding round the main door of the building, Willis carved the head *in situ*, and made, as everybody who has seen it has been quick to acknowledge, a strikingly effective piece of work.

The designs for the new building were approved in 1855 and the work of erection put in hand at once. During the process of construction new machinery was installed, and the new building was made ready for occupation by the end of June, 1856. The removal from the old home to the new took place on Saturday, the 28th June, and the issue of the 30th bears the new address in its imprint. It was only natural that the paper

should make some reference to the change; and the leading article of the 28th was devoted to the subject. We quote from it as follows:

"On Monday next THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD will be issued from the new edifice erected in Pitt and Hunter Streets. This journal has now a local habitation worthy of its position, as the oldest daily paper of the Australias, with a circulation second to none in the colonial empire, and *all* but second to the greatest journal in the British dominions.

"The new building is among the most striking and conspicuous edifices in the city. Intended as a great workshop, where literary and mechanical operatives are to produce daily an enormous sheet, its design has been subservient to its use. In the judgment of some men, architectural grace has not been realised; others, having studied Continental tastes, as they are developed in celebrated erections, express a more flattering opinion. We leave the question to the unlimited range of criticism. . . . The HERALD press lodged in such a domicile, with a circulation which appears to increase by its competition, and a commercial standing such as time and enterprise combined only could secure,—claims the untiring energy of its conductors. It has a mission in some respects peculiar; often demanding caution which looks like timidity and impartiality which is interpreted as indifference. We have no objection that the public should know that the HERALD is not, and cannot be with justice to its constituency, a party or a sectarian paper. It would be contemptible meanness to use the power of circulation almost unexampled, to harrass and vituperate small sections of this community impotent for revenge; it would be below the object of the paper to devote its columns to the advocacy of any denomination, however liberal or however powerful. We wish to fulfil the objects of a great public medium—to afford an impartial stage for the discussion of questions of public interest—to conciliate to the HERALD that degree of confidence which is due to the honest fulfilment of a public trust. Beyond this we have no ambition. . . . Such then is the relation in which we stand to this community—the friend of all, the slave of none. In politics, desirous only of good government, of equal laws, of rational economy; resolutely hostile to everything like aggrandising one class or sect at the expense of another—yet ready to assist all in objects which, though specially their own, are yet not incompatible with common rights.

"Those who are content to take us under such colours, will be welcome to our office; those who want something more stimulating need not turn down Hunter Street."

The difficulty in removing the plant of a daily newspaper from one site to another lies principally in the fact that there can be no cessation of the regular work connected with it. That must go on as usual, and the paper must appear every day. In this case the machinery had been provided for, and the literary, clerical and publishing work was arranged without much difficulty. The main trouble lay in transferring the plant from the composing room. This was accomplished after midnight on the Friday night, as soon as the Saturday morning's paper had been set up. Each compositor took his own four pairs of cases across—it was all hand setting in those days, of course—as soon as he had finished his setting for the night. He took them two pairs at a time. The best of the old frames had previously been carted across and placed in position, together with a number of new ones, and these being numbered to agree with the number placed upon the frames in the old office, each compositor was at once enabled to take up his position in his new quarters without delay. By four o'clock in the morning of the 28th the 40 hands then engaged on case-work had completed everything in readiness for the next issue. The last "formes" printed in the George Street Office were sent over in the morning, and the usual divisions of the type for distribution took place at the appointed hour. Some days were, of course, occupied in clearing out the deserted office; but as far as could be done, all arrangements had been made, and worked admirably, for avoiding confusions and delay.

By a curious coincidence, the notification of the close of the Crimean War was the first printed slip issued from the new office. On the Sunday after the removal had been completed—the 29th—the news came to hand that three months previously—those were still pre-cable days—peace had been declared between England, France and Russia. At

the moment, Messrs. Charles and James Fairfax were in the office. Journalistic instincts were at once aroused, and the two brothers were quick to make the most of the event. A slip headed "Glorious News from Europe" was promptly printed off and distributed; and on the next day, Monday, 30th June, the paper explained its action: "The intelligence of peace appeared so important as to demand a departure from the rule which had never previously been violated by this journal, that of issuing slips on Sunday." It was added that "it is a singular circumstance that the first number issued of this journal in our new premises is the HERALD of Peace." By issuing the slip on the Sunday the clergy of the various churches were able to announce the news of the cessation of hostilities to their several congregations in the evening; with the result that thankfulness and joy reigned that night throughout the city. Monday, the 7th July, was declared a public holiday in celebration of the great event, and the HERALD's leader of the following day is significantly brief:

"In order that the whole staff of the HERALD—literary and mechanical—might enjoy the national fete of yesterday, we publish only four pages this morning. To accomplish this object, several articles already in type, and some advertisements, are omitted."

Another event in the domestic life of the HERALD which occurred at this time was the foundation of the HERALD Benefit Society. Mr. Brewer makes the following interesting reference to this:

"The wayze goose was a regular occurrence each year up to this time; but now a proposal was made to the employees by Mr. Fairfax that, being accepted, interrupted for a few years these annual office gatherings. The proposal was that, instead of the proprietor giving a wayze goose, the amount expended thereon, with a further sum added, should be given towards the establishment and maintainance of a HERALD Office Sick Benefit Society, to which those who chose to become members were to contribute a small weekly sum. The yearly donation from the proprietor was to be £100. The suggestion was accepted and the Society was formed. Rules were framed and the benefits derivable from membership were doctor's attendance, free prescriptions for the member, his wife and family, 25/- per week payable whilst absent from the office through sickness, and funeral expenses allowance in case of death, to the extent of £10. For a couple of years there was very little demand on the Society, and the funds were in a prosperous state. Sickness, however, then came upon several of the men simultaneously, and some of the cases proved lasting. The funds rapidly decreased, special levies were made, up to 2/6 each week, to meet the expenditure, and although a reduction had to be made in the weekly allowance, the funds still decreased until they became exhausted. The weekly 'whip-round' was still made, however, for the benefit of those on the sick list. The Society rose again on a more restricted basis, and the annual wayze goose was revived, though the firm still continued its yearly quota to the funds of the institution."

The Society, it may be added *en passant*, is still in existence and "going strong."

Late in December of 1856, John Fairfax took his second son, James, into partnership—the eldest son, Charles, having been already admitted in 1853—and founded the firm of "John Fairfax & Sons." The imprint of the issue of the 1st January, 1857, provides evidence of the change, and for the first time the name of "John Fairfax & Sons" appeared therein as that of the proprietorial firm.

The paper took the occasion of the change and of the New Year to re-state its principles and to declare, with considerable emphasis, that it was not chained "to the wheels of any club, association or bunch—to any class, or to any rigid theory of administration. . . . We shall take up the question of the day and deal with it as in its own light and leave the future to develop itself. Such will be, such has been, the course of this journal. Its increasing circulation shows that this is the safe course; the occasional violence by which it is assailed from different quarters shows that it is the right one. . . ."

The effect of the new plant upon the appearance and make-up of the paper is evident from the beginning of 1857, but despite its improvement and the extraordinary

expense that it represented, the proprietors were able on the 1st April to reduce the price to 4d. and, on the 20th February, 1859, to threepence per copy. The HERALD is also distinguished about this time for its excellent reports and articles upon the Indian Mutiny, which broke out in May, and to which many columns of the paper were devoted during the later months of the year.

On the 20th August, 1857, there occurred one of the most dreadful shipping catastrophes ever recorded in Australian waters, *viz.*, the wreck of the ship "Dunbar" at the very moment, as it seemed, of the completion of a successful voyage. About twelve o'clock on a dark and tempestuous night she ran into a fold in the cliffs near the Heads known as the Gap. The unfortunate vessel was cast ashore at the foot of the unscaleable wall of rocks which rise there for some hundreds of feet almost perpendicularly, and every soul on board, save one, was lost. The first notification of the disaster was the appearance of the wreckage, which had been carried round South Head and washed up the harbour. Several bodies were then descried by the residents of Watson's Bay washing about at the foot of the Gap; and it was not long before the true magnitude of the disaster was known. The "Dunbar" had carried 63 passengers (many of them returning citizens of Sydney, and others, friends or relatives of colonists coming out to join them) and a crew of 59. Sydney became a city of mourning, and the issues of the HERALD for many days after the catastrophe are filled with references to it. It was at first thought that Captain Green of the "Dunbar" had, in the darkness, mistaken the Gap for the actual entrance to the Heads, but this idea has long been abandoned and the wreck ascribed to slight error in reckoning, arising from an unascertained drift of the current on the night in question, aided by the blackness and storminess of the night. At the inquest (held four days after the wreck), which is reported in detail in the HERALD, and at which the sole survivor, a seaman named Johnson, was able to give a very clear account of the whole affair, the jury returned a verdict to the effect that there might have been an error in judgment in the vessel being so close to the shore at night in such bad weather, but that they did not attach any blame to Captain Green or any of his officers. It added a rider to the effect that it "considered it necessary to place on record its opinion that the present pilot arrangements for the port are most inadequate, and desires to draw the attention of the Government to the matter." The HERALD did not entirely agree with this verdict, believing that Captain Green could not be acquitted of blame for having attempted to enter port "when prudence and the commonest nautical experience should have made retirement imperative"; but, as a result of it, or rather of its rider, the present Hornby Light on Inner South Head was subsequently erected.

In September, 1857, the extraordinary Devine case (commonly known as the Newtown Ejectment Case), a lengthy and involved suit which had lasted nearly nine years; had been already decided in favour of the defendants in 1852, but had been referred to the Privy Council and by that body remitted to the New South Wales Supreme Court for re-trial, came on for final hearing before Mr. Justice Dickenson and a jury of twelve. The HERALD devoted nearly five *pages* of its issue of the 21st of that month to a report of it. It is unnecessary to say more of this case than that it was a claim by one John Devine, an Irishman who had come to Sydney specially to prosecute it, to a large area of land at Newtown, by this time valued at about a quarter of a million, which had been granted to Nicholas Devine (or Divine) in 1794 and 1799 and of whom the plaintiff claimed to be the rightful heir. The defendants, of whom there were thirty, including the representatives of many of the best known families in the Colony, claimed the land by virtue of various deeds executed by one Rochford, to whom they said

Nicholas Devine had transferred the land by deed. The plaintiff, in turn, alleged that this deed was either a forgery or the result of fraud, and that, therefore, he, as the direct descendant of the original owner, was duly entitled to the disputed property. After claiming the attention of the Court for thirty days the jury again found in favour of the defendants, and the *cause célèbre* was over. There was, indeed, talk of further litigation, but a compromise was effected, the plaintiff accepting a substantial sum of money in consideration of waiving his claim to the property.

On the 1st January, 1858, the HERALD published its usual New Year's Day "leader," referring generally to its progress and that of the community, from which we learn that "the daily issue of the paper has increased faster than the population of the Colony," a state of affairs which induced the writer naively to congratulate its subscribers, not only "that they are spared to read the HERALD, but that they have the HERALD to read!" On the 29th October it was enabled to congratulate them again, and this time upon the completion of a project which made an enormous difference to the paper and to them. For on that date the cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide were linked together by the electric telegraph. Strange as it may appear, when we remember how great has been the value of this handmaid of science, four years had to elapse from the time of its first appearance in Australia (*viz.*, at Melbourne in 1854) before it was introduced into New South Wales at all. This local innovation occurred in January, 1858, when the line between Sydney and Liverpool, twenty-two miles in length, was opened for public use. Now, nine months later, direct electrical communication between the three capitals was effected—a consummation which not only permitted messages to be transmitted and received between them in the one day, but immensely accelerated the receipt of English news by enabling it to be flashed from Adelaide immediately upon the arrival there of the vessel which had brought it. The HERALD's leading article of the 30th October was devoted to the innovation and congratulated the Colony on its advent. From this time onwards the old method of obtaining the latest English news by boarding vessels as they entered or approached the Heads, and commandeering all the available journals, was abandoned. In lieu of it, a special representative of the paper boarded the vessel at Albany, came with her to Adelaide, and on arrival there immediately telegraphed to the Sydney office a summary of the news which he had prepared during his passage. And this procedure was followed regularly until the coming of the submarine cable.

In 1859 cable communication between Tasmania and the mainland was completed (although the service was not satisfactory until ten years later), and thus the four Colonies into which the eastern half of Australia was now divided were bound together by that mysterious current whose services have been of such incalculable value to mankind. In 1860 a scheme to connect the Colonies with the Old World by submarine cable was promoted by a Mr. Gisborne, who came to Sydney for the purpose of recommending the extension to Australia, by way of Torres Strait, of the cable already laid to Aden. But that great advance was not to be effected for twelve years.

The success of Victoria as a separate Colony had for some time turned the thoughts of the settlers in the Moreton Bay area towards separation for themselves; and, as a matter of fact, it had become manifest that New South Wales could not long expect to govern the whole country from Cape Howe to Cape York. So long ago as 1842 the Imperial Parliament, in granting its first Constitution to New South Wales, had given the Colony power to create into a separate Colony any territory *north of the 26th degree of south latitude*. But as the 26th parallel is about 100 miles to the north of Brisbane, this provision meant that, if any such separation should be made, the new Colony could not include the valuable Moreton Bay area. Naturally the resi-

dents of that area objected to such a provision, for the Moreton Bay district was the spring and centre of the whole north. They, therefore, continued to agitate for northern separation, but insisted that, if granted, the Moreton Bay area should be included in the separated Colony. The British Government saw the logic of their demands, and by the Act of 1850 "for the better government of the Australian Colonies," and under which the Colony of Victoria had been created, power was given to create a new Colony *north of the 30th parallel*. But this, in turn, went too far; for the rich Clarence and Richmond River districts, which had no wish to be separated from New South Wales, and which certainly New South Wales had no desire to lose, were north of the 30th parallel, and if the new Colony were constituted as suggested, they would be included within it. Eventually the southern boundary was fixed *at the 29th degree of south latitude*, the position which, with certain modifications to conform to the course of certain rivers on the eastern coast, it retains to-day.

But this arrangement happened to upset the arrangements of a number of influential persons who desired to see the Clarence and Richmond Rivers districts included in the proposed new colony. Among these was Dr. Lang, whose associations with the Moreton Bay area had been so long and so close that they certainly gave him the right to be heard on the matter. So far back as 1847 he had arranged for the emigration of a number of Scottish families to that area, although it is true that when he got them out they very justly complained that the land he had promised them was not forthcoming. As a matter of fact, he had been taken to task by Earl Grey at the time for the error of his ways in this connection, and the New South Wales Legislative Council had also said a few hard things about him. But Dr. Lang was not the man to worry over hard words, either said about, or to him. Although he had always been a strong supporter of the northern separation movement, this particular separation scheme so moved him to wrath that he went so far as to accuse Sir William Denison, the Governor of New South Wales, of being biassed in favour of the new scheme, since it would, he alleged, especially benefit two of his brothers, who had taken up land at a merely nominal rental in the affected area. But his denunciations were all in vain. The weight of public opinion in the Clarence and Richmond areas was too much for him, and the 29th parallel was fixed upon as the southern boundary of the new Colony. Letters patent passed the Great Seal on the 6th June, 1859, under which, and the Act of 1855, "The North-Eastern Part of New South Wales" was created a separate Colony under the name of Queensland.

Sir George Ferguson Bowen was appointed the first Governor, and, upon his arrival in Brisbane on the 18th December, 1859, the new Colony came formally into existence. The Governor of New South Wales had been empowered to make provisions for the calling together of the first Queensland legislature, which was to be constituted on precisely the same lines as that of New South Wales under the Act of 1855. This was done accordingly, and the Parliament began its work on the 7th May, 1860. Whatever the prospects of the new Colony may have been, its actual financial condition was cheerless enough. Sir George Bowen has stated that he started with 7½d. in the Treasury and without any available revenue. Moreover, he had no civil service and no police. However, he was a man of considerable initiative and ability and he managed to get along by borrowing from every available source until at last the revenue *did* come in and the way began to be made plain for him.

The HERALD's attitude may be summed up as a guarded approval of the separation, and a fervid insistence that upon that separation taking place a fair adjustment of the public debt of New South Wales, which had been incurred for the benefit of the new Colony, as well as for the benefit of the old, should be made. It is unnecessary to quote

very much in support of these generalisations—their trend may very well be gathered from an article published on the 10th December, 1859, when the Colony of Queensland was officially born and the debts question had been settled by the Home Authorities in such a way that the HERALD's desire for a fair distribution had been entirely overlooked:

"We have no doubt that the separation of the Colony of Queensland from New South Wales has been premature and illegal; that is, the conditions implied by the law, if not provided in it, upon which the Queen was entitled to effect that separation, have not been fulfilled. The law officers of the Crown in England have already given this opinion. The authorities, in deference to it, postponed the separation. They found themselves in a dilemma and escaped from it by an exercise of power. All the conditions therefore have been set aside. The public creditor has been deprived of his legal rights. His security has been alienated one half. No process exists by which he could enforce the covenant upon which he lent his money.

"While the public creditor had to complain, the wrong done to this Colony is equally great. It has been violently deprived of security for that fair adjustment of its claims upon the neighbouring territory which ought to have preceded separation. . . .

"The arrival of Sir George Bowen and the letters patent of the Queen brought the question to a determination. There could be no doubt what would be the course of Sir W. Denison. His interests point one way. It is his business, it is his duty, perhaps, to pay absolute deference to the instructions he received from home. An opposite principle would land us in immense contradictions. . . .

"The thing may have been altogether wrong in policy, and may have been illegal in many of its circumstances, but the prerogative of the Crown is undoubted. That prerogative has been exercised unfairly and it has sacrificed private interests; but it is useless for us to attempt a resistance in which we will not have the sympathy of the world, and in which it will be easy to place ourselves in the wrong. . . ."

With this extract we bring to a conclusion the story of the HERALD during the passage of a decade which for the importance of its happenings, both to the paper and to the country, is hardly to be paralleled.

SECTION VI.

INTERLUDE

PART I.

THE date at which we have now arrived in this history marks a change in the affairs both of the HERALD and of Australia that can only be described as revolutionary. For the gulf which the 'fifties cut between the years that went before and those that came after is so distinct that we may truly say that, while behind it stood the old regime with all its queer and antiquated ways, ahead of it there lay that new and modern system of manners and thought which lasted with but little change until the War of 1914 tore up the map of the world. At the beginning of the decade of 1850-1860 things were much the same with the HERALD and Australia as they had been since their respective beginnings. Growth, of course, there had been; but little basic change. At the end of it the old order had been swept away, giving place to new. The continent had been separated into the six divisions which it still comprises; their constitutions—with a single exception—had grown in width and liberty almost to what they are to-day; the great blemish which had tarnished the young years of the settlement had been erased; railways had "arrived" and steamship communication with the Homeland had been established; the "colonies," in a word, were coming into their rightful place in the estimation of the world and were no longer regarded as liabilities, but rather as great and growing assets, in the balance sheet of the Empire. As for the HERALD itself, during that decade it had assumed that status as the leading journal of the southern hemisphere which it has ever since maintained; it had come into the sole possession of the family which still owns it, and it had fixed its headquarters on the site where still they stand. Before, then, we come to tell the story of the later years, it is appropriate we should pause a while and, glancing back along the darkening perspective of the past, glean just a little more intimately than we yet have done from the rich harvest of the HERALD columns of the period. And, as throwing perhaps as significant a light as any upon the affairs of those early days, we may well make a beginning by quoting the following extracts referring to the streets and public places of the city and the Colony.

A paragraph in the issue of the HERALD of the 6th September, 1832, asserts that "the streets and roads of Sydney and its vicinity are in a state of disrepair hitherto unprecedented"; but they were evidently to get much worse before they were bettered, since in the issue of 18th July, 1836, we read as evidence of their "abominable state" that they were "in many places impassable with immense ruts and mud two feet deep." "In Elizabeth Street," continues the paragraph, "there is a team from the interior in a quag up to the axles. In Park Street there is a bed of mud which renders holes invisible, and here carts and drays are ensnared daily." A week later the paper refers to the number of accidents that had occurred on account of "the dreadful state of the Sydney streets," and mentions incidentally that a bullock-team had been stuck fast in Park Street.

It was not only of mud and ruts, however, that the paper had to complain. On the 18th April, 1833, we read that, "consequent upon the order for the destruction of un-

registered dogs, George Street"—then, as now, the principal thoroughfare of the City—"presents a scene of the most horrible description. A person can hardly walk without being in danger of falling over a dead dog." On the 29th October of the same year, the paper again refers to this unpleasant feature of the city roads, and complains that "carcasses of dogs are lying about the town and poisoning the air." And in this connection, too, appears, on the 7th July, 1836, a letter from "Humanitas" which deserves quotation. The writer was moved to complain of the cruel operation of the Dog Slaughtering Act, so far as it affected the aborigines. A dog, he tells us, belonging to Tobin, Chief of the Broken Bay tribe, was killed by the officials in a Sydney street; and on this action he then comments as follows: "How revolting to one's feelings was it to see the hireling contesting with the unfortunate native who was pleading for the life of his canine friend, which was writhing at his feet; and how painful it was to see him inexorable to the entreaties of the sobbing and disconsolate savage."

It may well be imagined that, the main streets of the city being so ill maintained, those of the "interior" were hardly likely to be better. Nor were they. The "special reporter" of the *HERALD*, writing in the issue of the 11th January, 1847, that is to say, more than ten years subsequent to the date of the paragraphs already quoted, paints us an excellent picture of the difficulties of travel in those days. He writes:

"... The first stage (from Berrima to Goulburn) is to Paddy's River. This is a small stream on the further bank of which are two or three huts and an excellent inn, kept by Mr. T. B. Ward, one of the finest specimens of the hearty, hospitable old English landlord, that I have seen in this country. The inn is situated on an eminence, and commands a view of the surrounding forest, the wild characteristics of which at once remind the spectator that he is a wayfarer in the wilderness. . . .

"The roads between Sydney and Goulburn are in a worse condition than ever I knew them before. . . . They are in many places almost impassable, and nothing but the most consummate skill and care on the part of the coachmen, who all appear to be well acquainted with their business, could prevent frequent accidents. . . ."

This reference to the mail-coaches of the day leads naturally to the consideration of the postal services of the period and it is of interest to note that this very issue from which we have last quoted gives the details of "the new arrangement" that had been entered into for the running of the mails to Bathurst and Wellington:

"The mail for Bathurst will leave Sydney as heretofore on Monday, Wednesday and Friday at four a.m. and reach Bathurst on the following days at 8 p.m."—thus taking forty hours for the journey of about 120 miles—"the return mail from Bathurst leaves at 4 a.m. on the Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and arrives in Sydney on the following days at 8 a.m. The Wellington mail will leave Bathurst every Wednesday at noon and arrive at Wellington every Friday at noon; and will leave Wellington every Monday morning and arrive at Bathurst on Tuesday night."

There were thus, even so late as 1847, only three mails per week between Sydney and Bathurst, and one per week between Sydney and Wellington, the latter passing through Bathurst at the times stated.

As to the mails of an earlier day, the leading article of the *HERALD* of the 30th April, 1832, provides us with many interesting details. We quote briefly from it as follows:

"In a late number, we stated the propriety of paying more attention in the interior, to the formation and repair of the public roads, in places to which access was easily obtained to water carriage; and we have reason to know that these remarks have caused much excitement in the proper quarter. Our observations were directed to that subject from a desire to call the attention of the Government to the state of the roads, respecting which numerous statements had reached us which proved that the fertile district of Argyle* was nearly as much excluded from Sydney as if it were placed at the distance of Moreton Bay or Swan Port. That it is infinitely more so than

* The district surrounding Goulburn is known as the County of Argyle.

Hobart Town cannot be denied, as it takes only three days' journey to come from the latter place, whilst it occupies a journey overland of three weeks from the former; while with a road to the sea coast it could be effected by boat in a few hours. Now there are two consequences which must result from the bad state of the roads in the distant portions of the territory much to be regretted. The first is that communication is seldom held with these districts, and the transmission of all Government official and law papers, etc., is unavoidably retarded; and the next consequence is that from the same cause the charges and rates of transmission are excessively exorbitant. . . . The post to the populous districts of Bathurst and Bong Bong proceeds only once a week. At present a letter reaches Maitland in twenty-four hours, and Alcorn's Hut in forty-eight hours; this is a decided improvement upon the dilatory system of former years, and we find no fault with this point. But how does it happen that if a letter reaches its destination in the environs of these places in a fortnight or three weeks the inhabitants consider the communication as made with great rapidity? The defective roads, the inability to proceed by water, and the want of arrangement and connection between out-stations, impede the wishes of the best friends of the country. . . . Besides this inconvenience, it is worthy of remark that defective roads occasion a heavy charge for the contract of the mails, which would be greatly reduced were these shortened in distance and rendered safe for travelling. This heavy contract charge for the mails renders the charge for letters ruinously high. It must be a letter of some importance that is worth 1/- to Maitland or 10d. to Bathurst, or Argyle, or 8d. to Windsor; and if the correspondence is voluminous or repeated, a man's finances must be greater than those of settlers in general during the present times, to afford the constant draining of his cash for such a purpose. . . ."

So costly, indeed, were the postal charges that the colonists frequently found it advisable to forward their letters by private sources; and it was often even quicker to send them in this way. Many times the *HERALD* pointed out the serious reflection upon the efficiency of the Government service of such a state of affairs; and the paper also drew attention to the fact that this private competition was not by any means confined to the transport of letters within the boundaries of the Colony. The most glaring instance of this anomaly occurred in November, 1834, when, as we learn from a paragraph in the issue of the 27th of that month, no less than 3,000 letters for England were privately despatched in bulk from Van Diemen's Land to avoid the delays and expense of sending them through the official channel.

As the years went by the postal system slowly improved, and the only further reference that we need to make to its operation here is based upon the comments of the *HERALD*'s leading article of the 18th December, 1848. The writer, in pointing out the disadvantages of the varying rates of postage then extant, tells us that the lowest rate of postage for Sydney at that time was fourpence. Within the fourpenny range, Ryde (7 miles), Liverpool (20 miles) and Parramatta (14 miles) were included; the postage to Campbelltown (33 miles) was sevenpence; to Melbourne it was 15d. and to Portland (Vic.) eighteenpence.

Some interesting references to these old coaching days are to be found scattered here and there throughout the files of the *HERALD*. We take them as they come. On the 16th January, 1832, we read that "a very handsome vehicle of novel construction has been turned out by Mr. Ford-Bayliss during the last week, and reflects considerable merit on the manufacturer. It has been called the "William the Fourth," and has already commenced running between Sydney and Windsor. We are glad to observe so respectable an auxiliary to our other coach conveyances." The fondness of the *HERALD*'s writers for the word "respectable" will be noticed. But in truth the adjective was overworked by everybody in those days. "Respectability" and "elegance" were the great *desiderata*; and to have both attributed to one, or to one's possessions, was to receive the highest possible tribute in the gift of society. On 30th August, 1832, "King William the Fourth" changed hands, an advertisement of that date notifying "their friends and the public generally" that Messrs. Richards and Ireland had purchased that "very handsome



vehicle of novel construction," together with another known, very appropriately, as "The Queen Adelaide," and purposed running them on regular morning and evening services between Sydney and Parramatta: "Fares, inside 4/-; outside 2/-."

In the issue of 21st December, 1835, we read the following advertisement:

"J. Reilly, Bathurst Mail, in returning his grateful thanks to the inhabitants of Bathurst and its vicinity, for the kind support he has received since he commenced his contract, begs to inform them and the inhabitants of Penrith, that, in conjunction with Mr. Ireland, he intends, on the commencement of the New Year, to start a conveyance to and from Bathurst and Sydney, twice a week, leaving Sydney every Tuesday and Friday morning, at six o'clock, reach Parramatta by eight, stop to breakfast, and start at nine o'clock, reach Penrith at half-past eleven, leave at twelve, and reach the Weather Board"—now known as Wentworth Falls—"at seven, where it meets the conveyance from Bathurst, stop the night, start at six o'clock the following morning, stopping at Andrew Gardiner's to breakfast, leave at nine, and reach Bathurst at seven o'clock" (p.m.). "The conveyance from Bathurst will leave at six o'clock on Tuesday and Friday mornings, and reach the Weather Board same evening, start from thence at six o'clock the following morning, reach Penrith at half past ten, from which place they intend (for the accommodation of the inhabitants of Penrith and its vicinity) running a carriage on four wheels, drawn by three horses, to reach Sydney the same evening. . . . N.B.—Messrs. Reilly and Ireland beg to state that, should they meet the encouragement they anticipate, they will run their Penrith Coach to and from daily."

In the *HERALD* of the 27th February, 1837, there is an advertisement which amusingly demonstrates the activity of the competition existing between the rival coaching contractors. It is headed "Windsor—The New 'Tally-Ho' Coach," and it informs the public that "To do away with passengers being any longer imposed on by paying their money for the use of a set of 'open dog-carts,' this handsome and highly convenient close-bodied four-horse coach will leave the Tally-Ho Coach Office, opposite the Royal Hotel, and the Emu Inn, George Street, Sydney, next Tuesday and every evening, at four o'clock, to reach Windsor every evening, at half past nine o'clock, etc. . . . The public will find that the Tally-Ho will be safely sent along by a whip on the box, something like going to an English Fox Cover. . . ." (*sic!*).

In 1836 (January 11th) there is an advertisement stating that coaches leave from the Talbot Inn, Brickfield Hill, three times a week for Bong Bong; twice a week for Goulburn, and once a week for Yass—the fares being: to Bong Bong £1/8/-, to Goulburn £2/10/-, and to Yass £3/10/-. But on 31st August, 1840, we find a correspondent to the *HERALD* expressing astonishment that the contractors had discontinued running the coach from Sydney to Yass . . . "evidently because they thought it would not be successful in winter months." The correspondent adds that he understands "that a commodious four-horse coach is to run from Sydney to Goulburn in 28 hours." As for the suburbs; a notice published on the 6th November, 1840, informs "the inhabitants of Burwood, Five Dock, Brighton, Ashfield, Gipp's Town, Canterbury, Petersham, Annandale, etc." . . . that "a neat light four-wheeled conveyance will run from the advertiser's inn at the junction of Liverpool and Parramatta Roads to Sydney twice every day." The spectacle of the inhabitants of Burwood, Five Dock, Ashfield, Canterbury, Petersham and Annandale—to say nothing of the "etc." or of "Brighton" and "Gipp's Town," two suburbs which have long since disappeared from the map—fighting twice daily in a queue to get to the city in "a neat light four-wheeled conveyance" is one that should surely appeal to the imagination of the harassed transport authorities of the Sydney of to-day.

Many of the advertisers of those days found it profitable, apparently, to imitate Mr. Silas Wegg and "drop into poetry." Certainly we find many of them doing so on the smallest provocation, and among them is one of our mail-coach friends. On the 12th February, 1841, "Thomas Douglas & Co. beg to inform their friends and the public that

a new mail coach will leave the London Tavern for Campbelltown every afternoon at five precisely, etc." And then the advertisers attempt to get home on their rivals by being heavily humorous at their expense in verse:

"Tho' Isaac may boast, and still make a jest of it,
And laugh at Jack Ireland, who has not got the best of it,
It will break Jemmy's heart, that his drag should run empty,
Whilst he sees the Mail Coach with passengers plenty."

In 1842 the *HERALD* congratulates all concerned upon the fact that the mail from Port Phillip had been conveyed overland to Sydney in a week. It was a feat, the paper said, "which, considering the distance of upwards of 600 miles, 400 of which is only a bush track, is much to the credit of the Post Office and the contractor."

An excellent idea of the discomforts of coach travelling in the 'forties is given in an article which appears in the issue of the 13th March, 1846; and which was contributed by "Our Own Reporter." We quote it in part, as follows:

The distance between Sydney and Berrima is generally estimated at about eighty miles, but the road affords few objects of interest to compensate the traveller for the great risk of life and limb which he incurs in proceeding to any distance along the Southern Road. Those who, like myself, are in the habit of coaching it, may, in going to the southward, have their choice of two modes of conveyance, as the improvement of the times has been the means of raising up an opposition upon this line of road, which has at least been the means of lowering the fares, and increasing the attention to the comfort of the travellers. When I speak of comfort, however, I must only be understood to use the word in a relative sense, for there is still ample room for improvement in this particular. In the first place the magistrate *will* persist in licensing coaches to carry nine, which are hardly large enough to stow away seven, even with the ordinary share of luggage to each individual, much less when the body of the vehicle contains a goodly assortment of boxes, etc., which every jolt sends against the shins of the passengers. I only wish that those who license such vehicles were compelled to ride in them backwards and forward to Berrima about eight or ten times a month. In the second place the roads are in a most horrible state for want of repair, and it is really astonishing how the coachmen manage to get along with so few accidents; scarcely a bridge on the whole line is in perfect order, and every two or three minutes the wheel goes into a hole or over a stump with such force as would almost throw you out of your seat, if you were not too closely packed to allow of this being done by anything short of a complete upset; add to all this an iron railing grinding away at your back, and you may have a pretty good notion of the comforts attending a trip to Berrima.

I started from Sydney by Jones's coach (the opposition) at about half past four p.m. on Saturday, the 28th ultimo, and arrived at Morris's Inn at Campbelltown, about half past nine. . . . A good supper at Morris's and about five hours' sleep fortified me pretty well for the next day's journey, which we commenced at four o'clock a.m., and shortly after daybreak we reached the far-famed Razorback, passing through Camden and Narellan; the former which is a fast rising township, with a very pretty little church; and last, although not least, an excellent inn. There has been a great deal more fuss about Razorback than it deserves—certainly, it is a tolerably good hill, and before the road across it was put in a passable state, must have been a heavy drag for bullock teams; but now it is by no means as formidable as might be anticipated. Our coachman deemed it necessary, however, that the male part of the cargo should dismount and walk over the hill, and as I had been sitting opposite a very stout gentleman who occupied the room of two, and occasionally assisted me to a squeeze, by no means agreeable, I for one, was very glad of an opportunity to stretch my legs. . . . After getting over Razorback, and changing horses at Picton, we arrived safely at Jones's Inn, Bargo, where we had a very substantial breakfast, and from thence we started for Berrima, which latter place we reached at twenty minutes to two p.m. with a renovated appetite for dinner, of which a very good sample was awaiting us at Levy's, where the coach stops. . . . After dragging through nine days in Berrima I returned to Sydney by the same vehicle that brought me up; and before taking leave of it altogether, I feel bound to say that, notwithstanding the many evils I have before enumerated, both the coaches and the coachmen were, to say the least of them, quite as good as any I have ever met with in the Colony; and the

latter in particular are deserving of great credit for the skill with which they manage to get over the rascally roads of the interior. . . .

After the horse-coach came, at last, the train; and with its advent the mail-coach fell more and more into desuetude, until, finally, the coming of the service motor-car has driven it entirely from the field. The coach was a picturesque feature of Australian history, and its passing from the point of view of sentiment and romance, at least, must be regretted, however unanimously we may agree as to its lack of efficiency as compared with modern transport methods.

The value of the camel as a beast of burden has long been realised in the far-western areas of Australia; but it is interesting to read with what opposition its early advocates were met, and with what delay those difficulties were overcome. Although the subject had first been mooted in 1836, the earliest reference that we can find to the subject appears in an article in the *HERALD* of the 12th August, 1839, from which we quote:

"A friend of ours, who has spent much of his time in various parts of Asia, particularly in Persia and Arabia, has suggested to us the advantages which might be derived by this Colony from the introduction of the camel or dromedary, which, he says, are admirably adapted to this Colony . . . they are hardier and less expensive than horses and require no grooming . . . with camels and coolies, together with steam navigation, this Colony would in a brief space of time far outdo its former outdoings."

The Monitor reprinted this article a day or so later and added the brief and blasting comment: "A deal of this is fudge!" To which the *HERALD* replied (23rd August, 1839):

"Fudge is a very comprehensive term, and well understood, no doubt, by the admirers of the *Sydney Monitor*; but the legitimate method of proving an assertion to be untrue, or a proposition to be unsound, is to produce evidence of an opposite tendency. We can pardon the ignorance of our contemporary, but his self-sufficiency deserves rebuke. We are prepared to prove, upon competent authority, what we stated in reference to camels and dromedaries. When the *Sydney Monitor* presumes to contradict a statement, let him, if he can, show cause—and, if not, let him receive with gratitude, the information to be derived from the better experience of his contemporaries."

So, that was that! On the 9th of the following month, the *HERALD* returned to the subject with a further article in favour of the introduction of camels; but apparently the project received very little outside support for many years, for on the 30th July, 1841, the paper publishes a paragraph complaining that nothing had been done:

"It is now nearly five years since the importance of introducing camels into this country was first advocated . . . and although the project was ridiculed at the time, we have always been convinced that they would be productive of much benefit. . . . There are two camels in the Colony, but what they are doing, what they are fed upon, or how the climate agrees with them, we are not aware; but the proprietor of them would be doing service to the public if he would make the result of his experience known."

On the 17th May, 1841, "A Colonist," writing to the *HERALD*, says "the introduction of that extraordinary but invaluable animal, the camel, must ultimately be the medium of intercourse with the interior of this large continent and distant settlements." Although not quite correct in his prognostication, "Colonist" wrote perhaps even better than he knew; for the camel, whose gradual introduction into the Colony began from about this date, became—until the introduction of the motor vehicle—if not the only possible means of transport, at least the favoured one, over a vast area of the central and western areas of Australia.

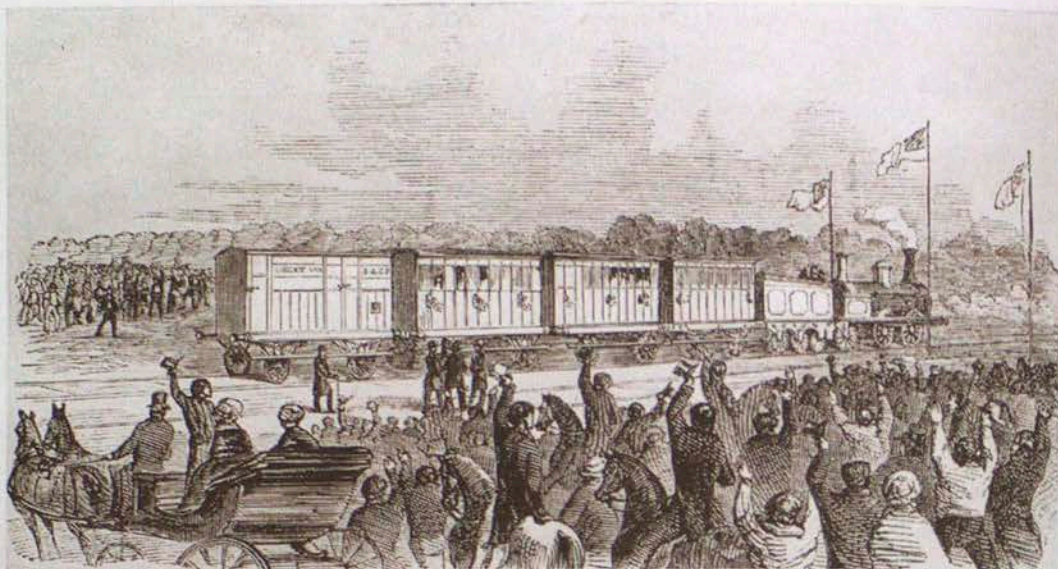
Leaving now the subject of transport by land, we turn to the methods by which the colonists of those days managed to transport themselves by water, either upon the harbour, along the coast, or overseas. Up to the beginning of the 'thirties, the only means of water transport available for journeys short or long, were the rowboat and the



Rough travelling in the West before roads were formed. Note the typical two-wheeled dray of the period, the early 'fifties.



Cobb's coach, with camels in place of horses, ran from Wilcannia to Mount Browne during the drought in the 'eighties. Picture from "The Sydney Mail."



The first train from Sydney arriving at Parramatta on September 26th, 1855. Note the curious double-ended appearance of the engine.



An arrival by rail at the old Redfern (Sydney) Station in the late 'sixties. The picture gives a very good idea of the costumes of the time.

sailing ship. The resident of such waterside suburbs as then were in existence were forced to use the former if they wished to get to the city by water; while the difficulties of the journeys along and around the coast may easily be imagined. As for the voyages from England, why dilate upon their delays and discomforts? Everyone has heard or read of them, and to elaborate upon the theme is unnecessary. But the length of the passage taken by, and the excitement which accompanied the arrival of, these vessels from the Homeland are very well exhibited in the descriptive articles published from time to time in the columns of the *HERALD*. Here, for example, are two extracts taken from the issues of the 12th October, 1832, and the 10th December, 1835, respectively:

"The arrival of the *Renown* from London yesterday (the 11th October), having left that port on the eleventh June, has put us in possession of our files of English papers to the 7th June exclusively. We have also been favoured with the loan of the *Courier* of the 8th of the same month. Having touched at the Cape, this vessel has brought us late papers from that Colony, which contain most interesting information from England to a very late date. From these various sources we have gleaned the most interesting particulars, and to relieve the public anxiety have this day published a *HERALD* extraordinary which will be found to contain most important English news."

This extract is eloquent of the completeness with which the Colony was cut off from the rest of the world. European news that was only four months old was considered to be wonderfully recent; and, indeed, on many occasions it was five and even six months in coming. The second extract runs as follows:

"Sydney was all animation last evening when 'a brig from Liverpool direct' was signalled. The merchants were on the tip-toe of expectation for their account sales of wool, etc., and the newspaper fry out on the *qui vive* for important news from England. After the town had been kept in suspense for about an hour and a half, the 'Matchless,' from Launceston, was reported. The mistake originated with the signalman at South Head."

We can well picture the disappointment his mistake brought, not only to the merchants and the "newspaper fry," but also to the general community, to whom the arrival of a "brig from Liverpool direct" in so many cases meant long-delayed messages from Home, or even the re-union of friends and relatives after the pains and perils of a five months' voyage.

But the dawn of the steam-driven vessel was breaking; and, although for years yet the Colony was to be mainly dependent upon the sailing ship for its communication with the Old Country, already steam boats of a kind were plying upon the waters of the harbour and even running to the settlements along the coast. We have already traced the history of steam navigation so far as it concerns Australia; but the chronicle would not be complete without some reference to one other little vessel, mechanically-propelled, which in the early 'thirties began to carry passengers and freight over the waters of Port Jackson and its inlets. This was the horse-boat "*Experiment*," and the advertisement which proclaimed her advent appears in the *HERALD* of the 4th October, 1832. It runs as follows:

SAFE AND EXPEDITIOUS CONVEYANCE TO AND FROM PARRAMATTA.

The public are respectfully apprized that the Horse Boat "*Experiment*," of about 60 tons burthen, and capable of carrying at least 100 passengers, and about 20 tons of goods or merchandise, will be ready to ply from the wharf of Mr. Cains, of the Albion Inn, near to the Market Wharf, between Sydney and Parramatta, next Friday, the 5th instant, when she will start for the first time at 8 o'clock in the morning, and return to Sydney in the evening after the races.

The Rates of Passage to or fro will be as follows:

In the After Cabin	- - - - -	2/-	each passenger
Steerage	- - - - -	1/-	ditto

Children under 10 years of age, Half Price.
(The Charges for Freight then follow.)

The public are further respectfully informed that this boat will combine expedition with safety; but as her management of navigation may not be fully or generally understood, it may be well to add that she is propelled by the rotary movement of four horses over paddle wheels, that she draws only 24 inches of water when laden, and consequently can hardly be exposed to accident or detention by any bank or other impediment in the navigation of the river.

Mr. B. Singleton, the proprietor, and in case of absence or illness, his son, will constantly navigate the vessel to and fro, and conduct in person the business of receiving and delivering goods. . .

Refreshments (including liquor, as soon as the necessary sanction may be obtained from the authorities) may be always had on board.

The next issue of the paper (8th October, 1832) has the following reference to the inauguration of this "Experimental" service:

"The horse boat proceeded to Parramatta on Friday morning. At starting, some difficulty was experienced in making the horses work, owing to the motion of the vessel; but before they arrived at Parramatta, they were quite at home at the work and made her move at the rate of six miles per hour. On Saturday morning she arrived at the Market Wharf in less than three hours. Some extra power it is intended to put upon her, which will render her complete."

The service evidently did not pay; for in December, 1832, the "Experiment" was offered for sale for £700, "at a net loss of £600 to the owner," was transformed a little later into a steam-driven vessel, and, after plying on the Paterson River for some eighteen months, returned to her old route in June, 1834, "to the great convenience of the Parramattionians." She continued to ply between Sydney and Parramatta for many years.

Parramatta, by the way, was, even at this early date, quite a "respectable" town; and a most entertaining article descriptive of the "second city of the Colony" appears in the *HERALD* of the 13th April, 1837. The article runs, with certain unimportant deletions, thus:

PARRAMATTA.

The town of Parramatta is fast treading on the heels of Sydney. It is extending on every side with surprising activity. New and reputable looking dwelling houses are springing up in all directions; and the value of town allotments is daily increasing. Coaching between Sydney and Parramatta has almost ceased—stage-coaches, it is said, do not pay—and nearly all visitors, whether "on business or on pleasure bent," now make the trip by water.

Parramatta is, to all appearance (and we believe really is so) a very tranquil place; and yet a stranger must be struck with the immense number of those sources of riot—public houses—with which the town is studded all over. The proportion, considering the amount of population, and the size of the place, is considerably greater than in Sydney. In some parts, almost every fifth house is "Licensed to retail malt, wine, and spirituous liquors." We observed one inn with a sign over the door, purporting to be a likeness of Governor Bourke, which, not many years ago, had the name of Governor Macquarie written under it! *Mutato nomine*, etc. So much for fame! However, the disproportionate number of public-houses notwithstanding, the stillness which prevails through Parramatta is somewhat remarkable to a person used to the bustle of Sydney. There are a number of very neat shops in the town—the people appear contented and well to do; but everything appears to go in a *quiet* way. Judging from appearances, the police keep a sharper "look-out" than in Sydney; and we observed in the course of our ramble, that the word "Constable" was painted over the doors of several houses. In Sydney, you may traverse half the town without finding one of those functionaries of the law, at the very time when he is generally most needed—at night. They "order these things better" in Parramatta—*there* you, at all events, know *where* to look for a constable.

The people of Parramatta say, that if the bridge were finished, and the river deepened so that the steam-boats might come up to it, the town would soon vie with Sydney in opulence; and they ask, moreover, why this is not done? "For," say they, "the Government has already in its coffers a sum more than sufficient to cut a canal, if it were necessary to do so, all the way from Sydney to Parramatta."

Here we are at the corner of Church Street, in George Street. "What are they digging here for? And for what are those heaps of stone?" Sir, Mr. Rouse, of Vinegar Hill, is about to erect there an inn, to exceed in size and accommodation any other inn in Parramatta. It is said that Mr. Rouse

is the first Englishman to set foot on the shore of that part of the Colony, now called Sydney. They say he carried Governor Phillip ashore on his back. Very good. Mr. Rouse must have been "a tall man and a proper" as Shakespeare somewhere says; but, my good friend, where are these people hastening to? Down to the "Experiment," sir; she starts at four o'clock for Sydney.

So fast was steam transport by sea growing now, that barely three years subsequent to the appearance of this article, *viz.*, on the 1st January, 1840, the HERALD published a complaint to the effect that the number of steamers employed between Sydney and the Hunter and elsewhere had become so great that further regulation of them was necessary, especially with regard to the transmission of the mails. About this time, too, the whaling industry—mostly, alas, confined to foreigners—was at its height. The port was crowded with whaling ships, and their rough and hardy crews thronged the streets and public houses of the city. On the 14th February, 1845, the HERALD estimates the number of American vessels engaged in the trade in these waters at no less than 650; and then appropriately asks a question which has been asked again with equal aptness many times these latter days: "Why is not more Australian capital employed in this trade?"

We have said that the rough crews of the whaling ships helped to swell the trade and crowd the bars of the liquor-shops of Sydney. And the statement brings us to the consideration of another aspect of the social life of the Colony in the period under review. It may well be imagined that the advocates of Temperance found in the HERALD, after the date of John Fairfax's association with it, a strong supporter. But even before his time the paper had been a sincere upholder of the principle. Thus, in the issue of the 5th June, 1834, we are told that upwards of 500 persons had already enrolled themselves in the Temperance Society, and the paper expressed the hope that the number would soon be 5,000. These Temperance and Total Abstinence Societies were very active in the Colony in the 'thirties and 'forties; and the HERALD gave the best proof possible of its enthusiasm for their cause by frequently devoting three or four columns to the reports of their activities. For instance, the remarks of Archdeacon Jeffries, who addressed the Total Abstinence Society at the beginning of April, 1841, were reported to the extent of nearly four columns, while the meeting of the Temperance Society a couple of weeks later received the paper's attention to the tune of no less than six columns—and mainly small type at that!

It is curious to note, by the way, the consistency of the HERALD in the matter of Prohibition throughout its long history. Dear as was the cause of temperance to the heart of John Fairfax, and sincere as was the support of his predecessors, neither he nor they had any affection for the prohibitionists, nor could find any soundness in their arguments. To read the leading articles dealing with Prohibition, which appear, for example, in July, 1841 (and which are quoted in Section XII. of this history), and then to compare them with the leading articles on the same subject which appeared during the great prohibition campaign of 1928 (also quoted in the same section), is to recognise the fact that, but for a few diversities of style and a number of references culled from the experiences of later years, the earlier set of articles might have come from the same pen as those which composed the later ones, and *vice versa*, so closely do the arguments advanced and principles avowed in both, agree.

The apostles of temperance did not confine themselves to wordy arguments alone, however. Some of them, indeed, were practical, to a degree. In the HERALD of the 5th June, 1834, we learn that some fanatical supporter of the principles of total abstinence had cut a hole in a vat belonging to a Mr. Cooper, whereby over a thousand gallons of its spirituous contents had been lost. And two years later the activities of John Tawell, a

man whose extraordinary life and fate are still well remembered, were made known to the world in the following paragraph, taken from the *HERALD* of the 10th March, 1836:

"Something new, Oh ye Athenians! Something new! Rum has been destroyed in Sydney. Instead of sinking down the throats of the colonists, it has been poured into Sydney Cove! On Saturday last, at twelve o'clock, four hundred and ninety-two gallons of rum at proof, and one hundred and sixteen gallons of Geneva, ex British Sovereign, were taken from the bonded store at Campbell's Wharf, and started overboard in the said Cove. The whole was performed under the superintendence of Mr. Jeffrey, of the Customs, who politely allowed the destruction of spirits to take place in the presence of the Secretary and several members of the New South Wales Temperance Society and of many individuals who took great interest in the scene. Mr. Tawell, the owner of the spirits, was also present; and this act of disinterestedness does credit at once to him, and to the Society of Friends, of which he is a member. He destroyed the spirits because he believed the use of them would destroy his fellow creatures, and therefore could not conscientiously sell them."

Tawell was a Quaker who had been transported to New South Wales for being in possession of a forged bill. After his arrival in New South Wales, his good conduct soon gained for him a ticket-of-leave, and eventually freedom. He opened a business as a druggist in Sydney, and quickly made a success of it; he purchased a whaling ship, won a fortune in oil, and became a highly respectable member of the community. In 1835 he built a chapel for the Society of Friends; in 1836 he carried out the dramatic rum destruction to which we have already referred; and in 1840 he returned to England.

There his wife fell ill, and he engaged a nurse for her. So attractive was the nurse that Tawell formed a liaison with her, and when the wife died the mistress naturally desired to take her place. But Tawell had other designs. He married again; and, since he had become unable, through financial losses, to keep up a double life any longer, he determined to end it by putting the nurse out of the way. Accordingly he poisoned her with prussic acid at Windsor, and attempted to escape. But the deed was discovered almost immediately, and the then new-fangled electric telegraph (for the first time in history) was called into use as an agent for the arrest of a criminal. Tawell was seized shortly after he had arrived in London and was duly executed on 21st March, 1845.

Strangely enough, his death was the indirect cause of a political crisis of the first magnitude in New South Wales some few years after. His Australian estate, which would in ordinary circumstances have been forfeited to the Crown, as being that of a convicted felon, was, after considerable delay, transferred to his widow as an act of grace. But, in the meantime, the Trustees in Sydney had conveyed some of the lands to local residents; one of the solicitors who had acted for the Trustees had absconded with the money, and it became a question as who should get the lands, the innocent purchaser who had paid the money, or the widow whose Trustees, after vicariously receiving the money, had lost it. The Home Authorities insisted that the lands should be re-conveyed to the widow; the local authorities, headed by Charles Cowper, the Premier of New South Wales, and his legal adviser, declared that the innocent purchasers ought not to suffer, and refused to affix the Great Seal of the Colony to the deed. The Governor, Sir William Denison, communicated with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who instructed him that he (Denison) had power to affix the Seal and to insist on Cowper, in whose custody it was, handing it to him for the purpose. Cowper protested, arguing that if the Governor could over-ride the advice of his Ministers and assume such arbitrary powers as he claimed, the right of self-government, so long fought for and so recently won, was not only endangered but practically a dead-letter. Denison, in view of his instructions, could, of course, do nothing else but insist upon the production of the Seal. Cowper in the end handed it over, and with it, his resignation. The deed was executed; but the crisis was acute. The matter was brought up in Parliament, to which

Cowper had recently been returned with a triumphant majority, and Denison's conduct was severely attacked. But, in the meantime, another political excitement in the shape of the constitution of the new Legislative Council, cropped up; and, before it was ended, Denison left the Colony and "The Great Seal Case" languished into the limbo of the forgotten.

Truth to tell, the Temperance advocates and their principal spokesman, the *HERALD*, had no lack of excuse for their activities. A few extracts which appeared in the paper during the 'thirties and 'forties—and particularly the 'thirties—will speak for themselves on this point with such unhappy strength as to require no further comment. On the 25th August, 1834, there appears the report of an inquest on a boy of six years of age, who had died from intoxication. Witnesses testified that the child had been taken to a party, made drunk, and was then seized with convulsions, ending in coma and death. On the 6th October of the same year, attention is drawn by the paper to the "lamentable fact that the children of the depraved women at the Female Factory, and who are confined there with them, are receiving vicious impressions" and it is urged that they be separated from their mothers and removed to another institution. Scenes of drunkenness were common in the streets. Entry after entry in the paper assures us of this fact; and the stocks—the usual punishment for this class of offence—were, constantly, as the *HERALD* itself puts it on one occasion, "at a premium." The occasion particularly referred to, was the Boxing Day of 1835, a fact which certainly might have helped to swell the ranks of the intemperate. But, even so, to read that there were 109 drunkards arrested by the small and inefficient police force of the time on that one day, must shock the most sophisticated reader. On the 24th March, 1836, an even worse record was established during certain drunken orgies which disgraced—of all places—the Old Burial Ground, George Street. Among the offenders were a number of females: "They took their seats in the stocks ten at a time, the remainder waiting patiently till their turns came. The stocks were occupied the whole of the day."

It is hardly to be wondered at that there should be such an appalling plague of intemperance in the little city, when we come to consider the number of the liquor-houses and the liberty that was allowed them. On the 3rd July, 1844, the *HERALD* is "astounded"—and no wonder!—"at the number of publicans who have been granted 'Night Licenses.' There are 125 of them in the City alone, apart from those holding day licenses only." When one remembers that a "Night License" enabled the holder to keep his premises open until midnight, the effect upon the community of such a wholesale and unchecked invitation to carouse, is easily imagined.

Nor were the grog-shops the only trouble. "There is not a township in the Colony without one or more of these abominable gambling shops called 'Hells,'" says the *HERALD* of the 11th May, 1840. And with the gambling-hell and the grog-shop, hooliganism, their invariable accompaniment, was rampant. The *HERALD* of August 18th, 1842, in reporting the proceedings at a meeting of the London Missionary Society, held at the Independent Chapel, in Sydney, says that the hall was crowded, and then adds:

"Near the door were a number of young men—some of them, we are sorry to say, respectably dressed, who behaved in a most rude and disorderly manner the whole evening; so much so that, notwithstanding repeated warnings, their conduct at length became so outrageous that the meeting was adjourned for a week. More unaccountable and disgraceful conduct we have not heard of for some time."

Again, on the 18th of the same month, we learn from the same source that: "Yesterday a number of aborigines were making their way across Hyde Park in the direction of Woollloomooloo, when they were set upon by a number of boys, who pelted them in

the most merciless manner." Things were little better, apparently, six years later, for on the 15th January, 1848, the *HERALD* informs us that: "Hardly a Sunday passes without a fight in Hyde Park, got up by some 12 to 15 boys, who seem to congregate on purpose thus to desecrate the Sabbath Day."

We have had frequent occasion to refer to man's inhumanity to man in those early days; but he by no means confined his cruelties to his fellows. His treatment of the so-called lower animals was commonly callous, and often abominable. On the 10th August, 1835, the *HERALD* asserts that "at a certain butcher's establishment in Sydney, the operation of skinning the animals takes place before life is extinct. In one case, when the skinning began the animal attempted to get on its legs." On December 24th, 1842, a correspondent draws the paper's attention to the cruelty practised at the Sydney Markets "in plucking poultry when alive, poulterers asserting that they can be plucked easier then than when dead." Another correspondent, "Humanitas," writing to the paper about a year later, *viz.*, on 28th November, 1843, makes a statement which would be incredible did one not remember that cruelty was almost a commonplace in those days. "A great crowd of lubberly ruffians," he says, "were in Elizabeth Street yesterday morning, goading a cow with whips and setting dogs on to worry it, the poor brute being tied by the horns with a long rope, held by a man on horseback, to prevent its running away from its persecutors. The animal was mad with the pain inflicted by the blows of the whips and the bites of the dogs." Bull-baiting, as we shall show directly, was one of the "sports" of the time, but that this hideous variation of it should have been carried out in one of the main streets of Sydney, says little for the activities of the authorities and much for the natural savagery of the times. We have in a previous chapter, given many examples of the harshness of the laws during this period; but that the *HERALD* had not yet come to recognise their futility is shown by a paragraph which appears in the issue of the 24th November, 1834. The paragraph runs thus:

"We perceive, in a late number of one of the Sydney journals, an article on the cruelty of flogging soldiers, with a sly insinuation that it is equally cruel to flog, whip or scourge felons. It is true there may be a variety of opinions as to the propriety of flogging an honest soldier for a trifling breach of military etiquette, but we affirm that among men of integrity the opinion exists that incorrigible thieves may be flogged with impunity; and, strange as it may sound to the ears of the friends of the said felons, the same class of stubborn individuals hold it to be praiseworthy to hang, as well as flog, these gentry, when their outrages on society become intolerable."

Certainly such "outrages on society" were appalling in their number and their brutality; the calendar for the criminal sessions in February, 1835, for example, shows that, out of a total of 112 cases set down for hearing, no less than 26 were cases of murder or manslaughter. But that the savagery of the laws might be at least partly responsible for the outrages was a proposition of whose truth the authorities were not to be convinced for many years. It was, we repeat, a harsh age; and its harshness was reflected most strikingly in the punitive clauses of its penal code. But perhaps the most startling evidence of the attitude of the *HERALD* towards "discipline"—as the savageries of "the system" were somewhat euphemistically referred to by its writers—may be gleaned from the perusal of an introductory note with which it prefaces, in the issue of the 31st May, 1839, its report of the previous day's proceedings at the Hyde Park Police Court. That report is a terrible one; it shows that out of fifty-two persons brought before the magistrates—the majority of them, as the *HERALD* itself admitted, being charged with offences of a "very minor" character—no less than twenty-one were sentenced to floggings, ranging from twenty-four to sixty lashes. One convict was charged with smoking while at work, and was ordered to receive fifty lashes for his "crime"; another, being

"a first offender," got off with thirty-six; a third, for making a false statement—to the effect that he came to the Colony a free man—also received thirty-six lashes; and a fourth, for having some rum in his possession, to fifty. The catalogue is sickening; and these we quote are taken from it quite at random. It must be remembered, also, that we have carefully omitted any mention of the serious cases. Yet the *HERALD*, commenting on the report, is moved to indignation, not at the hideous punishments meted out, but at the lack of discipline which permitted the offences to have been committed at all. The authorities ought to have been more strict. "'But,' says the liberal, 'these are not crimes.' 'No, sir, they are not crimes; but they are manifestations of insolence and recklessness, which, under a proper system of discipline, no convict would dare commit.' While the soldier may be scourged for a hasty word . . . are we to bestow our sympathy upon the irreclaimable vagabond—one upon whose flinty heart no kindness can make any impression?' . . ."

It would be interesting to quote an example of this failure of kindness—careful search of the *HERALD* files of the era will certainly compel the reader to confess that he is unable to find any attempt to give kindness a chance. In the 'forties things were different, of course, so far as the *HERALD*'s attitude was concerned; but it was long before the cruel standard of the penal code was mitigated to any great degree.

Three more extracts from the *HERALD*, culled respectively from the issues of the 24th July, 1839, the 28th September, 1840, and the 3rd June, 1841, will be sufficient to complete the sable picture of the times, so far as its penal associations are concerned. The first informs us that a woman charged with being "a common scold" was sentenced to twelve months in the cells, and expresses the pious hope that "this will be a caution to all persons in the habit of being a nuisance to their neighbours." The second is an incidental reference to the fact that at that particular time 150 persons were serving sentences on the treadmills; and the third announces that "Curran the Bushranger passed through George Street yesterday in a cart in double irons, from Bathurst." The spectacle appears to have aroused no particular interest; and, indeed, there was no reason why it should. Such exhibitions were all too common.

Let us turn now to gentler and more happy themes. To consider the amusements and recreations of a community is not only interesting in itself, it also throws a vivid light upon the habits and characteristics of those who enjoyed them. Of what nature, then, were the recreations of our colonists during the first thirty years of the *HERALD*'s history?

The position of the drama, music and literature will be discussed later, in its appropriate section; but no reference to the social amenities of the day would be complete which failed to mention the devotion which was so constantly paid, as the journals of the day would put it, to the allurements of Terpsichore. Official balls were frequent, and were "the" great affairs of the social world, while dances were not only constantly given at private houses, but invariably provided at least part of the attractions of every function whereat they could possibly be crowded in. Two very interesting accounts of "official" balls, from the many that the *HERALD* has handed down to us, may be referred to here. The first is that which the Mayor of Sydney gave in August, 1844; the second that which was given to celebrate the arrival, eight years later, of the "Chusan," whose advent, as we have seen, marked a red-letter day in the history of the Colony. The Mayor's Fancy Dress Ball, 1844, was probably the greatest event of its kind that the Colony had witnessed up to that date; and it is hardly to be wondered at if the *HERALD*'s reporter, in the circumstances, should have felt compelled to "let himself go." Every-

body who was anybody was there, together with a considerable admixture of nobodies—for it was one of the great features of the occasion that all classes were represented at it and “mixed familiarly together”—and nothing was left undone by His Worship and his council of advisers to make the Ball the most eagerly-anticipated, and most generally enjoyed social event of the time. The HERALD reporter devotes no less than four columns of the issue of the 21st August to the affair, giving us, not only the list of guests in full, together with their costumes, fancy and otherwise, but also all the most intimate details of the function, down to the exact number of hams (14), fowls (40 pairs), wine (50 dozen) and “jars of chow chow” (2) provided by the caterers for the supper tables. A few extracts from the general report may be given:

“The fancy dress ball of the Right Worshipful the Mayor to the citizens of Sydney, took place in the Victoria Theatre on Wednesday evening, the 21st inst. It was a gorgeous spectacle, and unless we had been present, we could not have conceived it possible for Sydney, in its present condition, to have brought together such a variety of costly and magnificent garbs, and costumes of all nations as greeted our eyes on the present occasion. . . . The Victoria Theatre, we think, never looked more brilliant. Extensive preparations had been made to turn the capacious stage and pit into one ample ball-room. The pit was for this purpose boarded over—and the extent of area enclosed by this splendid room, from the back of the stage to the boxes, will be easily understood by any person who has visited the theatre. The excellent band of the 99th Regiment was stationed in the centre of the boxes, and the theatrical band at the back of the pit. Tables for refreshment were spread at the extreme end of the stage, which was lighted, in addition to the usual gas burners, with a brilliant chandelier. From the proscenium to the back of the stage drapery of different colours, and tastefully arranged into folds and festoons, gave a very gay and imposing appearance to this part of the house. Under the boxes the walls of the quondam pit were decorated with wreaths of evergreens, and on facing round the back of the stage the appearance which the different tiers of boxes presented, so elegantly decorated and crowded with so many happy faces and splendid dresses—was truly delightful. . . . The appearance of the ball-room from the boxes was exceedingly picturesque and magnificent. The eye of the spectator wandered from object to object with ever varying pleasure. The splendour and diversity of the dresses—the correctness of the different costumes—the historical and dramatic, the fictitious and fanciful characters that figured beneath—exhibited a ‘*tableaux vivant*,’ a series of living pictures of different ages and nations, which could not well be surpassed. It would be impossible to give a person who was not present an idea of the splendour and beauty and costliness of the costumes—and we must refer to the subjoined official list, taken from the cards to show their variety. Among the magnificent gaiety of Eastern dresses, glittering with barbaric pearl and gold, there was a considerable number of complete and elegant Highland costumes, which afforded a cool, agreeable relief to the eye, and formed a pleasing contrast. And there were some characters that had never appeared on any stage before, and could not well figure on any stage than that of Australia; we allude to those representing the Aborigines of the Colony. One of these sable heroes, arrayed in a tattooed blanket, enlivened the audience vastly on one occasion, by bursting into the centre of a circle of waltzers, and giving a ludicrous facsimile of an aboriginal dance. There was another character, which, at the early part of the evening, created much excitement—we mean Jack the Giant, a gentleman of nine feet high, who marched into the room brandishing a club, and threatening to do damage to the chandelier, if not to take a step into the boxes from the stage. Jack made an early exit. We are quite incompetent to the task of describing the dresses of the ladies: to say that they were all elegant and many of them gorgeous, would be saying only the truth; but it would not be saying all the truth. We were delighted to see such a fairy assembly of the beauty and fashion of the metropolis; and to the fair ladies of Sydney, who had been at so much pains to decorate their persons and personify some of the heroines of the old days, his Worship was indebted for much of the delight which was experienced. . . . Dancing commenced shortly after nine o’clock, and was kept up with spirit until past six in the morning; the dances were quadrilles, waltzes, and gallopades—four double sets of quadrilles being formed at one time.”

The Chusan Ball was held on the 24th August, 1852, and the account of it, as printed in the HERALD of the 28th, lacks nothing in enthusiasm and prolixity. All the speeches at the supper—and they were many—are given in full, and the description of the Ball

itself is full of "purple patches." The function was held in the new buildings erected for the Australian Museum, the actual dancing taking place in the "Great Room" of that institution, which had been tastefully decorated for the occasion, the skeletons and other specimens, so appropriate to a Museum but hardly in keeping with a festal gathering, having, we presume, been first carefully removed.

"Pic nics," as we have suggested, were also included among the leading social functions of the time; and in the *HERALD* of the 13th February, 1850, there appears a description of a mayoral festivity of this kind, which runs as follows:

"This brilliant affair came off yesterday. The day was fortunately a fine one until the evening, when it became showery, but by that time the festivities had drawn to a close, so that the joyousness of the occasion was not by this means diminished. On the other hand, the coolness of the atmosphere was an adjunct, inasmuch as such of the company who were inclined to 'trip it on the light fantastic toe' upon the bright greensward of Vacluse, or to indulge in a ramble through the beautiful grounds around its tranquil bay, were enabled to indulge themselves with much more freedom and ease than they could have done had they been subjected to the excessive heat which usually prevails at this season of the year.

"The company were landed on the eastern bank of Vacluse Bay, and the cleared space immediately above that bank was the principal scene of festivity. A sort of arbour was erected over the refreshment tables, and there was a spacious marquee, for such as required a temporary rest, to retire to; besides a number of seats in various places around. The two bands were posted in convenient situations, and by their alternate labour furnished a spirited accompaniment to the number of merry dancers, who successively indulged in quadrille, waltz, gallop, and polka, upon the verdant carpet provided for them by Dame Nature.

"As to the company, it is only necessary to say that the 'elite' of the City, including the Honourable Mrs. Stewart, the Honourable General Wynyard, the Honourable Mrs. Wynyard and a number of other distinguished individuals, were assembled, and we heard no other feeling than that of satisfaction from the whole. The scene at Vacluse, particularly during the time of the dances, was peculiarly brilliant and animated. Bright skies, indeed, although the usual accompaniment of Australian scenery, were wanting; but of bright eyes there were more than we have ever seen assembled at any one time in this part of the globe.

"Refreshments of all kinds were in profusion. As there was no regular assemblage at table at any one time, so there was no regular succession of toasts; but we heard the healths of the Mayor, the Mayoress, and Mr. W. C. Wentworth, drunk with enthusiasm, and thanks were duly returned for each toast.

"Altogether, the Mayor's pic nic was one of the most becoming festivals that Sydney has ever known."

Owing to the peculiar nature of Sydney Society at this time, it is not remarkable that many difficulties confronted those who were responsible for conferring the hallmark of respectability by issuing the invitations to Government House functions. The difficulty still exists, by the way, as many a harassed aide-de-camp can attest; but in the first half of the last century, cold shivers certainly must have stirred the spine of the responsible authority every time an official function was mooted. In 1847, considerable trouble occurred over certain Government House invitations which were issued to, and accepted by, "persons of doubtful reputation"; and the *HERALD* had a series of three outspoken leaders which read most amusingly to-day, and which were, in fact, clearly written with the idea of dealing with a ticklish subject in a humorous way. But, behind the humour, there is a strength and a purpose informing these leaders that make them notable. All three articles are headed "Society and Government House," and they appear in the issues of the 8th, 9th and 19th June, 1847:

"We have already said that one effect which would accrue from admitting all sorts of reputations indiscriminately to Government House, would necessarily be to stamp those alone as truly respectable, who are never seen there. But this, as we apprehend, will be by no means the most important result. Another and much more deplorable one will be this. That in exact proportion

to the influence Government House gatherings have over the feelings of the vain, and the unreflecting (a numerous section of every society), will a premium be offered to female impropriety. If it shall be hereafter seen that old mistresses are as eligible as our young and pure-minded maidens, to participate in the vice-regal entertainments, and that the so-called respectable fathers, mothers and husbands of the Colony, have no objection to meet and mix with interesting frail ones, at once the barriers are kicked down between the respectable and the disreputable classes, and we become, as we have heard some delicate old ladies say in the witness box 'quite promiscuous like.' . . . Opinion is shown by acts. If you see your friend walking arm-in-arm with one whom he knows to be a distinguished pick-pocket, you may very safely conclude that your friend has no very sincere or violent antipathy to a pick-pocket. If you see your friend's wife voluntarily figuring in the same dance, or complacently promenading in the same drawing-room with a demi-rep, you may be excused for feeling a strong suspicion that the difference between the two is little more than nominal. . . ."

"One of the bitterest truths left to us by Rochefoucauld, is, that 'few people know how to be old.' We never saw a woman above five and thirty kicking her heels about in a ball-room, without thinking of this. It is a truth peculiarly and painfully applicable to women who have never acquired or sought for other capital than that of 'looks.' When the good looks of foolish women have flown, they are obliged to war with nature; with what success we will spare them the pain of mentioning, when the forces are only Mr. Rowland's Kalydor and female tact on the one side, and those invincibles, Time, and wrinkles, on the other.

"And yet, strange as it is, it is nevertheless true, that old women have often persuaded themselves that they are too much for nature, and that they have been eminently successful in the production of an artificial girlhood. . . . Be it known, however, we speak only of *dancing* old women, not of old women in general: of the species, not of the genus. A true and natural old woman, one who is content with what she is, and does not strain to repudiate and shove nature out of sight, or to dress her face and figure into a cheat, or impudently fling her antiquity about, whilst young girls are sitting still for want of partners, such an old woman as this, is frequently a delightful being. We know of a few such; alas, how few.

"Now one or two of these ungovernably saltatory old ladies—for the honour of the sex, they are not very many—have delivered themselves of what they call opinions, upon this subject of Government House Society. One has said: 'I think this.' Another has said: 'I think that.' Whereas, in truth, and in fact, there is scarcely an old woman of this kind, who has *thought* about it at all. They think that they think, but on overhauling their wretched excuses for ideas, you discover plainly that they can no more think, than they can be young or beautiful.

"Most men upon this subject are reasonable. So are almost all young and unsophisticated women. But *old* women, those whose minds, as some sagacious philosopher has said—and we are afraid, with too much truth—have become as deformed as their bodies, cry out: 'Why should all this fuss be made? Where's the great harm of naughty women going to Government House? You are not obliged to see them, you are not obliged to know they are there.'

"Now, do these old women say this because they *think* there's no harm in it? No. They say it because vanity, noise and excitement are their element. Because they still cherish the delusion that the poetry of motion is not yet exhausted in them. Because the pleasures of shopping, and spending their husband's money, and the yet surviving delight of dressing these old bodies, which they ought to reflect must soon be screwed down, are paramount to every moral consideration, in (what, for want of a word, we must call) their minds. . . ."

"We have been informed by persons on whom we believe we can place every reliance, that the matter complained of was well founded in this. That improper persons had intruded themselves, or been inadvertently *obtruded into the* society of Government House. That this had been complained of by the Judges and will be prevented for the future.

"After this, to discuss how, or when, or by whom the difficulty in question was first created, or in what degree in Sir George Gipps's time, and in what degree since the commencement of Sir Charles Fitz Roy's rule, would be equally idle, invidious and unprofitable. It is sufficient for us that we believe Sir Charles Fitz Roy will do in this matter what is right in itself and for its own sake; and if he should not do so, the case hereafter should have a very different aspect, and will call for and shall have, very different and much less gentler handling than we have given it hitherto. . . ."

So much, then, for the recreations of those sections of the colonists to whom the vocabulary of the times assigned the title of "the upper and middle classes." As for the "lower" orders, it would appear that in respect to intellectual refreshment, they were so badly catered for that there is little that can be said upon the matter at all. So far as physical recreation was concerned, however, the case was different. All classes had their respective ways of enjoying themselves in this respect; sometimes the methods were shared by all ranks, sometimes they were adopted by a particular section; but, whether shared or not, the frequent tendency in sport was to the rough, the cruel and the demoralising. The "sports" to which the multitude were mainly addicted were prize-fighting, bull-baiting and the cruel exchanges of the cock-pit. Horse racing has ever been the great and all-pervading sport of the Australian; it is so to-day; it was so in the days of which we write. Everybody went to the races; and races were held very frequently. The clean attractions of cricket and of the various forms of aquatics—to the latter of which the Australian has ever been particularly devoted—also laid their spell on a large section of the community; but in nearly every case wagering played an unhappy accompaniment to the sport.

In the 'thirties and 'forties we find that race-meetings were regularly held, not only in Sydney, but in Campbelltown, Parramatta, Windsor, Goulburn, Yass, Wollongong, Maitland and other centres; and the descriptions of them, as reported in the old files, seem to show that the reporter who said that one of them "resembled nothing so much as a Donnybrook fair" was well within the mark. But it was at Homebush that the main meetings were held; and Homebush (some eight miles from the capital by road) was on these occasions the Mecca of all Sydney. From a breezy account of the meeting held at Homebush in the middle of March, 1841, and published in the issue of the 18th of that month, we quote the following extract:

HOMEBUSH RACES.

The first general meeting of the Australian Race Committee was holden at Homebush on Tuesday last. The weather was quite propitious for the event, a copious shower having fallen in the morning; the roads were in consequence in good trim. About eight o'clock immense numbers of carts, well loaded with passengers, were to be seen moving in all directions from the different localities of Sydney to the scene of action, and at about 11 o'clock hundreds of the more expeditious vehicles, in the shape of gigs and carriages of every description, together with some thousands of equestrians and pedestrians—the latter plodding along the road with the best possible humour, in the broiling sun to Homebush. We imagine the different publicans along the road will have cause to remember with gratitude the institution of these races; they appeared to be literally thronged. Immense numbers of persons were inclined to avail themselves of the enticing inducement held out by the owners of the Parramatta steamers. The "Rapid," being advertised to land passengers within half-a-mile of the course, was therefore eagerly sought after, and started at half past eight o'clock in the morning with a bumper cargo, having the band of the 28th Regiment on board. The "Australia" started at nine o'clock with a full complement of passengers, and landed them at Kissing Point. Our reporter, being on this steamer, feels inclined to make a few remarks, thinking the passengers rather hardly dealt by. On arriving at Kissing Point, the depth of the water not permitting the steamer to come near the shore, they were necessitated to get landed the best way they could by hiring boats and paying 1/- each. They had then to trudge over three miles of boggy flats to get to the course, nearly the whole distance of which they were over shoes in mire, causing more fatigue than walking the whole distance from Sydney would have done. We certainly think the proprietors of the boats should not have misled the public in such a way as they have done. The passengers of the "Australia," on landing, however, certainly had to congratulate themselves on being more successful than those on the "Rapid." She, on running up the creek, stuck fast in the mud, and great numbers, including the band, only arrived a short time before one o'clock, about which time His Excellency arrived and took

up his position close to the Judges' Stand. We congratulate the Committee on the whole of their judicious arrangements in these races. It certainly reflected the greatest possible credit on those immediately concerned, and must have convinced the most casual observer in these matters of the difference existing between good and bad management. With respect to the course, it appeared to be generally lamented that it was not on a more extensive scale: all like to see the horses start as well as win. It would have been better had the booths been placed outside instead of within the course. The advantages arising from the arrangements recommended are to be seen when races are run on the Bathurst course, by spectators being enabled to see the horses all the way round. There were eight publican's booths (the most conspicuous of which were Messrs. Puzey and Pullinger's), besides a large sprinkling of fruit and confectionery stalls. The grand stand, in front of which was displayed the Gold Cup and Purse, was erected by Mr. Wallace, as also the large stand, for the accommodation of the public on payment of half a crown. We were sorry to see that so few persons availed themselves of so favourable opportunity of witnessing the sports of the day. Mr. Patterson, the baker, we believe, rented the toll at the entrance of the ground for £40, and made the following charges as admission money: For horses, 1/- each; gigs, 2/-; and other vehicles, 3/-. As near as we could estimate, the toll must have produced at least £100. The course was during the day as well kept as we have seen at any course in the mother country, and everything passed off as well as could have been wished. The police arrangements were so well contrived that only three individuals were escorted to Sydney, one runaway and two assigned servants, who were drunk and disorderly; Captain Innes having kept a relay of constables, not only on the ground, but along the whole line of road between the course and Sydney.

An announcement that will be read with interest by those who are concerned with the history of horse-racing in Australia, appears in the *HERALD* of the 3rd February, 1842. It takes the form of an advertisement, the material portion of which informs the public that at a meeting of the Australian Race Committee, held on the 5th of the preceding month, it had been decided, in consequence of the liberal support accorded by the public to the former meetings of the Committee at Homebush, that the Committee should resolve itself into a Club to be called "The Australian Jockey Club." The Governor (Sir George Gipps) accepted the office of Patron, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces that of Vice-Patron, of the new Club; its constitution was agreed upon and its first Committee appointed during the next few weeks; and thus came into being that institution—now one of the most powerful in the whole world of sport—which is known wherever racing men are gathered together, as the "A.J.C."

Although there had been trotting races at least as early as 1829, that particular brand of racing which is commonly referred to as "the ponies" is of much later birth in these parts than horse-racing; but there was at least one instance of it in the early 'forties which is worth mentioning, if only because of the unusual features incidental to it. Timor ponies had been imported into the Colony in the 'thirties, much to the annoyance of the *HERALD*, which was opposed to the introduction of these little animals on the ground that they would deteriorate the breed of horses generally. But, despite this opposition, there were quite a number of "Timors" in the Colony in 1841—so many, indeed, that a Timor Pony Race Meeting was held at Petersham on the Boxing Day of that year, which was so successful that the event was repeated soon afterwards with good financial results to the promoters.

Steeplechasing was also regularly enjoyed. The Five Dock Steeplechase was an annual event in the 'forties, but one of the earliest accounts of this species of racing that we can trace is to be found in the *HERALD* of the 1st September, 1834. The contest took place "near the new racecourse, on the Botany Road," and "the immense number of spectators" were highly delighted with the entertainment, which the paper calls—and which we must assume correctly—"a novelty." Hurdle-racing, too, was evidently a favourite form of the sport a little later on; for, in the issue of the 26th September, 1836, we find a most amusing description of the "Annual Sydney Hunt Hurdle Race," which

was held near Botany "before an immense assemblage of every description of man and beast," and at which "many of Eve's fairest daughters, both in vehicles and on horseback, lent by their presence additional ardour to the lions of the day." Evidently the reporter had a good time, especially at the dinner which followed the racing; for he "spreads himself" in "purple patches" innumerable. For example, here is his description of the main event of the day:

"As they came away from their airy resting place"—what this flight of fancy means exactly, it is impossible from the context to comprehend—"expanding their colours under a brilliant sun, they might almost have appeared as the denizens of a different element, skimming the surface of the earth and flying over the fences after the fashion of the winged harbingers of the spring. N.B.—Only one of the birds got a purl."

From the hurdle racing of a Hunt Club the transition to Hunting is easy; and a search of the records shows that this sport, too, was largely indulged in by the wealthier colonists from 1812 onwards. So favoured was it that a Hunt Club was formed in 1833. Foxes being wanting, the sportsmen had to find a substitute—and they usually found him in a dingo, an animal which seems to have been fairly common in the district at the time. On the 18th August, 1834, we read that:

"A full-grown native dog was turned out on the new race-course, amid a field of about 25 sporting gentlemen, and took towards the South Head. After a beautiful run of nearly half an hour through scrubby and broken country, he was killed at Double Bay, near Point Piper."

Again, on the 6th June, 1836, the *HERALD* tells us that "the Sydney Hounds had a fine run across the Surry Hills, and, after some good sport, succeeded in killing a native fox." Evidently from the context, it was again a dingo that provided the sport on this occasion.

An outing, of a somewhat similar nature, but much more alive with "local colour" is described in an even earlier issue. On the 2nd September, 1833, we read that:

"This morning a party of eight to ten gentlemen start for Cook's River district, where deer and kangaroo abound. They are accompanied by dogs of the best breed in the Colony, and intend to make the sport last for some days, not having forgot that most indispensable of all indispensables, a pair of cutlers, who are well provided with the grub and exhilarating liquors necessary on such occasions."

The spectacle of a dozen mounted sports, with a pack of dogs in full cry, after dingoes, kangaroos, and deer through the wilds of Surry Hills and "the Cook's River district," is one that would certainly cause no little excitement to-day among the inhabitants of those closely-packed areas. Deer were kept in quite a number of places near Sydney then; and an advertisement which Dr. Wardell inserted in the *HERALD* shortly before his death in 1834, warns trespassers against interfering with the herd of deer upon his estate at Petersham, under pains and penalties the most severe. It also appears from the files of 1832 that there were "herds of deer" at Cook's River and in the extensive grounds which at that time surrounded Ultimo House, situated in what is now one of the most congested industrial areas of the city.

Pigeon shooting was occasionally indulged in. And, of course, the contests were invariably for a wager. Thus, on the 26th September, 1833, Messrs. Cox and Oliver advertise in the *HERALD* that they are "open to shoot any two parties at pigeons from a trap, for fifty guineas a side."

PART II.

Owing to the magnificent facilities for aquatics which Port Jackson offers, it is not strange that rowing and sailing should have ever been favourite sports with the citizens of Sydney. In the earlier days these events usually took the form of races arranged between the crews of some of the various ships in the harbour; and almost invariably they were for a wager. Thus, on the 21st July, 1834, we read that "several sporting gentlemen have made up a match between 'Zamiel,' a five-oared galley belonging to the captain of the 'Bardastre,' and the colonial boat 'Billy Blue,' for a stake of £60." In November of the same year a somewhat novel contest was suggested, in which the skipper of the "Bardastre" was again concerned. The relevant notice appears in the *HERALD* of the 10th November, 1834, and reads as follows: "The ship 'Bardastre,' from New Zealand, has brought a splendid collection of canoes, in particular, one named the 'Tuckerangi'" (which is not good Maori, even if spelt phonetically; but is given as the paper printed it). "Captain Chambers challenges any boat to paddle or sail against her. The other canoes are from 8 feet to 10 feet long, and will be paddled by monkeys, a number of these animals being in training on the 'Bardastre.'" Unfortunately, no one seems to have accepted the challenge to "paddle" against the "Tuckerangi," for no further mention, either of this contest, or of the sportive monkeys, can be traced.

On the 13th January, 1834, a paragraph appears in the *HERALD*, which has a double interest. In the first place, it provides further information as to the aquatics of the day, and in the second, it helps to settle the very vexed question of the institution of that event, which is, more than any other, peculiarly associated with the proceedings of Anniversary Day, *viz.*, the Annual Regatta. Thus runs the paragraph in question:

"On Thursday last one of the most numerous and select parties that ever assembled in the Colony, met at Macquarie Fort to witness the first Sydney Regatta. Owing to the windy state of the weather and other circumstances, the races which took place are still, we believe, undecided, and await the decision of referees. At about three o'clock the ladies, in number about 100, sat down to a magnificent luncheon, and presented the most splendid appearance ever witnessed in the country. Every delicacy of the season had been provided—the stewards exerted themselves to render the repast agreeable, and, by their attention and suavity of manner, gave general satisfaction. The gentlemen succeeded to the tables, and did ample justice to the liberality which had been shown by the providores. The Band of the Fourth Regiment attended and enlivened the scene by playing a variety of beautiful music. A set of quadrilles was danced, and we have no doubt that the company would have made a night of it, had not the melancholy news of Captain Bunn's death arrived, which threw a gloom over the company and caused the party to break up, who, however, expressed themselves highly pleased with the whole of the arrangements, and many hoped to have a periodical return of the Sydney Regatta."

But this event was not the "Anniversary Regatta"; it was merely a regatta which happened to be held early in the month of January; and the programme of events, as printed in a previous issue of the *HERALD*, comprised the usual races between the boats of the ships in the harbour, together with one or two rowing and sailing races for local sportsmen. Nor was the pious hope that the regatta might have "a periodical return" to be fulfilled for some time. Occasional rowing and sailing matches were arranged; but there is no mention of the Anniversary Regatta until the year 1837, although the ceremonies and proceedings of the 26th January in each year are faithfully reported. On the 30th January, 1837, however, we read that on the previous Thursday "the forty-ninth anniversary of the foundation of the Colony was celebrated by a regatta which went off with great spirit. The day was exceptionally fine, and the crowds of people on the points of land, and in vessels of every description, from the dingy to the bark, had an enlivening effect. The steamboat 'Australian' plied about the harbour the whole of

the day; her decks were crowded with passengers, who kept up dancing nearly the whole of the time they were on board. . . ." Then follows "a list of the matches, with the order in which the boats came in . . ."; and, finally, we are informed that "the whole of the sports went off without any accident, and all parties join in saying that the stewards and subscribers to the regatta fund are deserving of thanks for having procured them such a delightful day's recreation."

This was truly the first of the "Anniversary Regattas"; for on each succeeding year the files record such an event as having formed one of the main features of the day's celebrations; and although it is not until 1842 that we find the function referred to as "The Anniversary Regatta" it is evident that during the intervening years it had become the main attraction of the day. On the 25th January, 1838, the *HERALD* informs its subscribers that "A regatta is being got up for Anniversary Day," and on the 28th, that "a Regatta *was* got up"; but the proceedings are not reported with any great enthusiasm or detail. We are merely told that, "notwithstanding the apathy of the public, the affair went off remarkably well." On the 28th January, 1839, there is again but the briefest account of the function, "the great press of other matter preventing us from giving a report of the proceedings." A list of the winning boats is appended, and that is all. On the 27th January, 1840 (the 26th having been a Sunday), there was to have been a regatta, but the rain was so incessant that the event was postponed until the following day; when once more the function was, considering the circumstances, a considerable success. As we have said, this appears to be the first occasion on which the term "The Anniversary Regatta" was used, and the only possible implication to be drawn from this usage is that the function had become a fixed and regular method of celebrating the nation's natal day.

Although most branches of aquatic sport were thus favoured by the Sydney-siders of those days, it is strange that so little advantage was taken of the facilities for swimming which the sea and harbour beaches provided. Moreover, in those days, sharks were so uncommon as to be disregarded. It was not until the first years of this century that surfing began to achieve any sort of popularity at all; and although bathing was allowed, both on the harbour and ocean beaches, for many years before, it was so hampered with pruderies and regulations about hours and localities, that there can have been little enjoyment in it. Apparently there were few swimming enclosures of any kind; and the fact that the *HERALD* deemed it advisable, on the 11th November, 1840, to publish a letter pointing out the advantages of swimming, is sufficient evidence of the neglect of this healthful sport which characterised the times. This letter, signed by "A Chirurgeon," expatiates at some length on the physical benefits to be derived from bathing, and advocates some such system of training in swimming as the writer had observed to be in vogue in many of the leading continental cities. He deplores the lack of attention to the sport and points out its manifest suitability to the climate of Sydney. It seems strange, indeed, to the reader of to-day that such an obvious fact should ever have had to be pointed out at all.

But, amid a community who enjoyed such natural facilities for the sport, and in whose hearts there revelled the traditional British love for salt water, entire neglect of swimming was impossible, and thus we find in the *HERALD* of the 23rd March, 1847, a long and spirited account of a "Grand Swimming Match" which had taken place the previous day at Woolloomooloo Bay. The contestants numbered seven, including a "dark hero" (who managed to come in fourth) and, starting at "Robinson's Baths," they swam the whole width of the bay and back again. There were many spectators "on the rocks and in the Domain," and as the report states that Mr. J. Redman, who

won the event, had proved equally successful on a previous occasion, it is clear there was no lack of interest in the sport among a certain section of the community. The paper concludes by saying "it is proposed to keep up these swimming matches annually" and by expressing the hope that "this manly exercise will be cultivated by our colonial youth."

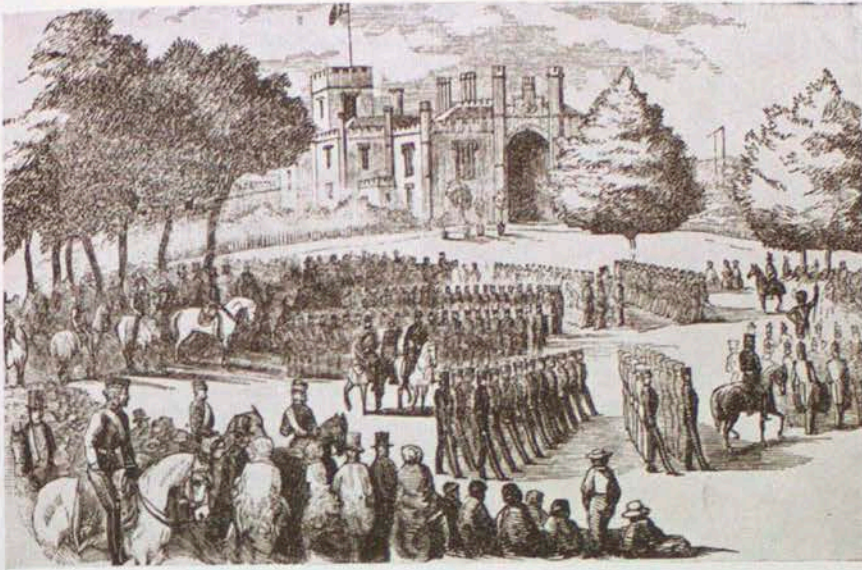
King Cricket naturally had a large number of followers in those days. But most of the matches were the subject of a wager of some kind, either between the contestants, or between interested parties who had arranged the match, or both. Single wicket matches were common, too; and in some cases the match was a contest between two players only. The wagering does not seem to have affected the status of the players; for on the 18th October, 1832, the *HERALD* reports that the members of the Australian Cricket Club had played the "Amateurs" Club for £25 a side on the old racecourse. The match in many ways recalls that famous contest at Dingley Dell, whereat Mr. Jingle made himself so popular; and in nothing so much as the importance with which everybody seems to have regarded the luncheon. "At an early hour the players repaired to the course and pitched their tents in which a capital repast was spread for those engaged, and their friends." The scorers were not greatly troubled by the batsmen of either side, the "Amateurs" eventually winning by 20 "notches." It was a common occurrence for the military officers stationed in Sydney to arrange matches between their respective regiments; and these contests seem to have been the most popular of all, if one may judge by the size of the attendances. Thus, on the 14th May, 1832, a match was played on the racecourse between the representatives of the 17th and 19th Regiments for £25 a side. "Upwards of two thousand people witnessed the play, and £300 were won or lost on the event."

Students of cricket who can give off hand the statistics of every important match that has ever been played are not rare; but it is probable that if any one of these were asked to name the date of the first match between Australia and England, he would answer, with a smile of contempt for his questioner's ignorance, that it was in March, 1877, when Lillywhite's team met the Australians at Melbourne and were beaten by 45 runs. But, strictly speaking, he would be wrong by over forty years. The issue of the *HERALD* of the 27th December, 1832, contains the following interesting refutation of that reply:

"Yesterday a cricket match between eleven Englishmen and eleven native youths"—by which term the paper means, not aborigines, but native-born colonials—"came off on the old racecourse, for £20. The scores were: Australia, first innings 137, second innings 117; total 254. England, first innings 38, second innings 53; total 91."

Thus history anticipated itself, and the earliest unofficial "test match" on record (for the paper definitely states that "it was the first of its kind") was, like its official successor, won by Australia—"by 163 notches," a very respectable margin in those days of small scores. It is interesting, by the way, to find the paper using this old term "notches" in this connection; for it recalls the fact that in olden days all figuring was done by cutting notches on a stick to mark the progress of the sum.

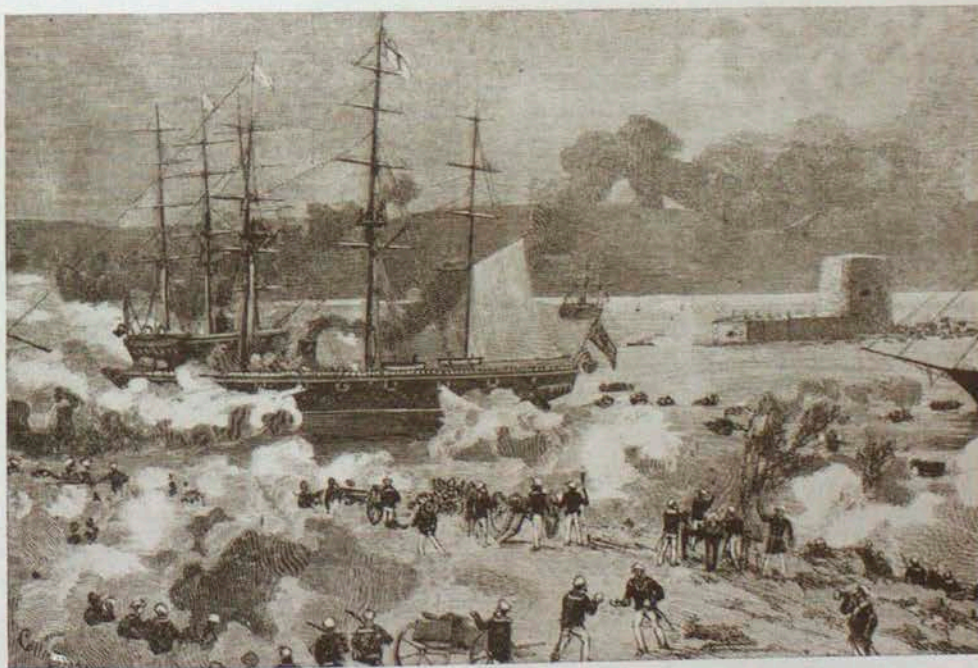
A somewhat similar match was played some twelve months later, when, according to the *HERALD* of the 12th December, 1833, "a concourse of the respectable inhabitants of the town assembled on the racecourse to witness a match between the Military and the Australian Club for £50 a side . . . the Military exhibited abilities of no mean order, but the superior play and activities as fielders of the Australians carried all before them." This was not the first of these contests, the records showing that, as far back as February, 1830, two teams, representing "Australians" and the Military, had met each other



*A review of the Volunteers in the 'sixties
in Government House Grounds.*



*Captain J. R. Fairfax (Sir
James) in the days of
the Volunteer Rifles.*



*The sham naval attack on Sydney on April 12,
1881, was a great event. Fifteen thousand people
witnessed it from Government House Grounds.*



A group of diggers, including a number of Chinamen, held up by Morgan the bushranger, one of the most callous of these desperadoes.



The shooting of Sergeant Parry by Gilbert, one of the Ben Hall gang, in their attack on the Gundagai coach in December, 1864.

on the cricket field. It is also worthy of notice that in January, 1835, two matches took place between an eleven of "Australians" or "Sons of Australia," and a team consisting entirely of "Immigrants." The "Australians" easily won both.

Before leaving the subject of cricket, it may be as well to mention that the first "intercolonial" match played in Australia took place between New South Wales and Victoria at the end of March, 1856, in Melbourne, and the *HERALD* of the 1st April devotes nearly two columns to a description of the game, from which it appears that New South Wales won "with three wickets to go down." With two breaks, one of which occurred in 1864, as the result of a dispute between the cricket authorities of the rival colonies, and the other during the years of the Great War, these contests have taken place annually ever since this inaugural match of 1856.

In the realm of athletics, foot-racing and jumping contests seem to have monopolised the attention of the sportsmen of the day. Foot-racing, indeed, was particularly popular; and the papers devote considerable space to advertising and recording these events during a period of some years. Later on their powers of attraction waned, to be revived again about forty years ago, when, indeed, the popularity of professional pedestrianism in Australia probably reached the highest point in its history. But the runners of the 'thirties and 'forties were not satisfied with the methods of progression usually adopted in pedestrian contests. They were ever on the look-out for something novel—and to book a wager on it. Thus, on the 16th February, 1835, the *HERALD* gravely devotes a paragraph to the description of a match between two men who had a wager of £1 to race each other backwards and blindfold a distance of two hundred yards. On another occasion (11th February, 1841), the paper chronicles the attempt of a man named King to walk from Smith's public house at Parramatta to the Commercial Wharf, Sydney, in less time than the steamer "Australia" took to do the run. King covered the distance in 2 hours 25 minutes, but the steamer arrived at the Sydney wharf three minutes before him. In May, 1832, a jumping match took place between two rival "leppers" for £5 a side. Each man was allowed three jumps, and the winner cleared 32 feet 5 inches. Finally, so far as this section of our subject is concerned, we may mention that on the 8th May, 1834, the *HERALD* informed a doubtlessly interested public that "a foot-race took place on the Surry Hills on Monday by two sons of Crispian named Welch and Farrell, one of whom has the misfortune to have a wooden leg. The distance to be run was 100 yards, of which the wooden leg man was to have a start of 10 yards. The wager was decided in favour of the latter." It is clear that Long John Silver had a competent rival in this energetic and victorious cobbler.

It is only by a stretch of the term that ploughing can be included in the category of sports; but the stretching is apparently justified in the case of the ploughing matches which took place in the 'thirties and which seem to have been exceedingly popular. We need only refer definitely to that one sample of these contests which is reported in the *HERALD* of the 24th June, 1834. The paper informs us that "The Annual Ploughing Match" at Sutton Forest was very successful, there being sixteen competitors. The competition was under the patronage of Henry Badgery, Esq., of Spring Grove, and took place on Mr. Charles Wright's farm. The event seems to have attracted a large gathering of spectators, and was made the occasion for the usual hearty festivities.

We have already referred to the generally degrading nature of the "sports" indulged in by a different class from that whose recreations we have so far been following, and have quoted a reference to a "cow-bating" episode as an example. Here is another reference, taken from the *HERALD* of 17th May, 1832:

"A bull-bait took place on the Parramatta Road, on Monday last, which was attended by a strong muster of the Fanciers, anxious to witness the performances of their favourite Tykes. Several good dogs were let go at the bull's head, but he tossed nearly the whole of them with the greatest ease and indifference. The animal was allowed, by good judges, to be the best that was ever baited in the Colony; the prize, which consisted of a brass collar, on which was inscribed an emblematical device, was won by Mr. Hudson's dog 'Ruffy,' being the second time he has borne away the prize. At the conclusion of the bull-bait, a fight took place between Jacques, a native youth, and a Bristolian, which terminated fatally for the latter. After a sharp contest of forty rounds, the Bristolian was compelled to strike, and in the course of a few hours afterwards breathed his last. The principal parties have been committed to take their trials at the Supreme Court for manslaughter."

These prize-fighting contests were of common occurrence, and often were even more protracted than the one just mentioned. They not infrequently had the same fatal conclusion, for they were usually with the bare knuckles, and were continued until one or other of the contestants was either knocked out or so exhausted or injured that he was unable to continue. At the conclusion of the paragraph we have just quoted, there is an announcement that a fight was to take place on the following Monday "between John Cosgrove, an Australian youth and Tom the Brewer, for £50 a side. . . . A good mill is anticipated by the fancy, both of the men being well known in the P.R." But the "fancy's" anticipations were not realised, as the authorities interfered and prevented the contest "in consequence of the two late fatal pugilistic encounters." However, the ban on the "sport" seems to have been very quickly removed; for on the 6th September of the same year we read that a thousand people had witnessed a 25-round fight for £50 a side between Jackson and Davis on a flat near the Duck River Bridge, a few days previously. The paper described the affair as "a stand-up manly mill, there being none of that 'pulley-hauley' usual in the prize-ring of this Colony." It may be gathered from this—and from a number of similar expressions to be found in the paper about this time—that the proprietors of the *HERALD* did not find these fights greatly abhorrent to their sense of decency and decorum. But a change of opinion, if not among the public, at least in the paper, becomes evident a few years later. For, on the 1st September, 1836, the leading article is devoted to a strong attack upon "these disgusting and degrading exhibitions," and the writer affirms that "Public boxing for the amusement (?) of a mob never yet existed but in a vulgar mind." The public affection for these contests is proved, however, by a *HERALD* paragraph in the issue of 22nd October, 1832, which states that "a fight for the Championship of Australia," between two men named Chalker and Kable, for £100 a side, had taken place on the Windsor Road a few days previously, in the presence of 5,000 people. The contest went to the 31st round, lasting an hour and thirty-five minutes, and was won by Chalker. That this popularity was retained by the sport for many years is also shown by a paragraph in the *HERALD* of the 24th October, 1844, contributed by "Our Parramatta Correspondent." The paragraph states that a pugilistic encounter had recently taken place in that district, at day-break, between George Hough and a man known as "Haddy-Gaddy." "Upwards of forty rounds were fought, when Hough, with a tremendous blow on the loins, left his antagonist senseless."

The *HERALD* by this time was thoroughly aroused against the sport, and took every opportunity of attacking it. Thus, on the 20th February, 1846, it states that "one of those inhuman and beastly exhibitions styled a prize fight" had just been held on the North Shore for £100 a side; and on the 10th April, in the following year, it devoted a leading article to a condemnation of those who participated in these "degrading entertainments," which had recently become so common. The article is written with so appro-

priate an indignation and, moreover, it so demonstrates to what an extent the allurements of the prize fight had captured the public mind, that we quote freely from its honest condemnations. The fight on which the article was based had taken place between two men of huge stature and girth, it had run for no less than sixty-eight rounds (!) of hard hitting and had been the cause of very heavy betting among all classes. Here is the HERALD's castigation:

Of the few remnants of English barbarism which Englishmen still disgrace themselves by retaining, none can compare in point of senselessness and brutality, with that of prize-fighting. As chroniclers of passing events, we had the other day to record the occurrence of one of these scandalous outrages in the neighbourhood of Sydney; and they have of late occurred so frequently and their preliminary arrangements have been made with such brazen-faced openness and publicity, that it now becomes our duty to comment upon them with the feelings of disgust and abhorrence with which they must be regarded by all who deserve the name of either Christians or gentlemen.

Cock-fighting, bull-baiting, and such like precious entertainments of the ring, are sufficiently contemptible; but between them and this prize-fighting there is all the difference between abusing the instinct of brutes and degrading the dignity of human nature. Even duelling, we had almost said, is less detestable than this. At any rate, it can plead the stern demands of the laws of honour, and the fearful penalty which is its only earthly alternative; while prize-fighting has no plea, no excuse, but the gratification of the basest passions—the pandering to all that is low and vile in the most corrupt forms of humanity. . . . We hold that all who abet or connive at this degrading practice, are guilty of one of the gravest offences against society. They are assisting to undo everything that education is doing—to sap the very foundations of public morals, and of our civil and religious liberties. And we are sorry to learn that, even amongst what are called our “respectable” classes, abettors are not wanting. Men of property—men of education—men of good fame and repute—and some even bearing Her Majesty's commission as conservators of the peace—were seen, we are informed, hastening on Tuesday last to the scene of a bloody combat between “The Champion of Port Phillip” and “The Champion of New South Wales!” We blushed to hear it—we blush to write it. Shame—shame upon them!

But we have a word to say to another class of men—a class who are employed and paid by the community for the express purpose of defending us, to the utmost of their power, from all such scandalous outrages. Where—we ask—where were the police when so many hundreds or thousands of people were flocking to Middle Harbour? That they must have been aware of the intended fight, our reliance upon their sagacity compels us to believe. It is not to be supposed that what was so well known to all the world besides, could have been unknown to them. That would argue a want of vigilance, of sharp looking-out, which would be discreditable to any police corps in the Queen's dominions. If, then, we give them credit for having made a proper use of their ears and eyes, what shall we say to their having made no use of their *authority*? Why did they not *act* upon their information? Why did they not, at all events, do their *best* to prevent the unlawful gathering, and, failing prevention, to bring some of the ring-leaders to justice?

The reference to cock-fighting in the foregoing article enables us to make some appropriate reference to this further and last example of the demoralising sports of the time. Cocking, as it was called, was of frequent occurrence throughout nearly the whole of the period we have been reviewing; but in the beginning of the early 'fifties it began to fall into that disfavour from which, fortunately, it has never since, except for slight sporadic re-appearances, emerged. In the 'thirties, however, it seems to have provided one of the main attractions of the week-end and the holiday, and the references to it in the HERALD's files are common enough. We quote of these, two of an early date, the third of so late a one as to show that the sport almost emulated Charles II. in the unconscionable slowness of its dying. On July 5th, 1832, we read that “On Monday last a main of seven cocks was fought for a bet of 100 guineas, between two officers of the garrison. . . . A great many attended and bets flew briskly about.” On June 3rd of the following year the paper announces, as with a touch of disappointment, that “Only one cocking match of three birds has taken place during Christmas, and that for the trifling

sum of £25." The third reference is to be found in the issue of the 10th September, 1850; and takes the form of a letter from a correspondent signing himself "An Inhabitant of Redfern." The writer complains that "the respectable inhabitants of the Redfern Estate are constantly compelled to witness disgraceful exhibitions of cock-fighting and dog-fighting, with profane accompaniments," and appeals to the authorities to put a stop to them.

It is clear, knowing the character of John Fairfax, as his reputation and the records reveal it, that the attractions which such recreations as these held for the general community of the Colony, must have given him grief, both as a citizen and as a man. In particular, the constant desecration of the Sabbath filled him with righteous anger. And yet, that his paper could be reasonable and logical upon a subject so near his heart, the leading article of the 21st August, 1841, may be cited to prove. It carries the caption, "The Sabbath Observance Report," and it is only necessary to premise that it was proposed to enforce rigid observation of the Sabbath by law. In brief, this what the "leader" said:

"Without entering into the more comprehensive question of State interference with religion in general, we rest our objection to such interference in the present instance upon two practical grounds; namely, the diversity of opinion as to the nature and extent of Sabbath obligations, and the consequent impossibility of carrying out any legislative measure which should propose to enforce those obligations upon principles strictly religious. The diversity of opinion we refer to, is that which obtains among men bearing the epithet of Christian, who form the vast majority of the Queen's British subjects. . . . What power on earth could compel these eccentric bodies to move in any one prescribed orbit? By what stretch of legislative ingenuity could their opinions be consolidated on the question before us—the religious obligations of the Sabbath? The extremes of those opinions may perhaps be thus described: the extreme of laxity is the notion, that to attend a place of worship once on the Lord's Day is quite sufficient, the other parts of the day, being open to innocent recreation. . . . The extreme rigour insists upon a strict interdiction, from the first to the last moment of the Sabbath hours, of the speaking of your own words, or the thinking of your own thoughts; the morning, the afternoon, and the evening must be sacred to public worship and the rest of the day to devout reading and meditation in the closet. . . . Now it is perfectly obvious that no law for compelling a religious observance of the Sabbath could meet both these sets of Christian consciences. A law that would satisfy the first set would be anathematised by the second as a license for Sabbath profanation, whilst a law that should satisfy the second would be execrated by the first as a fanatical invasion of personal liberty. A law that should go on the trimming principle, in the hopes of satisfying both classes, would satisfy neither, but be despised by both. And it would, moreover, be morally base; for if it at all dealt with the question as a *religious* one, its enactments must submit implicitly to the authority of Scripture, regardless of the acceptance they would meet among men. . . . It follows that any such coercive enactment would be a dead letter. If our law-makers lay hands upon the spiritual sword, and attempt to cut and prick men into the paths of religion, they will just make themselves a public laughing-stock, and do no manner of good to the sacred cause they profess to vindicate. The days of parliamentary preachment have long since passed away. . . . Penal laws may make hypocrites in abundance, but they never did and never will make good Christians. . . . Once admit the principle of coercing men to the performance of duties purely religious . . . and you revive the old barbarous doctrine of persecution for conscience' sake.

"No, it will not do. The more our legislators attempt to grapple with this question, the more they will find it to be a hedge of thorns. They can make nothing of it. They had better let it alone. The Church of Christ is the best, the *only* competent conservator, of the spirituality of the Lord's Day. All that human law can do is to *keep the civil peace*. The true principle is this: Where any act is of such a nature as to render it manifest that it can be done on a Sunday *only at the expense of the public repose*—that it constitutes an unequivocal nuisance—it undeniably amounts to a breach of the Sabbath, and should therefore be prohibited by law. On this ground the Council will have sure footing; if they step beyond it they will assuredly flounder in the mire."

Apart altogether from the questions of religion and temperance, the proprietors of the *HERALD* were also considerably disturbed about this period, not only in regard to the lack of culture exhibited by the Australian community as a whole, but also—and, indeed still more—by the apparent absence of all desire to supply that lack. The youth of the country and the difficulties in the way of supplying good mental pabulum were fully recognised, and due allowance was made for them; but nothing, it seemed to the *HERALD*, could excuse the general failure to recognise the absence of culture in the community, nor the general agreement to leave the deficiency unsatisfied. The paper expressed its feelings very strongly on several occasions; but we need only refer to two leading articles headed “The Intellectual Barrenness of New South Wales.” The first appeared in the issue of the 12th March, 1847, and runs thus:

“A perusal of a very interesting recent work, *viz.*, *Travels in North America, etc.*, by Charles Lyell, Esq., has set us reflecting upon many things mentioned by the author. The picture which he draws of the commercial and industrial prosperity of the United States and British North American Colonies, is, perhaps, not so strikingly comparable with what the records of New South Wales, a Colony of much later origin, and even, in some respects, more precocious growth, can exhibit, as that which places before us the literary and scientific advancement of our trans-Atlantic brethren, when compared with the absolute nothingness which distinguishes the mental characteristics of Australia as a nation.

“So far as the growth of wool, or the production of tallow, or the increase of illicit spirits may go—so far as the consumption of tobacco and brandy and rum may be taken as items in the history of our advancement, no doubt New South Wales exhibits a remarkable development of indefatigable perseverance. But besides her newspapers, what has she done—or what is she doing for the republic of letters? Is there one single institution in existence which may be called national? Is there one single publication which is exclusively devoted to the assertion of the dignity or the enterprise of our people as an intellectual, or educated or inquiring people, beyond the sphere of gossiping, politics, and squabbles? . . .

“Viewing the progress of the intellectual enquiry in the United States as something *sui generis*, and recollecting the immense crowd of writers, poets, historians, and savants, which the United States have produced, we really blush to think that this Colony has not been able to exhibit one single public school worthy of the name; that those institutions which were once set on foot to serve as such, have, with scarcely an exception, fallen into decay or lassitude; and that no society exists which may be called in any sense national; that not even a periodical, save a newspaper, is able to maintain more than an ephemeral existence; and that there is not one solitary channel in which the interesting facts of scientific enquiry, agricultural experiment or mechanical ingenuity, can be handed down to our children, registered for reference, or conveyed to other nations as a proof and evidence that this great and ambitious Colony has yet been emancipated from convict indifference, or the fumes of rum and tobacco.”

That this stern indictment was based on a correct estimate of the facts may be admitted; but it evidently created considerable disapproval. For, eleven days later, the paper returned to the charge:

“Perhaps some of our remarks may have been deemed harsh, and, withal, not altogether fair. . . Our object, however, was not to disparage Australia, but to excite her emulation, by contrast with America; and it would be unfair to assume what does not exist, merely to give a colouring which would in the end only mislead. Unquestionably New South Wales has made great progress in many things useful and creditable to herself; but we still maintain that she has done but little for herself in the particular provinces to which our previous remarks had reference. . . .

“That our view is not an exaggerated one is easily proved by an investigation of past endeavours of the various sections of the community to work out for themselves a better condition of affairs. There have been periodicals published in the Colony devoted to literature and to science, if such the smattering they displayed can so be denominated. Why have they ceased to flourish? There have been societies formed, one of which did produce a collection of essays, which even to this day . . . are deeply interesting. . . . Why did that Society perish? Why has every effort to revive a similar society failed? Why is it, that with such a prospect before them, our naturalists and physicists have publicly done nothing? In short, our geographers, travellers,

meteorologists, geologists, botanists, entomologists and conchologists, separated into sections of one or two, have laboured and studied for the love of science, but who is the better for it all? . . . These allusions we do not now make invidiously or to excite offence, or to deal unkindly with our Australian public. But do not they touch the truth? Why should we not have a philosophical or naturalists' society, patronised by Government, which would collect the matter now idly neglected, or wilfully despised, and publish it at public expense? And why cannot some of the orators in Council . . . get up a little vigorous patriotism on behalf of the neglected state of learning in these ovine and taurine regions? Why cannot, at any rate, those who are now labouring in retirement and seclusion meet and combine their energies—and put their shoulders to the wheel in earnest, undeterred by past apathy and encouraged by hope, and let in a little light upon our benighted brains?

"We know that Messrs. Macarthur did a long time ago project an association which was to a certain extent to assist in this good work—why did that association share the fate of the addled egg? If the truth be spoken, because, as we have hinted above, the public "careth for none of these things." Self—self—self is at the top, at the bottom, and in the middle of the barrel. *Public* mind is not in existence here. Everything is sectarian or schismatic and one-sided, save one thing . . . *quocunque modo rem.*

"There is no unity of design in other respects—no pulling together—no desire, whatever the cant may be, to 'Advance Australia.'"

Some three years later one at least of the deficiencies complained of by the *HERALD* was remedied; for in the issue of the 14th February, 1850, there is a report recording the formation of a Philosophical Society in Sydney, and outlining its objects. Considering the outbursts which we have just quoted, the *HERALD* received the intimation of the formation of this Society with an indifference which might appear strange, were it not perhaps explained by the President's opening speech. This address was sent to the paper for publication—"no reporters having been present"—and a perusal of it seems to show that the aims of the society were much more commercial than philosophical. Gradually through the years—and largely in the 'fifties and 'sixties, many of the other blots upon the Australian intellectual escutcheon which had been remarked upon by the *HERALD* were expunged, and the opening of the University in 1852 (a matter to which detailed reference is made in that section of this history which deals with the activities of the *HERALD* in the field of education) went far to answer the indictment laid in the articles we have just quoted. It must also be said that, in framing that indictment, the paper overlooked one item on the credit side which it might very well have mentioned. And that was the architecture inaugurated by Greenway under Macquarie, and known as the "Old Colonial Style," an architecture which gave to the Colony a number of private and public buildings of which any community might reasonably be proud.

Let us turn to more material affairs. The water supply of Sydney, at the time of the founding of the *HERALD*, was, and had been since 1792, mainly derived from the old Tank Stream (so called from the fact that, in the year mentioned, Governor Phillip caused tanks to be excavated in the bed of the small stream which ran through the town into Sydney Cove); and had in consequence been gradually becoming less and less fitted, by reason of pollution and inadequacy of supply, for the wants of the growing city. In 1837 an important change was made, which is thus referred to in the issue of the 1st May, 1837:

"After years of application, Mr. Busby has succeeded in bringing water to Sydney; and although the outer end of the tunnel has not been carried so far as the swamps to which it was originally intended to carry it, so great is the quantity of water which has already been obtained that the pipes in King Street are obliged to be nightly opened in order to allow of the escape of the hundreds of tons of surplus water. We mention this at this particular time, for the purpose of expressing a hope that the rumour of the Government's intention to lay a Bill before the Council at its ensuing sitting, authorising pipes to be laid down to the houses in all the streets where the main pipes are laid down, at a certain rate per anum, is correct."

The swamps referred to in the foregoing paragraph were situated on the site of the present Centennial Park; and the water obtained from them by Busby was found sufficient to supply the wants of the city for twenty years. In 1858, pumping engines were installed at the swamps at Botany and mains were laid therefrom to the city. It was not until 1888, when the population of Sydney had grown to about 300,000 souls, that the Botany supply was abandoned and the new Nepean scheme, which, with amendments and additions, still stands, was initiated in its place.

The pollution of the Tank Stream has already been referred to; and as the years passed it became increasingly evident that some drastic steps would have to be taken to close it in, in order to avoid the infection and danger which it represented. It had become practically an open sewer, and provided a handy place for the deposit of filth by those citizens who lived near its banks and who could not be restrained from availing themselves of its contiguity in this deplorable way. It was not until well into the 'fifties, however, that the nuisance was put an end to, and the stream built over and closed. What it was like immediately prior to this action being taken we may gather from the following extract, taken from the issue of the *HERALD* of the 16th March, 1850. The extract states that the term "stream" had long been a misnomer. "For years there has been no stream except after heavy rains. It has been, in fact, dried up, with the exception of the drainage from the yards of premises facing Pitt and George Streets. To the surprise of many persons, the stream has again been running for weeks; the water, when raised in a glass, is much clearer than that selling about Sydney at a penny the bucket. The party who has drawn attention to the circumstances inquires—Does this arise from the opening of some spring, or is it the leakage from the pipes which supply the houses? . . ."

To which query the following day, a drily practical correspondent, signing himself "Inspector," replied that probably the phenomenon was caused by neither of the suggested causes, but simply by the fact that the slaughter houses, which formerly had been taking up the stream water and depositing their sewage in its place, had recently, as result of the operation of the Slaughter House Bill, been compelled to refrain from this practice, with the result that the water was now flowing past the slaughter-houses with little interruption or contamination. Whether this was indeed the cause of the sudden revival of the "stream" there is not further evidence to show; but what a picture of the city of those days "Inspector's" letter suggests! Slaughter houses within the city boundaries depositing their refuse and sewage in an open drain, which thereafter meandered at its leisure through the main streets to the harbour! Is it any wonder that the *HERALD* should declare that a period must be put to the abomination? But, despite the paper's outcry, and the support which it surely must have received from the saner portion of the community, several years elapsed before the nuisance was abated; for we find the issue of the 3rd August, 1852, calling attention to the disgraceful state of the stream, which, the paper said, was rapidly filling up as a result of the practice which still prevailed of "throwing ashes, sweepings and filth of very kind into its bed."

We have many paintings and drawings of the Sydney of those days, many of them crude and unreliable; and one would give much, therefore, to be able now to examine "a model of Sydney made by a Mr. Francis Lowe," which, according to the *HERALD* of the 8th June, 1841, was then being exhibited in a building in Hyde Park. The notice goes on to say that the proprietors of the model intended taking it to England for exhibition there; but there the record ends, and we have no knowledge of the model's subsequent fate.

A feature of the city which has been familiar enough to its citizens for many decades is the "Argyle Cut," which provides a thoroughfare from Lower George Street to the Miller's Point area. But few, possibly, know that the *HERALD* was, if not actually the "onlie begetter" of this traffic-easer, at least responsible for suggesting its construction. A tunnel had been projected; but the difficulties and cost of such a work proved insuperable; whereupon the *HERALD*, in its issue of the 9th February, 1835, suggested that "the difficulties which have stood in the way of the projected tunnel to effect a passage from the wharf through Argyle Street to the rapidly improving portion of the town called Darling Harbour, might be obviated by cutting through the existing impediments to the depth of about 30 feet. A good road would be thereby constructed and the necessity for a 'tunnel' removed." And this was exactly what was eventually done, with the result that the *HERALD*'s prognostication as to a good road being then constructable was proved to be true.

It was in the early 'forties that Circular Quay first began to evolve from project to accomplishment. Under the heading of "Domestic Intelligence," the *HERALD* of the 28th September, 1840, publishes details of a scheme for the formation of the Quay, and outlines the proposals for the purchase of the properties abutting on the Tank Stream, which such a scheme would render necessary. On the 20th February, 1844, we read that "the wharf from Fort Macquarie as far as what hitherto has been termed the Government Jetty, is now nearly complete, and it is a matter of regret that any obstacle should be thrown in the way of its being carried on to the other side of the Cove. The shed for sheltering cargo is excellently adapted for the purpose. Some may think the structure of too expensive a kind, but it will last for years. . . . The new Customs House is beginning to show itself above the foundations." On the 29th October, 1844, the paper devoted its leading article to "The Circular Quay Improvements," and referred in enthusiastic terms to "the formation of this splendid Quay," and classed the work, together with "the new Government House," as "the most important improvements" of the day. The first sale of the Circular Quay allotments—that is to say, the allotments fronting the Quay and formed by the resumptions and reclamations necessitated by its construction—was held on the 14th August, 1845, and the *HERALD*, in an anticipatory notice of the event, expressed a hope "that there would be no reckless speculators mad enough to run up this land much above the upset price." As the upset price was £10 per foot, the modesty of the paper's desires is apparent. As a matter of fact, the upset price was surpassed, in at least one case, by a considerable amount, and in others, by a fair margin. We learn from the account of the sale which subsequently appeared, that the allotment next to the Customs House brought £17/10/- per foot, while three allotments opposite the Quay were sold for £12 per foot. The remainder of the lots sold just reached the upset.

Attention naturally turns from the Quay to the North Shore. To-day the gap that lies between them is about to be closed: soon the long hoped for, long talked of, Harbour Bridge will be a thing of actual fact. How long it has been hoped for and talked of we all know, but few would expect to find that "a floating bridge" was proposed and seriously considered over ninety years ago. The scheme is first mentioned in a letter published in the *HERALD* of the 3rd January, 1840; the prospectus is advertised three days later; and the general principles of the proposal, together with the details of the formation of the Company, are set out in two paragraphs appearing respectively in the issues of the 24th January and 14th February of the same year. It is true that we find, on closer scrutiny, that this "floating bridge" was but another term for one of those



SYDNEY FROM VAUCLUSE, 1864.

This view is a good example of the work of Conrad Martens, and shows the peculiar softness of his treatment.

[From the painting by Conrad Martens in the William Dixon collection.]

vehicular punts or ferries with which everyone is now familiar. But, nevertheless, the usage of the term and the implication which follows from that usage, give the reference a more than passing interest.

There is nothing to show that anything very definite was done in the matter, beyond the flotation of a company to carry the project into effect; but, as some twelve months later the first boat of the North Shore Ferry Service (which has since attained to such gigantic proportions) was launched, it is probable that the "floating bridge" design was abandoned in favour of an ordinary ferry service. The following references to the launch of this pioneer among trans-harbour ferries are of interest. They are taken from the issues of the 25th and 26th March, 1841:

"The Ferry Company.—The first ferry boat of this company is to be launched this morning at about ten o'clock from Buddivant's Wharf, Balmain. She is said by competent judges to be built in a most workmanlike manner, and to be admirably adapted for the traffic she is intended for. Her main deck is sufficiently capacious to receive carriages, drays, horses, and lumber and live stock of every description; and on each side there runs a snug gallery for passengers. The steam engine is expected, through the house of W. Walker & Co., to arrive in the course of May or June, when she will immediately begin plying, and will doubtless cause an extraordinary rise in the value of the North Shore property."

"Steam Ferry.—The ferry boat built for the purpose of communicating with the North Shore was launched yesterday from the yard of Mr. Buddivant, of Balmain. She was named the Princess, being the first vessel launched in the Colony since the arrival of the news of the birth of a Princess Royal. Captain Stanley, of H.M.S. Britomart, named her as she gracefully slipped into the water, amidst the cheers of the assembled multitude. She appears very calculated to answer the views of the company, and the directors expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the work. The engines are shortly expected, and by the commencement of next summer we hope to see her placed regularly on the berth."

The anticipation of the HERALD that, in consequence of the initiation of this service across the harbour, there would be "a great rise in North Shore property" was justified. A brisk demand for residential sites almost immediately followed, and the boom continued for a considerable period. But, unfortunately, it appears that the advantages of the locality were perceived by others than desiring purchasers; for in the issue of the 22nd November, 1841, the HERALD informs us that "this extensive district is fast becoming a resort for thieves and runaways." However, there could be no stopping the legitimate progress of so desirable an area, and the following extracts, taken from an article in the HERALD of the 10th March, 1842, show plainly how greatly the facilities provided by the ferry had awakened the anticipations of the community with regard to the delights and advantages of the North Shore. The article is noteworthy, too, for its descriptive touches, giving us a lively picture—its effect greatly heightened by its contrast with that which the district presents to-day—of an area which, when the article was written, was almost unvisited and unknown. It must be remembered that the steam ferry was even at this time not actually in operation; although its advent was close at hand: and it is also to be noted that, although the new facility was clearly an ordinary steam ferry service, the HERALD still speaks of it metaphorically as a "bridge" or "floating bridge" across the harbour:

"Few undertakings have promised so many advantages to the town of Sydney, as that of connecting it with the North Shore by means of a steam ferry boat. Health, pleasure, convenience and economy, will all be promoted by this useful arrangement. The drives about Sydney are now so few and so monotonous, that the citizens justly complain of the little inducement there is to quit its dusty streets in quest of air and exercise; but when they can thus easily pass over from Dawes Point to North Shore, where they will be as completely in the *country*, and as effectually secluded from the noise of 'the great Babel' as if they were among the Blue Mountains, this ground of dissatisfaction will have been entirely removed. . . .

"The heights of the North Shore will doubtless be ere long thronged with horsemen and gay equipages; and a ride to Bradley's Head before breakfast, and between office hours and dinner, will be a more fashionable excursion than to Rose Bay. For those who seek recreation in a more leisurely and holiday form, the hotel, the tea garden, the cricket ground, the bowling green, and the bathing house will successively spring up for their accommodation and amusement. When rural pleasures are brought so to their very doors, the care-worn townsfolk will gladly embrace them: while the growing demand for such enjoyments will make it the interests of others to provide the means, and to increase the attraction.

"One very substantial benefit which this ferry will confer upon the inhabitants of Sydney will be that it will tend to reduce that enormous tax upon their incomes, house rent. This tax has now risen to so intolerable a height, bearing no manner of proportion to the means of general family subsistence, that any expedient for diminishing its pressure will be accepted as a merciful boon. Such a boon will be derived from the extension of dwelling houses on the North Shore, which must naturally result from its becoming connected with the town by means of a floating bridge."

To the advance and appearance of the city itself numberless articles and paragraphs in the files refer. But, despite the increase of municipal and social amenities—perhaps, indeed, as an essential result of them—there were many dark spots upon the brightness of Sydney's growth. Its rookeries and slums, those festering and malignant sores which infect the health of almost every metropolis, were far from being unknown to the chief city of Australia. The *HERALD* had often to draw attention to the evil which they represented, to the blot they laid upon the reputation of the community, and on the 24th January, 1853, there appeared a lengthy paragraph on "The Rookeries of Sydney" from which we well may quote:

"The Rookeries of Sydney.—No part of Sydney is so well paved as George Street South. A broad macadamized carriage road and well appointed foot pavement, greet the eye of the rural denizen of our distant plains of pasturage as he enters the city by Parramatta Street; and (if a stranger) he gazes at the handsomely built houses, the richly furnished stores and shops, and certainly does not connect squalid misery and a depraved population with this part of our metropolis. But let us suppose him to enter one of the houses; we will say, for a reason we shall presently explain, the Woolpack Inn, for the purpose of making arrangements for the reception of his wool teams. He finds an extensive range of stabling, large yards and all the accommodations which this and various other inns in this locality afford to their welcome visitors from the squattages; but he finds also that he is in the immediate vicinity of one of those rookeries, those haunts of destitution and misery, which still survive in Sydney by their very isolation, by their retention of past anomalies, and sad memorials. A few days ago, at the request of Mr. Stewart, the landlord of the Woolpack Inn, a gentleman from this office went over the ground at the rear of the stack of buildings of which his house forms one; and he found that the whole of the drainage from the junction of Pitt and Goulburn Streets, including that rookery of dens which few can investigate, Durand's Alley, is left to find its way to the low ground in George Street South, without the slightest means being provided to carry it away. It has been in vain that a strong stone wall was built by the proprietor of these houses with the view of staying the flood of filth which continually pours down from Durand's Alley. The poisonous flood will find its level, and, making its way under the wall, spouts its filth in all directions. Standing upon this wall, you see at one glance the broad, busy streets and its backgrounds of wretchedness. On the one side, every luxury and comfort—or the other, abject misery, the haunt of destitution, the impure atmosphere of a plague spot. Such are the features to which the attention of our reporter was drawn; and much is it to be deplored that they are not confined to this locality, but that many other of the handsomest portions of Sydney, now making pretensions to street architecture of a very high class, are but so many screens for filth, disease, and wretchedness; that their finest buildings are flanked by what may prove foul grave-yards."

It is interesting to mark the advance in the wages and general conditions of the working classes during this period; although we can make but the briefest allusion to the subject. Two references there are, however, which it is advisable to quote, if only for the purpose of showing how the wage-scale rose in consequence of the outbreak of the gold-fever. The *HERALD* of the 28th November, 1838, referring to the diffi-

culty experienced at the time in getting men to work upon the wharves, loading and unloading cargo, states that "owners and masters are giving as much as 3/6 per day, with rations and grog to boot." This was clearly, from the wording of the paragraph, an exceptionally high wage; and, in fact, we find that it rose very little higher until the end of the 'forties. But mark the sudden jump when the "roaring 'fifties" came along, with their excitement and consequent reckless abandonment of the common round! The *HERALD* of the 18th September, 1852, shows, in a list of the wages being paid to various classes of workers—or offered, for even so great a "rise" failed often to allure the desired help—that wharf labourers were receiving from 10/- to 12/- per day, and were often given their meals in addition. When we recall the difference between the purchasing power of money then and now, the true magnitude of the increase becomes at once apparent. From this same list we learn that stonemasons received 8/- to 8/6 per day; carpenters and joiners, 7/- to 9/-; bricklayers, 8/- to 8/6; masons and bricklayers' labourers, 7/- to 8/-; plasterers, 8/- to 9/-; painters and glaziers, 8/6 to 9/-; blacksmiths, 9/- to 10/-; wheelwrights, 10/6 to 12/-; millers, 10/- to 15/-; and shipwrights, 12/6 to 15/-. It was, indeed, and very literally, the golden age for the labourer and the craftsman.

Although we have not found a similar detailed list giving the wages of domestic servants and agricultural labourers, evidence is easily implied, from the general tenor of the references to the subject, that they also shared, although in nothing like so marked a degree, in the harvest of the gold boom. Naturally, female domestics, to whom the gold-fields were unavailable, could not make those Tom Tiddler's grounds the ready excuse for refusing work unless exorbitantly paid for it, which was so favoured by the workers of the sterner sex. But, nevertheless, they shared to some extent in the general improvement in labour conditions; for if the gold-fields did not make them scarce, the diggers did. Never was there such an orgy of marrying and giving in marriage! It almost seems, on reading the records of those hectic years, that it became a point of honour for every successful gold hunter—and for quite a number of unsuccessful ones, too, for that matter—to seek out the nearest unappropriated female of the species and marry her out of hand. The attractions of a husband with "money to burn"—a phrase which in those queer days could not seldom be construed literally, seeing that many of the diggers, out of pure swagger, would light their pipes with a five-pound note—were naturally irresistible to the majority of the domestic servants who had the luck to receive a proposal. For, despite the increase in their wages, the rates of pay, immediately before the boom, were so miserably small that even an advance of 100 per cent. would weigh but little in the scale against the golden possibilities of such a marriage. The same comment as to the rates of wages, applies to agricultural labourers. From the *HERALD* of the 1st September, 1849,—that is to say, just a little over a year before Hargraves's momentous discovery—we find that "the current wages, food and lodging being provided by employers, are farm labourers, £17 to £30 per annum; shepherds, £15 to £28; female cooks, £15 to £25; and other female domestic servants, £9 to £25."

In view of the great interest which the Fairfax proprietary has ever taken in bettering the conditions of the seamen of the port—an interest which was peculiarly active in the founder of the firm—considerable interest attaches to a fine article advocating the establishment of a Sailor's Home in Sydney, which appeared on the 27th May, 1839. A few days after its appearance a largely attended meeting was held at the "Mechanics' School of Arts"—as the institution was then invariably called—and the project was suc-

cessfully launched. Over £200 was subscribed on the spot, and from that day to this the Sailors' Home in Sydney has exerted its ameliorating influence upon the austere lot of the sailors of these seas.

A feature of the old files curiously attractive to a modern reader, is to be found in the many references which they make to the land sales in the various districts of the Colony. Knowing these districts as they are to-day, and noting the prices at which their allotments and subdivisions sold then, we are apt to exclaim regretfully at the opportunities our forefathers missed. What fortunes would have been ours, we sigh, if they had but had the common sense to see how values must increase; and had bought accordingly. But, although it is true that in the vast majority of cases the lands in Sydney and its suburbs brought prices that justify these regrets, it must not be forgotten that there is another side to the picture. Much money could have been made, doubtless, if the right lands had been bought; and much money undoubtedly was so made. But much money was lost, too. Many of the sales which were held, and at which our grandfathers scrambled for the bargains which they deemed were offered them in view of the thriving settlements that they were assured would rise there, turned out to be but useless and unprofitable speculations. They are still, some of them, almost as valueless as they were then; the anticipated settlements have not arrived, the lands are still little more than waste.

It is of interest to note the HERALD's attitude towards the "high prices" that it alleged were being unfairly obtained from credulous buyers by the specious land-agents of the time. Shortly after the purchase of the paper by Kemp and Fairfax, *viz.*, on the 17th March, 1841, there is, for instance, a typical leading article, on this "rage for buying land." That there had been considerable gambling in land is certain; but that much of the selling was legitimate is equally sure. Unfortunately, the sharp methods of the get-rich-quick speculators became so open and so constant that their evil leavened the whole lump, with the result that the proprietors of the HERALD believed it to be their duty to condemn the business of land-speculation in general, as being the root of the financial troubles of the settlement. It had on a previous occasion (February 20th, 1837) attacked the system, then much in vogue, of disposing of land by means of lotteries; and therefore its consistency upon this later date, cannot be questioned. The article of the 17th March, 1841, is headed "Land Lotteries," and we quote from it as follows:

"Some recent proceedings in the Supreme Court, which have been reported in our columns, have served as a most instructive comment on the embarrassments of the Colony. With everything to flatter our best hopes: favourable seasons, exuberant crops, remunerating prices for our great staple, and an active commerce—a disinterested observer might wonder where lay the secret cause of that violent panic which, during the last six months, has seized upon all classes of the community, and upon every branch of industry. . . .

"And how, it has been everywhere asked—how has it all happened? . . .

"Among reflecting men, there has been but one answer—by *over speculation*. The ordinary avenues to wealth have been too dull for the restless aspirants with whom the Colony is thronged. . . . We need not mention names; the parties have been already sufficiently exposed; but we single out the broad facts of their case, merely for the purpose of throwing some instructive light upon the nature and cause of our late monetary embarrassments. Nor should we attach much importance to this exposure, did it stand as an isolated instance; but knowing, as we do, that is only a fair *sample* of the trickery which has for some time been practised among our wholesale jobbers in land, and to which our embarrassments are mainly attributable, we regard it as a public duty to visit such chicanery with all the reprobation which a journalist can justly inflict. . . . The extravagant lengths to which this land quackery has been carried, were most amusingly and yet disgustingly, brought out in the trials we allude to. Land, having scarcely one natural advantage of any kind, was puffed off as the choicest site imaginable for a township. . . . And, putting faith in this gaudy description, there were not wanting speculators to bid and buy. Without

troubling themselves with a personal inspection, without even referring to disinterested residents in the neighbourhood, they were weak enough to risk their moneys upon these mere day-dreams of sordid vendors. To use a current phrase, they were regularly *gulled*; but their childish credulity led to good results; it caused them, by the losses it entailed, to appeal for redress to the laws of their country, and thereby to sound throughout the Colony a faithful warning against a system of delusion under which many a money simpleton had been ruined, but which none had had the courage so effectually to expose.

"What might have been the ulterior views of these 'flats' we pretend not to say; but it is notorious that the great mass of buyers at our land auctions make their bargains but for one purpose, that is, of selling again. The question with them, when meditating a bid, is not whether the land is worth their *holding*, but whether it will be worth their *bartering away*. . . .

"And to this spirit of wild adventure—this rage for buying land as so much merchandise, to be sold again, at an advance on cost price; and to this constant practice of chalking out imaginary townships, dividing and subdividing, and puffing off without the slightest regard for truth or common honesty, do we attribute the whole of our late financial difficulties."

In view of the HERALD's animadversions upon the specious methods of the persons associated with the disposal of land about this time, it is of interest to read the flowery eloquence of some of the advertisements with which the auctioneers of the day were wont to besprinkle the columns of the paper—although, of course, the majority of these were legitimate enough and by no means came within the ambit of the HERALD's censure. One auctioneer, in particular, a certain Mr. Stubbs, is worth quoting in this regard; for his advertisements are almost epic in their flights. Here is an announcement of his upon the virtues of what he calls, in a splendid mixture of poetry and prose (to say nothing of orthography), "The Lilly of the Vallies—With Twenty-One Years' Credit." It appears in the issue of the 19th March, 1841:

"Kissing Point, or the Lilly of the Vallies, with Twenty-One Years' Credit, by Mr. Stubbs.

"He looks abroad in the varied field
Of nature, and though poor perhaps compared
With those, whose mansions glitter in his sight,
Calls the scenery all his own.

"It would require more than ordinary ability to pencil out in true colours the diversified views and the beautiful scenery which bursts upon the sight as you ramble on a fine day over the vine-clad hills and orchards at Kissing Point, elevated some hundred feet above the level of the sea; the eye wanders over a vast range of country which branches off into an immensity of the most varied and finished forms—rich tints, splendid dyes, cultivated fields and streams (peaceful and sonorous as the Rhine) are amongst the most prominent materials that bloom around, and beautify this delightful part of the country. Improve then the golden hours, ye gentle cits of Sydney; attend the sale on Monday, 5th April, 1841, and present your 'fair ones' with one of the lillies of the allotments as cater'd for you by the proprietors of East and West Ryde.

"To be brief in the description hereof, Mr. Stubbs would respectfully observe that, looking to its present prospects, there is everything to ensure and encourage the growth of a very populous town at Kissing Point; it would delight you to see its pretty little church on a Sunday, in which the whole village meet together, with their best faces and their cleanliest habits, and to hear their duties explained to them by their good Pastor, the Rev. Mr. Turner; independent of these advantages to the good parishioner, there is also an excellent school for the education of children, and a police establishment for the protection of his property. . . ."

And here is another of the Stubbsian outbursts, taken from the HERALD of the 26th April, 1841:

"(Cultivated Clear Land.) Apropos!—The Flower of Balmain (positively without reserve).

"Mr. Stubbs announces to the *elite* of Sydney that he has been instructed by the Agent of George Cooper, Esq., to sell by public auction . . . the principal portion of all that beautiful scope of land, forming the present parterre or lawn of Waterview House, and extending to the margin of the water.

"Journeying up the Parramatta River from Sydney, the tourist obtains a view between Goat Island and the main of one of the most charming valleys in the harbour; and all travellers who have visited the spot have not failed in describing its natural beauties in terms of the warmest enthusiasm. . . . It is seldom so vivid a picture of tropical scenery presents itself as you see in Waterview Bay. Here the amateur of taste may add new features, as it were, to the powers, the bloom and the exuberance of nature; and enable the mind to revel in all the charms of the imagination—the sweetness of colours—and the softer scenes of domestic life. . . ."

On the 9th January, 1832, the intention of the owner to sell that "desirable country residence," Carrabella Cottage, North Shore, is announced. The surrounding grounds are stated to "cover five acres, including an excellent garden." The residents of modern Kirribilli may recognise an old friend in this "desirable country residence."

On February 18th, 1833, we are informed that Mr. Bodenham has "knocked down 100 acres of land at Pennant Hills at 5/9 per acre," and on April 8th of the same year that the same auctioneer had sold "a plot of George Street ground for £860"; and the paragraph goes on to assert in somewhat amazed tones, that "this sale was without any puff or false bidding." On the 20th May, 1833, an auction sale of "lots in Upper Pitt Street," is advertised, and "fathers of families" are informed that they "will do well to attend this opportunity" of acquiring cheap and suitable residential sites! On 26th September, 1833, Mr. Bodenham is again in the picture. He reports that he has sold six allotments in Liverpool Street for £670 in all; while on the 28th April, 1834, he, or a brother of the hammer, succeeded in obtaining £750 for "Four cottages in Kent Street, opposite the Green Gate Public House." In June, 1834, there appears to have been a considerable boom in land speculation, and the *HERALD* of the 5th of that month records, with a trace of regret at the fact, that "a portion of the Burwood Estate, which only a short time before sold at £7/10/- per acre, has just been re-sold at £30 per acre by Mr. Chadley." A month later, on the 10th July, 1834, this same Mr. Chadley advertises that he has nine allotments for sale in George Street, and offers the suggestion to "industrial mechanics or capitalists seeking small properties" that they should come along and avail themselves of the chance thus provided them. On September 25th, 1834, a "Farm of 1,740 acres in the Cabramatta district" was purchased by a Mr. William Hutchinson for £1,250—or considerably less than 15/- per acre; and on the 18th July, 1836, a thirty-acre farm on the North Shore is reported to have been sold for £190.

In the *HERALD* of the 29th August, 1836, Mr. T. W. Smart has an advertisement which deserves to be quoted here in full, so curiously does it read to-day, with the wharves and dingy streets of modern Woolloomooloo before our eyes:

"WOOLLOOMOOLOO.—Sale of the Celebrated Vineyard called 'TOKAY,' in one lot of twelve acres or thereabout.

"Mr. T. W. Smart has great pleasure in announcing that, in consequence of the numerous enquiries for a pleasure residence near the town, he has prevailed on the respectable owner of the celebrated Vineyard of Tokay to allow him to offer it for unreserved sale immediately after the sale of the adjoining property (the late Rev. R. Hills) on Thursday next, the 1st proximo.

"Tokay contains by admeasurement upwards of 12 acres, and is planted with 20,000 vines from the most approved stocks of Europe, now in the healthiest condition, and is expected to produce in the approaching season above ten tons of grapes for the Sydney market. In a few years Tokay will be in the centre of Sydney, as there is no other public outlet for the daily increasing population of this rising city. The situation of the vineyard is well known to have been selected by a gentleman of the most approved taste in the Colony, and it has been by the perseverance of a number of years, added to the most unsparing expense, that this estate exhibits at this moment a beautiful example of the *rus in urbe*.

"Tokay commands a splendid view of the water and shipping that pass and repass the harbour of Port Jackson, and in a year or two it will pay the purchaser to divide the property into sixteen allotments, reserving the vineyard and present building site for the family residence. . . ."

On the 13th March, 1837, Mr. Hebblewhite reports the sale of a twenty-acre farm at Middle Harbour for £54 and two allotments at Waverley for £43; while in the same issue Mr. Polack informs us that he has recently sold a number of ten- and six-acre blocks at Petersham at an average of £20 per acre, and an allotment at Newtown measuring nearly seven acres, for £245.

Here is another item to remind us of the changes that have affected our city since the 'thirties and 'forties of last century. It is taken from the issue of the 6th July, 1837:

"A verandah cottage to let in a salubrious situation at Surry Hills, with a garden, vineyard and orchard, comprising two acres, and with a nice stream of water running through the ground."

If the whole dictionary were to be searched it is probable that the last adjective to be selected to-day as being appropriate to this congested area would be "salubrious."

How strange, too, is this announcement which appears in the *HERALD* of the 1st February, 1838! The italics are ours:

"To Let: The Villa Residence and ornamental pleasure ground, garden, shrubbery, detached offices, extensive stabling, and *rabbit warren, with a considerable number of rabbits*, etc., the whole standing on 11½ acres of land, pleasantly situated at Darlinghurst, the present residence of Mr. William Macdonald."

On the 30th April, 1838, Isaac Simmons & Co. report having disposed of a number of allotments at Double Bay at prices ranging from 20/- to 27/6 per foot. This, adds the notice, "*marks an advance of about 140% on the prices realised for Double Bay allotments . . . a few months since.*" And once again we supply the italics.

On the 28th August, 1839, Mr. J. Smith, Solicitor, of O'Connell Street, announces that he has allotments to sell at "Cook's Town," delightfully situated on the banks of Cook's River. One wonders where this situation may have been—nay, even where was Cook's Town? The postal guides cannot inform us, and there seems to be no doubt that the "Town" was but the stuff that auctioneers' dreams are made on.

And for our last selection of these old-time sales of land we refer once more to the poetical Mr. Stubbs. Writing in the strictest prose, for once, he calls attention, in the *HERALD* of the 17th January, 1845, to the excellencies of the property of a Mr. Campbell, which he shortly will put up for auction. The land in question was situated in George and Little George and Hunter Streets; and, after reciting its manifold advantages, the notice draws attention to its particular handiness to the Tank stream, and the excellence of the water there "for wool-washing." Perhaps no single straw that we have garnered from the harvest of the files gives a more comprehensive idea of the changes that have swept the Colony since those quaint old days than this.

From the very first issue the columns of the *HERALD* were opened to private correspondents, and numberless were they who availed themselves of this glorious opportunity to spread themselves in print. We have no intention of quoting any of these, but passing reference is certainly justified to the case of one enthusiastic correspondent, who began his epistle, not by addressing himself in the general manner to the Editors, but by affectionately addressing the paper itself as "Dearest *HERALD*!"

The *HERALD* has long been affectionately—and sometimes contemptuously—known as "Granny," the nickname being supposed to refer to its age, its allegedly conservative methods and the untiring energy with which it has always dealt out advice, comment and criticism. It is therefore not surprising, perhaps, to find that the more radical spirits of an earlier age, regarded the paper—and referred to it—in somewhat the same way. But being considerably younger then than it is now, it was equally natural that they should apply to it a more juvenile nickname than its present one. And so they called it

"Aunty." On the 6th January, 1842, *The Observer* put it on record that "Our old Aunt, the *HERALD*," was nothing but "a mere sheet of advertisements"; nothing but "a record of the passing events of the day, a catalogue of arrivals and departures," an aunty, in fact, who when she "really does take up any subject of vital interest to the Colony—which is rarely the case—generally manages to make a mess of it." To which the *HERALD*, with the energy of a remarkably well preserved Aunt indeed, replied the following day, as follows:—

"We plead guilty to a portion of these charges; although not a mere sheet of advertisements, we undoubtedly have such a number as enables us to supply our subscribers with a daily paper as at low a rate as some of our three-times-a-week contemporaries charge for their journals: we do record all the 'passing incidents of the day,' our daily publication enabling us to give more ample reports of all important proceedings than any other paper can do, and with all respect to our worthy niece, this is one of the principal uses of a journal; the leading articles are opinions, which different parties may view differently, but in recording facts, a newspaper assists its readers to form their own opinions upon passing events. To the charge of not taking up subjects of vital interest to the Colony, we most decidedly plead not guilty, and we ask our contemporary what subject of importance came before the public in the past year that was not fully discussed in the *HERALD*? As for making a mess of the arguments, that is a matter of opinion, *Miss Observer*, upon which we happen to differ from you, which is not very surprising. We must return our thanks to our juvenile contemporary for the good opinion expressed of the *HERALD* in recording passing events: it was the faithfulness with which this was always done that first exalted the *HERALD* so far above the heads of all its contemporaries, as to excite their envy."

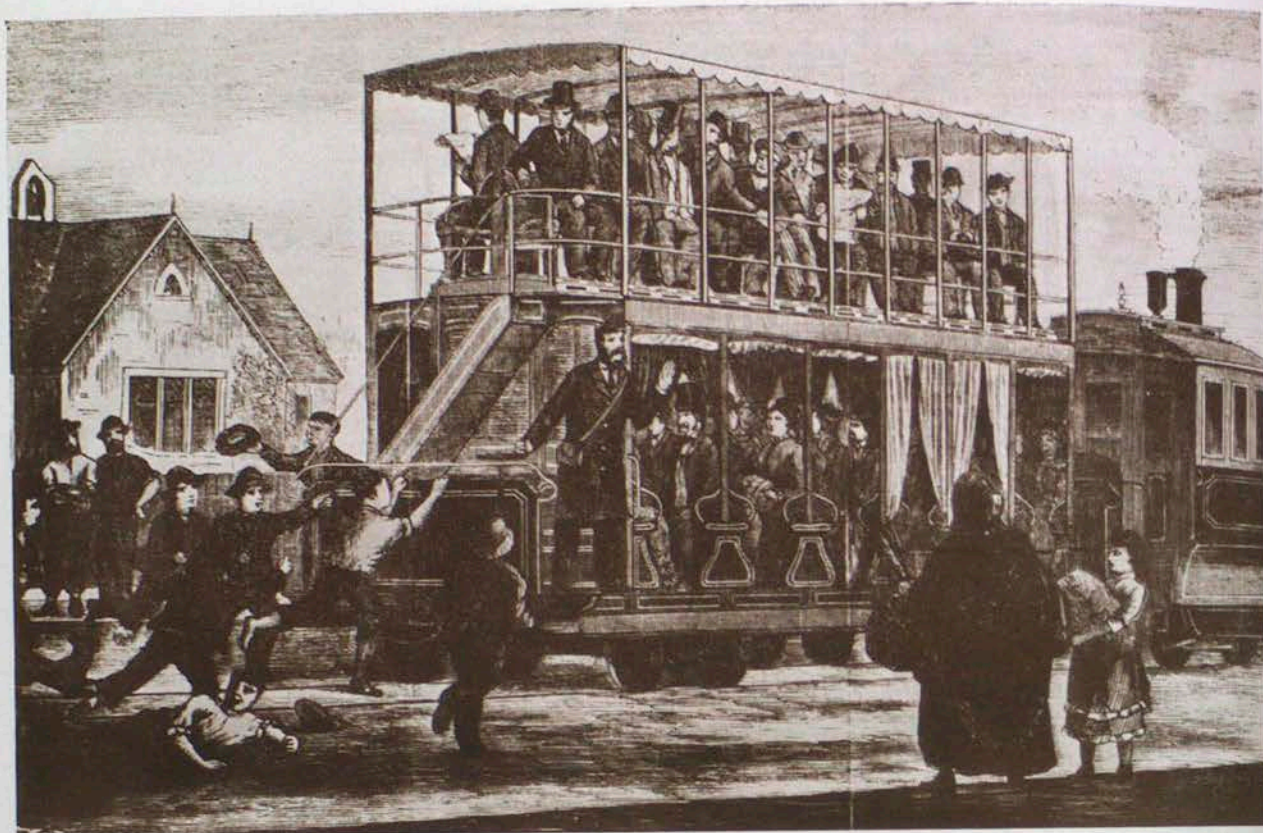
That criticisms of its rivals within the Colony were not in keeping with the general opinion of the newspaper world outside it, there is ample evidence to show. One reference of this kind will be sufficient to quote, and we take it from the columns of a London journal, *The Colonial Gazette*. In its issue of the 22nd June, 1844, this paper declared that "THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD is distinguished among colonial newspapers by integrity and sound, dispassionate judgment." In view of the general tenor of the comments passed upon it by the other journals of the Colony, it is hardly to be wondered at that the *HERALD* should reprint (in the issue of the 15th November, 1844) this complimentary reference to itself and acknowledge it with satisfaction.

We have already pointed out that one of the guiding principles of John Fairfax's life—and one that he was fain to see embodied in the platform of the paper wherein he took so much pride,—was his deep affection for, and loyalty to, the Empire of which the Colony he served formed so increasingly important a member. The *HERALD* seldom failed to seize the opportunity to stress its ideals in this regard, and a very good example of its methods of doing so appears in the leading article of the appropriate date of the 1st January, 1845. We quote a pregnant sentence from this article as follows:

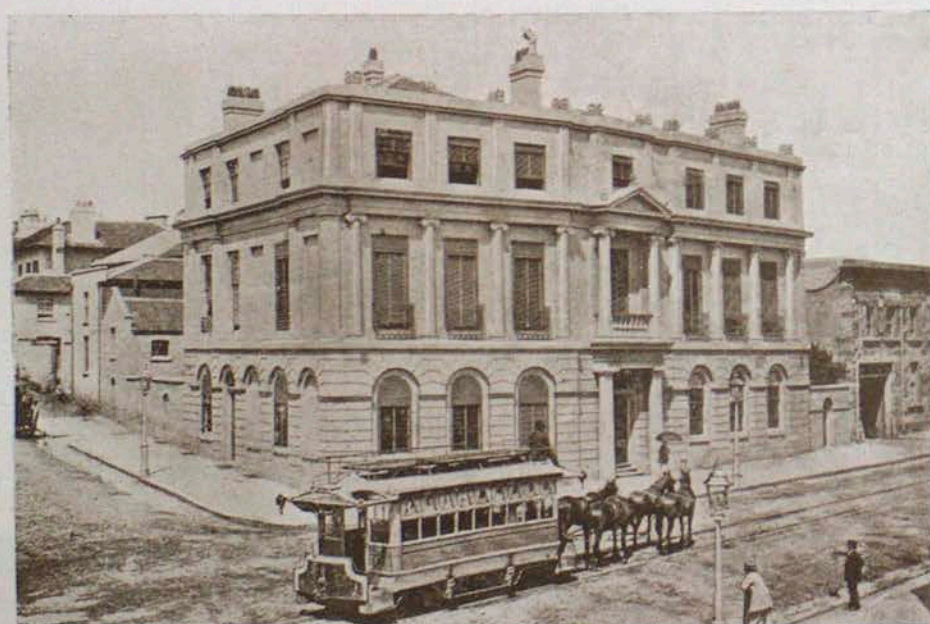
"Disclaiming all party predilections, all sectarian bigotry, our single object is to promote the advancement of Australia; not forgetting, however, that whatever may be her destiny in future ages, her interests are at present, and must be for generations to come, bound up with those of the British Empire . . . and he would not be her friend, but her enemy, who would by any means attempt to disturb her relations to the Motherland."

On the 15th January, 1845, the *HERALD* set out its creed in answer to a bitter criticism which had appeared in *The Atlas* a few days previously. The article runs as follows:

" . . . As our ingenuous censor confesses his inability to understand our plans of dealing with public men and public bodies, inasmuch as we sometimes praise and sometimes find fault with them, we beg to assure him that the 'plan,' according to our apprehension, is a very plain and a very correct one. It is simply this—to deal with them as, in the exercise of our unprejudiced judgment, we believe they deserve. True to our motto, we are 'sworn to no master.' We are wedded to 'no sect.' We have no party predilections. Our object is to promote the welfare of our adopted country; and in our examination of public measures, our 'plan' is to consider how far they are



Elizabeth Street tram in 1879. One of the original motors and cars imported from America.



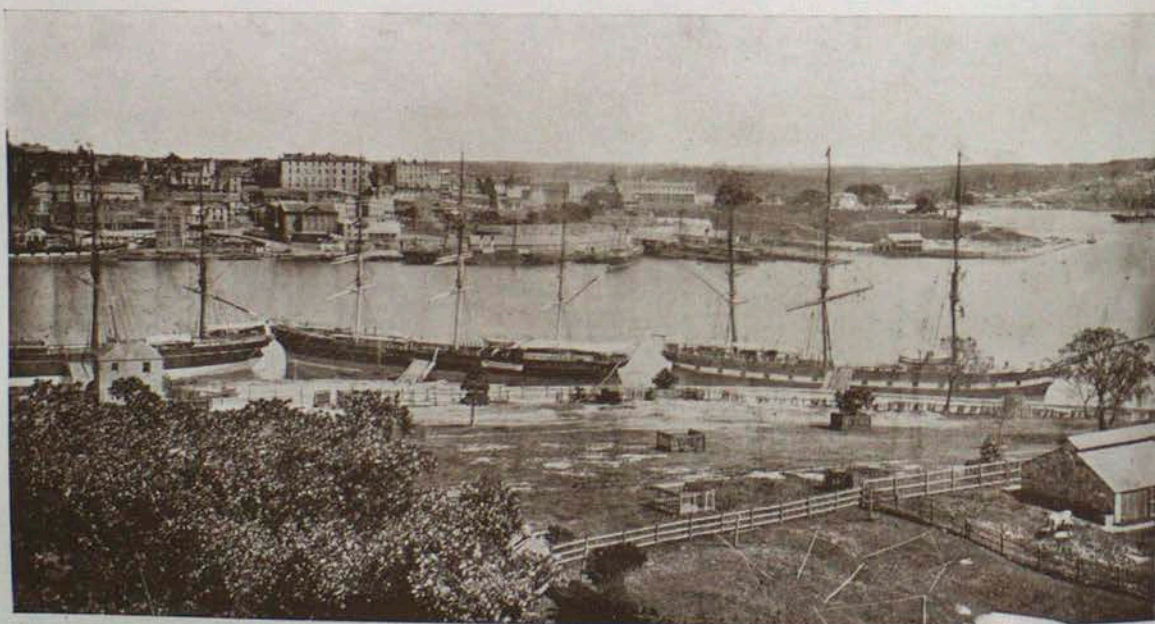
Union Bank Corner, showing the Pitt Street horse trams, which started to run in December, 1861. The rails were lifted early in 1867.



The beautiful clipper ship Macquarie (originally named the Melbourne) which, built by R. and H. Green in 1875, was a prime favourite with passengers and freighters alike, for over twenty years.



The "Sobraon" (afterwards "Tingira"), built in 1866, sailed between England and Australia until 1891, when she became a reformatory ship and next a training ship for the Royal Australian Navy. A few years ago she was "scrapped," and now lies rotting and forlorn in Berry's Bay, Sydney Harbour.



In the days of spars and sails—Circular Quay (1870) before steamships had sounded the death-knell of the sailer. The view is taken from Government House grounds, looking in the direction of Dawes Point, which is seen on the right.

calculated to promote or frustrate that object, and in the one case to commend, and in the other to censure, from whatever 'public men or public bodies' they may have emanated. If the self-same men and the self-same bodies happen to be so little endowed with infallibility as to put forth good measures one day and bad measures another, we see no inconsistency to the 'plan' which in the first instance bestows encomium and in the next pronounces condemnation. . . . The difference between *The Atlas* and the *HERALD* is not so much a difference of *opinion*—for on some of the most important of the public questions by which our community is agitated, they are perfectly agreed—as a difference of *position*. The one *is*, the other is *not*, a *party* journal. . . . We see in each an authority duly constituted for the peace, welfare and good government of the Colony. As such we regard them with all due, if not equal respect; and trust we are as incapable of bringing against either of them the 'railing accusation' of party malevolence, as of eulogising either of them in the loud pæans of party adulation.

"Such is the *unintelligible* 'plan' of the *HERALD*: a plan that has secured for it that large share of public esteem which it has so long had the good fortune to enjoy; and a plan from which it is not likely to be either coaxed or driven by any efforts of *The Atlas*."

Certain animadversions upon the work of the *HERALD*'s reporters in the Legislative Council having been made by Dr. Lang and Messrs. Lowe and Windeyer, in the latter part of 1845, the paper took up the cudgels on behalf of the maligned members of its staff. Its leading article on the 13th September of that year is headed "A Few Words on Reporting in the *HERALD*," and its paragraphs are pungent and to the point:

"It cannot be for a moment supposed that the Sydney papers can report the proceedings of the Legislative Council as fully as the London papers do the proceedings of Parliament; but from the first day that the Council was thrown open to the public to the present time, the *HERALD* has always given reports which we believe to have been generally accurate, and sufficiently copious for all practical purposes. That this has not been done without a vast amount of labour and considerable expense our readers must be aware; and it was, therefore, not without considerable annoyance and regret that we found some two or three members of the Legislative Council were dissatisfied with our exertions. . . .

"When we found that Mr. Lowe intended to bring the motion under the notice of the House, we feared that the reporters had been guilty of some very serious misunderstandings and misrepresentations, and were agreeably surprised to find that the only instances quoted were typographical errors. . . .

"Mr. Windeyer's broad assertions we meet with a positive denial. The assertions that the reporters employed on the *HERALD* are wholly incompetent is not true, and we are surprised that one so long a reporter himself, and therefore able practically to judge of the abilities of his brethren, should so have libelled members of a profession of which he was so long a member. All that the honourable and learned member says is not reported, because his sayings would of themselves require a newspaper, but we do not believe that anything is ever attributed to him in the *HERALD* that he does not in substance say.

"Dr. Lang thinks that another daily paper in Sydney, by producing competition, would cause better reports to be inserted; it might be so, but we doubt it. We know there is a great anxiety in some quarters to start a paper as a rival to the *HERALD*, and as the Colony increases there will probably be room for another. We think, however, that some honourable members have already burnt their fingers by dabbling in newspaper property, and are not likely to repeat the experiment on a large scale at present. At any rate, another paper would not have the effect of improving our reports, which are now as good as the Colony enables us to get up. . . . The slurs cast upon the reporters we feel bound, in justice to those gentlemen, to say are unmerited. The two reporters who attend the Legislative Council for the *HERALD* do not deserve to be spoken of in the manner they were yesterday. They are both of them men of a considerable degree of intelligence and education, and, in fact, are quite equal, in those respects, to a majority of the honourable members whose speeches they have to report.

"Having made these remarks, we think it right to observe, that the impartiality of our reports is not impugned, and we shall use every exertion in our power to prevent the recurrence of those errors that have been complained of. . . ."

A very brief, but even more vigorous defence, of its reporting methods was published by the HERALD about a month later. On this occasion it was Mr. Bland, another member of the Council, who was the complainant. The paper's reply, appearing as a leading article in the issue of the 10th October, 1845, under the caption "Misreporting," runs as follows:

"It will be seen that Mr. Bland took the unwarrantable liberty last night of stating broadly that, to suit a purpose, the proceedings of the Legislative Council are misreported in the HERALD. Such a mendacious statement deserves only one answer—an answer which can be given in a word of three letters."

As a matter of fact, the members of the Legislative Council should have been the last persons to have made these implications and complaints. For the length of the HERALD's political reports in those days was only equalled by their excellence. It was the day of long reports, certainly; but, remembering the difficulties under which the HERALD must have lain at the time, the manner in which the debates were reported can only excite the most lively admiration in the minds of the newspaper man of to-day.

It mattered not a jot to the paper what the subject was, so long as it was of public importance; it mattered less, if possible, that the subject was one to which the paper was opposed. The HERALD was there to give the public the full and fair record of what happened, and so long as it could do this it was satisfied. On the 22nd September, 1848, the paper declared, with some natural pride, that the essence of its policy was "*Audi alteram partem*"; and that it always attempted—and seldom failed—to allow the public to hear the other side, as well as its own, if it had one, no one who takes the trouble to peruse the issues of the time can fail to affirm.

A few final references, culled at random from the files, may fitly be quoted to complete the picture of the Colony as it was between the 'thirties and the 'sixties of the last century. And we begin with an extract which describes an incident that one can hardly picture in the city of to-day. It is taken from the issue of the 6th September, 1832, and runs as follows:

"On Sunday afternoon, three males and a female underwent the ceremony of baptism in Farm Cove, performed by the Rev. Mr. McKaeg. A person undressed himself and went into the water, and attempted, by catching hold of Mr. McKaeg's leg, to pull him into the water, but he was prevented from carrying his purpose into execution, and the persons assembled, becoming indignant at the conduct of the intruder, pelted him with stones, by which he received a cut over the eye."

On the 10th August, 1841, there appears a shipping notice that awakens lively memories in the minds of those who take an interest in heroic adventure:

"Her Majesty's ships Erebus and Terror, Captains Ross and Grozier, have, after a stay of three weeks in Sydney Harbour, proceeded to sea again."

These two famous ships, in charge of their no-less famous commanders, had already been to the Antarctic and carried out a considerable amount of exploratory and scientific work there. It was to complete that work that they had now, after refitting and re-victualling in Sydney, returned to the scene of their former activities.

Here is a notice which throws a curious sidelight on the penal arrangements of the Colony and the manner in which the authorities sought to utilise them in the cause of industry:

"Notwithstanding the low terms on which wheat is ground at the treadmill, and the large number of 'millers' attached to that establishment, little or no grain has been ground during the last fortnight, in consequence of which the mills are merely turning without effecting benefit to the public."

The "daguerrotype"—that pioneer of the modern photograph—was invented by M. Daguerre about this time, and the fame of its wonders were bruited throughout the world. It reached Sydney towards the end of 1842, and here is the HERALD's first notice of the marvel which was to banish forever the silhouette and the scissors as applied to the delineament of the human form:

"Yesterday Mr. Goodman opened for the first time to the public his gallery for taking portraits according to the invention which has recently caused such a sensation in England and France. . . . We have seen many of his portraits, and the accounts of the invention in the English newspapers have not been exaggerated. . . . The likenesses are indeed exact, and the sitter is only kept in suspense about half a minute. Specimens of portraits of persons well known in Sydney, to be seen at Mr. Goodman's gallery, will satisfy the most incredulous."

How well Mr. Goodman's enterprise was rewarded may be gathered from a notice appearing in the HERALD a little later on, which shows that he was about to introduce his marvellous machine to the good citizens of Bathurst, "having received a guaranteed list of a hundred persons there who will have their portraits taken on his arrival."

On the 25th October, 1841, Messrs. Foss & Lloyd, the auctioneers, announce their intention to sell by auction "The Splendid Tiger lately imported into the Colony and which realised its owner a handsome return when exhibited at the Homebush races."

Unfortunately, there is no further record of the sale; but, apart from its curiosity, the transaction has a special association with this history. For it was on a vacant allotment at the corner of O'Connell and Hunter Streets—that is to say, precisely where the HERALD office now stands—that this "Splendid Tiger" was exhibited for some time by its owners before the poor beast was submitted to the indignity of being "knocked down."

On the 1st September, 1851, an elephant was also offered for sale by a Mr. Beaumont, who recently imported it—heaven only knows what for! But it must have been of the white variety, since, despite the almost passionate exhortations of the owner in the advertisement columns, no purchasers appear to have come forward.

In the issue of 6th September, 1832, we find "Pro Bono Publico" writing, on the virtues of wine and wine-making, in his best and most familiar style; and in the issue of the 29th May, 1834, there is an advertisement of the "Get Rich Quick" type, which has a most familiar ring, inasmuch as it announces that the advertiser invites a person possessing £500 to £600 to invest it in a "mechanic business" yielding a *clear £50 per week*.

On 29th November, there is a report that a sea-serpent had been seen—in American waters, naturally; on July 25th, 1845, there is a proposal to introduce an income tax; and the issue of the 8th August of the same year, contains a letter to the editors describing a new machine to work by perpetual motion! Truly, there is nothing new under the sun!

And with this curious medley of extracts we may very aptly bring our retrospect of these eventful thirty years to a close.

SECTION VII.

TWENTY YEARS OF PROGRESS

1860-1880

PART I.

AFTER the great events of the 'fifties, those of the next decade came almost as an anti-climax. It has, however, been said, "Happy is the land that has no history"; and the saying can be applied as well to eras as to countries. And although no events of large importance marked the decade whose story we are now about to chronicle—save one, which happened near the end of it—yet was it a decade of progress, both for Australia and for the *HERALD*. The *HERALD*'s years of nonage had been passed, and, based upon the rocks of principle, fostered and established by good management and shrewd common-sense, it had now come to be the Colony's greatest and most responsible journal. It is true that an event of considerable importance to the firm of John Fairfax & Sons occurred at the very outset of the 'sixties, in the shape of the launching of *THE SYDNEY MAIL*. But that event lies outside the story of the *HERALD* itself; and is dealt with fully hereafter in a special section of this history.

In the year 1840, New Zealand had been duly proclaimed a separate Colony, and in 1853 it had been granted self-government. But troubles with the Maoris had proved a constant deterrent to its progress. The transfer from Sydney to New Zealand in 1847 of the two regiments so long stationed in New South Wales, in order that they might participate in the campaign against the Maoris, and the stir thereby created in the Colony, have been already referred to; and though the operations of that campaign had been successful, the trouble had only been scotched. In 1860 the position became so serious that the Government asked for assistance from Australia. In response, a number of troops were despatched from Tasmania, and also from Melbourne and Sydney. This was in July, and the *HERALD* of the 16th printed a lengthy account of the departure of the Sydney contingent.

Although the Maoris were continually defeated, they managed to prolong the struggle for many years, and exhibited at all times remarkable pertinacity and a bravery of the highest order. It was not until 1873, indeed, that their resistance was finally overcome and hostilities ended. Since then their associations with their conquerors have been markedly friendly, and they exhibit the most marked example in history of a native coloured race not only maintaining its existence in competition with superior numbers of white invaders of its country, but advancing side by side with them in civilisation and increasing with them in actual numbers.

The next event to which some lengthy reference must be made is one that is painted with black and reddened brushes upon the history of the Colony. As Victoria had had her outbreak of revolution on the goldfields, culminating in the unhappy affair known as the Eureka Stockade, so was New South Wales now to have her share of a similar trouble in the riots which broke out in December, 1860, at the diggings known as Lambing Flat. This was a new field, situated in the Young district, to which a large

number of those rough (and ruffianly) individuals who are invariably attracted to such places like flies to carrion, had already ventured. Unhappily, a great many Chinese had gone there too, some as genuine gold-seekers, many as the keepers of gambling dens; and the feeling against the immigration of these citizens of the Celestial Empire, which had already been expressed somewhat violently throughout the Colony, supplied the spark that quickly swelled to flame at Lambing Flat. The miners there objected strongly to the presence of the Chinese, and they allowed their objections to be displayed in a way which caused great trouble at the time and which cannot be regarded to-day without abhorrence. The first reference in the *HERALD* to the trouble occurs in the issue of the 18th December, 1860. It takes the form of a paragraph contributed by the paper's correspondent at Yass, and runs as follows:

"Information was brought to Yass on last Wednesday forenoon that some of the European population on Lambing Flat attacked a party of Chinese, and maltreated them to such an extent as to cause the death of at least one of their number. Some reports say two of the Chinese were killed. We are informed that the 'tails' of the unfortunate Celestials were cut off in so barbarous a manner as to detach the skin from the back of the head; and, further, that the brutality was carried to the length of cutting the ears off several. We can scarcely give the reports credence, and sincerely hope, for the reputation of the miners on Lambing Flat, that the whole statement is unfounded; but the particulars have been repeated to us by two or three respectable persons, and hence our giving it publicity. It is certainly to be regretted that the Government have been so laggard in affording needful protection to life and property on the diggings, the sole staff, only very recently appointed, consisting of a Commissioner and two mounted troopers, who are stationed some twelve miles distant from the locality where mining operations are carried on."

The disorders continued; and, on the 29th January, the unfortunate Chinese were again abused with great cruelty. The police force at the field was utterly unable to cope with the lawless miners, who defied and even assaulted them when they endeavoured to interfere. The correspondent of the *HERALD* at Yass reports the affair of the 29th in the following message:

"The Commissioner of Lambing Flat rode in express last night, to take instant measures for quelling the riot at the diggings between the Europeans and the Chinese. The rioters threatened the life of Mr. Commissioner Dickson, and defied him and his forces to interfere. 1,500 Chinese are on the ground, and the Europeans assembled on Sunday last, armed, and drove them off the ground, only giving them two hours' notice. One prisoner was taken, but was released on bail. The rioters demand his immediate surrender. They are sworn to clear off every Chinaman by force on Sunday next, and also to resist all interference by the police. They went to the Commissioner's camp, threatened to burn the barracks, and put the police to the right-about. The police were unable to interfere, as their force is quite inadequate, and it is utterly impossible to retain any prisoners who are accused of violence. There were great apprehensions of another riot during the Commissioner's absence. The rioters shout that the Government have neglected them, and they are determined at all risks to take the law into their own hands."

The miners went from bad to worse, and in February the *HERALD* sent a special commissioner to Lambing Flat to report directly upon the situation. His articles begin to appear on the 26th of that month, and are vividly-written, eloquent descriptions of a state of affairs which is fortunately unique in the history of the Colony, and in which he himself was frequently placed in a position of danger.

The Government had now decided to send a military detachment to the scene of the trouble, and after their departure from Sydney, Mr. Cowper, who was now Premier, decided to go to Lambing Flat himself, feeling that peaceful methods should be given a final chance. He received deputations from the miners, asking that the Chinese should be removed; but he would make no such promise, and told the miners that the authority of the law must be preserved and that, until the rioting ceased, their petitions could not even be considered. His attitude was appreciated by the miners,

and his reception by them led him to believe that the trouble would rapidly subside. For a time it seemed that his optimism was justified, and the military were withdrawn. But at the end of March matters became worse than ever. On Sunday, the 31st of that month, a monster meeting, arranged by the self-styled "Miners Protection League," was held at Lambing Flat, and a number of provocative speeches were delivered. The effect of these was soon to be shown. The previous disorders were repeated, and indeed exceeded. The Chinese were continually assaulted, and the cruelties practised upon them were as callous as they were brutal. Affairs culminated on the morning of Sunday, 30th June, in an organised assault upon the Chinese at the Flat, which for sheer callousness left any previous affairs of the kind completely in the shade. We quote extracts from the reports of the *HERALD*'s correspondent. The first is dated on the evening of the day on which the outrages occurred, and appears in the issue of the 3rd July:

"The mob, now between 2,000 and 3,000, crossed the main creek, and, leaving the Commissioner's camp on the right, made for the camp of the Chinese, who were working inside the boundary set apart for them. The Chinese had obtained information of their approach, and, having packed up everything they possibly could carry away, made a hasty retreat. Tents by scores were set on fire; rice and stores of all kinds destroyed, butcher's shops filled with meat, set on fire. For a distance of half a mile, the burning tents showed the work of destruction. Not content with this, some men on horseback proceeded forward and overtook the Chinese—some 1,200. They rounded them up the same as they would a mob of cattle, struck them with their bludgeons and whips, and made them leave all their swags. And now ensued a scene that defies description. Six or seven immense fires were made with clothing of all descriptions, stores, rice, blankets, boots, a large quantity of them quite new, being heaped together and set on fire; men with picks and axes destroying everything that would not burn. Having destroyed and burned all they possibly could, they again formed into procession and returned to Lambing Flat, which was reached about half past five p.m. . . ."

Next day (4th July, 1861) the *HERALD* published a further and more detailed account of the affair from the same correspondent, and from it we quote the following extract:

"I have been over a great part of these fields since Sunday, and so far as I can learn, the general feeling is sympathy for the unfortunate Chinese. This roll up differs from all others in atrocities committed, and the destruction of property is at least £5,000. I noticed one man who returned with eight pigtailed attached to a flag, glorying in the work that had been done. I also saw one tail, with a part of the scalp, the size of a man's hand, attached, that had been literally cut from some unfortunate creature; another had his back broken. In fact, the injuries they have received it is impossible at present to arrive at."

It will be noted from these reports that the Government, either through ignorance of the real facts or disinclination to meet force by force, had not only withdrawn the military, but had even failed to increase the police force in the district. As a result of the outrages of the 30th June, however, and of the *HERALD*'s comments upon their lack of initiative—it had a leader on the subject on the 6th July—a large body of police was despatched to the field. But when it got there it did nothing for so considerable a period that the rioters grew emboldened, and the *HERALD* once more appealed to the authorities to have the ringleaders of the recent outrages arrested and punished. At last, on the 14th of July, these appeals were answered, and three of the principal rioters were taken by the police and secured in the lock-up. Whereupon there occurred a collision between the mob and the officers of the law, which is best described in the words of the *HERALD*'s correspondent. He says (in the issue of the 17th):

"Mr. Griffin read the Riot Act. The mob still approached the camp, with cries of 'Roll up! Release the prisoners.' Every endeavour was made and caution given them to desist. Orders were at last given to fire. One volley was fired over their heads. This did not appear to intimidate them, and at last the mounted troopers were ordered to the front. They had scarcely drawn

up when a volley was fired, and two of the troopers' horses fell. The excitement became intense; the troopers were now ordered to charge, but not to fire. Shots were fired in continual succession at them, and the greatest credit is due the troopers for the cool way in which they, under these circumstances, obeyed their orders. The mob now closed in and approached the camp. They were again cautioned. Heedless of this, they endeavoured to make a rush. Orders were given and the foot police fired two volleys; orders at the same time being given to the mounted men to charge. This was done, and the crowd was driven across the creek. Sergeant Brennan, of the troopers, was wounded, a bullet entering his arm; two other troopers were wounded, four horses were shot, one having four bullets in him. The troopers in their charge did great execution with their swords. At the present time it is impossible to say to what extent. Several are known to be wounded, one man killed. The body lies at the Empire Hotel, he having been shot through the head. . . ."

The HERALD's own comment on this intelligence, as set out in the leading article of the same date, was naturally severe in its attack upon the Government's inaction. It summed up the position in the concluding paragraph:

"The Government were right in ordering the capture of the ring leaders, the police in making that capture and resisting the rescue. The blood of those who joined in this insurrection can only be imputed to themselves. As the case now stands, Lambing Flat is in the hands of the insurgents. The property of the peaceable is unprotected. The Chinese are exposed to violence and misery. The settled parts of the country nearest are in danger of spoliation, and the Colony and the Government are dishonoured. If these considerations do not unite the sound portion of the community to strengthen the hands of the administration in all honest efforts to uphold the law, there is but a poor prospect before us as a people. We understand that a force will be despatched to-day."

As anticipated by the last sentence of this article, a strong military force, including a naval detachment, was, on the 17th, sent to the scene of the rioting and arrived there on the 28th. Its appearance was sufficient to stay the disorders, although at the report of its coming there had been great talk at first of armed resistance. Eventually the excitement calmed down and order was restored; but it still remains as a shameful blot on our records that comparatively nothing was done by the Government, either to punish the guilty or to recompense the sufferers. The law was set in motion, it is true, and great investigations were promised; but political influences on the one hand, and the weakness and helplessness of the Chinese on the other, worked together for evil. The police were attacked for having fired upon the mob; the rioters were held up to admiration as determined men who had been unfairly subjected to ill treatment, and had naturally resented it; and, in the arguments which followed, the original rights and wrongs of the matter were entirely overlooked. The HERALD's opinion of the whole affair is summed up very completely in a leading article which appeared in the issue of the 25th October following (for even then the matter was still engaging the public interest), and from which we quote as follows:

"If we turn again to Lambing Flat, it is rather in the spirit of philosophic speculation and in reference to the shading off peculiar to Government in the Colonies, than in view of party politics. Let our readers imagine themselves living in a quiet nook of some distant country, and inspecting with a sense of personal security and independence, the course of things as they have run out during the last few months, and then revolve the following facts:

"A number of Chinese present themselves to the Government and ask for a license to dig colonial gold. A price is demanded, and the license given. An officer of the Government attends their steps and supervises the allotment of the gold land. Upon this they quietly pursue their industry, and are supposed to have been fortunate. Suddenly a rush of Englishmen—we use the name while we are ashamed of its application—trample on these strangers, seize their allotments, demolish their property, and chop off their hair—inflicting on them severe injuries, some fatal in their consequences. The rioters then carry off their spoil, and display their trophies amidst processions, bands of music and hurrahs, and in open day celebrate their victory.

"All this is reported to the Government, and not a single offender is taken! Having thus gained an easy conquest, another is threatened, and the Government, roused by some latent sense of justice, send a military force at very great expense, and with very much difficulty, who enter on the disturbed territory, plant their guns, smoke their pipes, and, after a few weeks' delay, but without any attempt to capture the original offenders, march back again. All is reported to be quiet—law and order are all right; the soldiers return to their quarters and we have again the piping times of peace.

"Scarcely have they turned their backs, when another emeute bursts forth. An attempt is now made to hold in custody two who are charged with some form of disorder. Men armed with guns and other deadly instruments, to the number of several hundreds, approach the place of detention at night; they demand the release of the prisoners, and during the parley pour in a fire upon the constabulary. After having exhibited great forbearance, the constabulary show great courage. One rioter is shot, and hundreds take to their heels.

"The whole affair lies transparent and naked. The parties who moved and organised and encouraged are perfectly known. Hundreds of diggers are said to have been spectators and approvers of their proceedings. A few are arrested, while most of the leaders retreat. Then comes the farce of the law. Defence committees are organised—witnesses are spirited away, or rather walk off, and the prosecution, however faithful to its professions, by some means misses its aims, and all, save one, of those rioters are acquitted! . . .

"This, however, is not sufficient satisfaction to the parties who have caused all this mischief—who have created all this expense—who have brought upon this country all this disgrace. One man, after having got rid of the testimony which was producible against him, boldly claims damages for an illegal arrest. The constables who defended their lives and their post against armed men, are abused as authors of the riot; and, since the law does not provide any machinery for their condemnation, it is suggested that they shall be murdered by the people—and this, too, in the Assembly itself. The Judge, who, having a peculiar fitness for this task, from his perfect knowledge of the law, tried the rioters, is accused of gross partiality, because he condemned rioting in the language, and with the indignation, of an English Judge—and it is proposed to dismiss him. . . .

"As a last exploit, a man who was with the mob assembled for an illegal purpose, and therefore not only exposed to all accidents which might arise from its prosecution, but even in a joint liability to its legal consequences—and who lost his life by his own folly, is laid at the door of the country as the victim of official cruelty, and payment demanded for his blood! . . ."

And with this most outspoken extract we may very well conclude the story of the Lambing Flat riots. It is only necessary to add that we may see in it the first expressions of that popular sentiment against coloured immigration which has grown with the years until it has produced our national policy of a "White Australia."

During these stirring events, Sir William Denison's term of office came to an end; and on the 22nd January, 1861, he left the Colony amid general expressions of goodwill. He was succeeded as Governor by Sir John Young, whose advent, synchronising as it did with the worst outbreaks at Lambing Flat, precipitated him at once into a crisis which must have given him very many highly uncomfortable moments.

On the 18th April, 1861, Mr. William Charles Wentworth, who had gone to England, as it will be remembered, in 1854, to assist in steering through the British Parliament the Constitution Bill, in whose framing he had taken so great a part, returned to his native land. His arrival was made the occasion for a great demonstration of the affection and esteem with which he and his great services were remembered. Parliament was adjourned—though not without considerable opposition from a number of honourable gentlemen who (as the *HERALD* alleged) were "inspired by childish jealousy" and a "brutal and turbulent spirit"; the Supreme Court was closed; and all public and private businesses suspended, in order that the citizens of all classes who desired to participate in the welcome might be in a position to do so. A long account of the great man's arrival and the accompanying function is given in the *HERALD* of the 19th April, and from this we learn, among other things, that when the launch carrying

the welcoming party approached the incoming "Benares," and Wentworth's figure was espied upon her deck, the band on the launch struck up, "See the Conquering Hero Comes!" and then followed it with what the writer very rightly calls the "not inappropriate" air of "Willie, We Have Missed You!" The article adds the following interesting particulars:

"Mr. Wentworth appeared in good health; yet the inroads of time are noticeable in a slight weakness of frame, his gait not being so firm or his personal bearing so steady as of old. But the intellect to all appearances remains unimpaired. The face still retains all its strongly marked features, nor has the hair been much blanched during his years of absence. He was evidently highly gratified at once again meeting old friends and acquaintances, and conversed in a tone of pleasantry with all those whom he recognised. . . .

"The veteran Dr. Bland, with whom in years past Mr. Wentworth had been actively associated in public life, was observed in the crowd, and was immediately invited forward to take his proper place—beside his early friend and compatriot. The incident brought vividly to mind the time when 'Wentworth and Bland' were household words in the community; and the sight of these venerable friends of constitutional freedom, standing once more shoulder to shoulder, very naturally evoked a renewal of the hearty applause of the spectators. . . ."

In a leading article on the same theme, and appearing in the same issue, the *HERALD*, forgetting all its old-time quarrels with Wentworth, and remembering only his great achievements, finely wrote:

" . . . Amongst those who have been anxious to welcome this eminent Australian are many of his own countrymen, who saw in the strength of his intellect and the extent of his services the first declaration of a national life. They point to him as an example that the mental powers of that nation, which is distinguished for the vigour of its intellect, will bear transplanting to the Antipodes. They saw in his zeal for the cause of freedom that upon the Australian altar would blaze that sacred fire which in Great Britain had been kept alive through ages of conflict and triumph in defiance of the efforts of tyranny to put it out. They saw that statesmen might be reared here in the very sphere where their capacity was to be tried and their energies to be exercised. They saw that the eloquence of an Australian tongue could rival those of eminent orators who in ancient and modern times have held nations in suspense. It is no wonder that even those whose sole claim of affinity is in the accident of birthplace—are desirous of doing honour to the return home of their great countryman. . . ."

Almost immediately after Wentworth's return a constitutional crisis arose, in which, despite his reiterated assertions that he would take no further part in politics, he became prominently concerned. The Legislative Council—the first under the Constitution Act—was composed of members nominated by the Government, as will be remembered, for a period of five years only. That period expired on the 5th May, 1861, a date which had now almost arrived; and it was necessary to nominate a new Council of members who would hold office for life. Robertson's "Free Selection Before Survey" legislation had, after considerable delay and debate, been steered through the Assembly by the Cowper Government (of which its sponsor, John Robertson,* was a member). But it was recognised that there would be great opposition to it in the Upper House, and in order to overcome this difficulty, Robertson resigned his seat in the Assembly and was appointed to the nominee chamber in order to assist the passage of the measure. This was in the beginning of April; but, despite his presence, the strength of the conservative and squatting interests in the Council was so great that, although the measure managed to struggle through, it was practically emasculated in the process. It was returned to the Assembly in this condition, and that body refused to accept the amendments. A deadlock resulted, since the Upper House declined to change their attitude towards the measure, and Cowper decided to "pack" the Council with sufficient nomi-

* A brief biography of Robertson is given later in this Section, at p. 280.

nees to ensure the passage of the Bill in its original form. Sir John Young agreed to his recommendations, and the new nominees were duly gazetted on the 10th May.

But Cowper had reckoned without the determination of the President of the Council (Sir William Burton) and many of the members. Burton announced that, since he had not been consulted in any way as to the new nominations, the discourtesy compelled him to resign. A number of the old members followed suit; and the Clerk of the House announced that, in the absence of the President and the Chairman of Committees, he was compelled under the Standing Orders, to adjourn the House. As the Council had, in any case, but a few days to live, the Governor, making the best of a bad job, accepted the resignations and the Council expired by effluxion of time.

Cowper then invited Wentworth to allow himself to be nominated to the new Council and to accept the Presidency of it. To this proposal Wentworth agreed; and on the 24th June the first life-nominee Legislative Council was created. The twenty-three members who composed it included, strangely enough, not one of those whom Cowper had nominated in the preceding month; indeed, he invited only one of them to accept membership, and that one invitation was declined.

The HERALD had strongly supported the action of the old Council in refusing to pass the "free selection before survey" measures, since it saw in them a further advance of that radicalism which it so detested, and whose growth since the coming of the Constitution Act, it had consistently deplored. There had been two important amendments to that measure during the five years that it had been in force. In 1857 the two-thirds majority originally required by the Act to effect constitutional amendments had been reduced to a simple majority; and in 1858, the principle of voting by secret ballot (following the world-precedent set by Victoria and South Australia two years before, and not to be accepted by Great Britain until 1872) had been introduced. The HERALD, while supporting this latter innovation was strongly opposed to the "radical" tendencies of the leader of the Government (Cowper) which introduced it. It lost no opportunity to attack him; and when Wentworth returned from England the paper had seized the occasion to set out its opinions in a leading article, from which we quote the following paragraphs:

"Gentlemen who remember Mr. Wentworth in the days of his strength, and who have not reflected on the evanescent nature of renown, will have wondered at the popular oblivion of his name. No man, however, is better qualified to appreciate the value of that applause which the multitude raise to the representatives of the hour; none knows how soon they forsake those who flatter them no longer. The rapid descent of our political system to the very dregs of democracy has brought new actors on the theatre of politics, and transferred the power, which is held with a convulsive but doubtful grasp, to men who, when Mr. Wentworth was in his zenith, were obscurely working their way in the lowest state of agitation, or struggling among the pots. A few who sat in the House when he delivered his great speech in defence of the policy of his Bill, will remember with what sensibility he alluded to the illusions of his early days—with what clearness of vision he foresaw danger to liberty from its loudest admirers. He himself had felt the bewitching influence of popular acclamation through those weary years, when he engaged in the contest for the enlargement of colonial liberties. He had seen their development until they began to reveal the elements of danger. Scarcely had he gained that object to which he had devoted his life, when it appeared to him to be surrounded with innumerable perils. Instead of unmixed exultation that self-government was bestowed upon the Colony, he began to feel that true freedom was forsaking it. How many of those who were sharers in his conflicts, and the witnesses of his triumphs, have disappeared from public life! And how many, who, discontented with the freedom which Mr. Wentworth secured to this country, afterwards raised the cry of democracy, are now deploring in secret the fatal illusions which misled them!

"Mr. Wentworth will find that Constitution which he framed with so much care, and, which having formed, he with a self-abandonment which seemed the crown of his political life, willingly left to be wrought out by those who were ambitious of power—a mere shred. He will see

it, perhaps, with sorrow, as men see work demolished to which they have devoted their profoundest reflections and around which they have circled their warmest hopes. To what, however, are we to attribute the failure of that Constitution which Mr. Wentworth devised? How far is the blame to be cast upon its construction—how far to be ascribed to events which no sagacity could have foreseen. It must always be recollected that, since that Constitution received the assent of our Legislature, the country and all the Australias have undergone a great social revolution. The vast increase of population—the rising up of an interest hitherto unknown—the influx of democratic power in its most intense and grasping form, would probably render it impossible that any Constitution that refused supremacy to mere numbers could long survive. That survivorship was, however, rendered impossible by the changes which were made in the Imperial Parliament. When Lord John Russell not only admitted essential alterations in the frame of the Bill, but gave beforehand the Royal Assent to other changes, which might be desired, it became impossible to preserve that conservative check on which Mr. Wentworth relied to prevent hasty alterations. Mr. Wentworth was anxious to prevent the inundation of the populace; but he was not less anxious to exclude from power the Imperial Government. The remembrance of long years of neglect, and of wounds given and received in seasons of warfare, induced him, when framing the Constitution, to exact from Imperial hands the moderating power. Thus he surrendered the land—not only its revenue, but its management—to the existing colonists. Thus he left at their discretion the appropriation of the funds acquired by the sale of the national estate. The effect has been precisely opposite to what he desired, and unfortunately the grandest means ever possessed by a country and destined to secure the preponderance of European population was destroyed at once. Thus these territories have every prospect, from the absurd opposition to immigration and the confiscation of the public lands, of being inhabited by an Asiatic people. We might have secured the ascendancy of a British people against all the chances of the future by using well the national estate; but that security has been compromised by the popular madness. . . .”

When the President of the old Council resigned rather than accept what he deemed to be a discourtesy, with the results already set out, the *HERALD* devoted a leading article to a warm encomium upon his action and upon the services of the dying Council in general. Said the writer (11th May, 1861)—and the words read with a curious significance to-day, in view of the political crisis which occurred in 1927, during the governorship of Sir Dudley de Chair, and to which this article of 1861 might almost be taken to refer:

“ . . . This proceeding must have removed any lingering doubt which existed in the minds of men, whether a nominee Chamber can maintain itself face to face with a democratic Assembly, with the power to coerce by unlimited swamping. We should do the Governor wrong were we even to refer to him as a party in this affair. Almost a total stranger, he could exercise no judgment on the candidates. Nor are we aware of any check worth a straw that he can interpose between the Legislature. We have here the logical result of universal suffrage, which, confiding all power to the hands of one class, makes the resistance of every other hopeless, if not contemptible. We have never from the time of its institution placed any trust in the power of the Upper House, saving so far as it might reside in the intellectual character of its members, and in this there is a constant tendency to deterioration, because the nominations of the Ministry must be a reflection of the Ministry itself.

“This, however, we are sure, that the exhibition of firmness, integrity and fearless independence will secure the esteem of a British community—when services merely rendered to destroy the constitutional action of the Legislative Council shall only be recollected with reprobation and scorn. Our public men have, in some instances, at least, saved their honour, even if their cause is lost. An honourable man will bow with patience to the inevitable, but he will sacrifice his life rather than be the accomplice of demoralisation, of spoliation, or despotism.”

When the nominations to the new Council, with Wentworth as its President, were announced, the *HERALD*, finding none of the May nominees among its ranks, and acknowledging the futility of further opposition to a measure which had manifestly the support of the majority of the electors behind it, welcomed—though somewhat doubtfully—the new Councillors and the new order of things which their appearance in the

role of legislators was bound to accomplish. Nor was the accomplishment—so far as the land legislation, which had caused the crisis, was concerned—long delayed. The Cowper Government introduced almost at once two measures entitled respectively, "A Bill for Regulating the Alienation of Crown Lands" and "A Bill for Regulating the Occupation of Crown Lands," which, between them, comprised all the provisions previously disputed. Both having been carried through the Assembly without difficulty, Robertson, in the Council, safely piloted his measures to finality. It will, at this point, therefore, be advisable to interpolate a brief reference to the story of previous land legislation in the Colony, and of the process by which it came to be considered essential to the fortunes of its inhabitants that some such drastic revision of the law as that which Robertson's measures provided, should be effected.

In the very early days of the Colony, Phillip had instituted a system of grants whereby such persons as were inclined for agriculture, and were deemed worthy of the privilege, were enabled to take up areas of Crown Land. Considerable exploitation of this system, after he had left the Colony, induced his successors in the 'twenties to introduce sales of land in addition to the free grants. After the vast areas beyond the Blue Mountains became available, the "waste lands of the Crown" could be held for grazing purposes by means of "Tickets of Occupation." But the issue of these ceased in 1827, and, after that date, persons in occupation of such lands were required to pay a small quit rent of 20/- per 100 acres, and to enter into certain covenants as to vacation of the lands upon notice duly given. As the requirements of the settlers increased they naturally began to take over the unsettled areas; and they usually did this without notifying the Crown and without paying anything for the privilege. On the other hand, of course, they acted at their own risk and without any legal rights or privileges. So great did this "trespass" become that, in 1833, a law was passed protecting these unsettled Crown lands from unregulated intrusion; and Commissioners were appointed to inspect and safeguard the Crown rights over them. This enactment proving insufficient, further regulations, subject to severe penalties for infringement, were issued in 1836. Three years later, still further legislation was deemed necessary, and in March, 1839, an Act was passed to restrain unauthorised occupation of the Crown lands, and to provide means for defraying the cost of a police service and still more Commissioners. In 1847 an Order in Council was gazetted under the provisions of the Act of that year, whereby the system previously obtaining was completely altered. For the yearly license to graze on waste lands, pastoral leases for a term of years were substituted, the rent being calculated upon the grazing capacity of the subject area and the term varying in accordance with the classification of the district—"unsettled," "intermediate" or "settled," as the case might be—wherein that area was situated. In the unsettled districts the term was fourteen years; in the intermediate, eight years; and in the settled, one year as before. In addition, the lessees had the right to depasture their stock upon any vacant Crown lands that might adjoin their leases. The effect of all this legislation, which had been originally introduced in order to restrain occupation, was actually to make "squatting" legal.

This was the state of affairs existing when Robertson brought in his famous Acts. Briefly summed up, the effect of these measures was that the pastoral leases over the lands in the unsettled and intermediate districts were limited to five years, and the whole of them were thrown open (subject only to that brief tenancy) to anyone who cared to select them, provided, of course, that the selector did not take up more than a certain prescribed area (40 to 320 acres, according to locality), and that he fulfilled certain conditions of residence.

On the 21st October, 1861, the *HERALD* accepted the new legislation with resignation and editorially commented upon it in the following terms:

"We congratulate the country on the passing of the Land Bills, just as we should do on the termination of any other conflict by which the patient was kept in agony, and which could only end in one way. Time will show whether those who have demanded or those who have opposed the Land Bills as they stand, are the wisest and most patriotic of the colonists. In all questions of this kind, people who take opposite sides and strong views are apt to prophecy unbounded advantages or unutterable woes. Time corrects their errors and moderates their confidence or regret. That there are many provisions in the Land Sales Bill which may work advantageously no one disputes and no one ever doubted. They are, indeed, contained in other Bills which have been repeatedly laid before the country during the last four or five years. The points at issue between the chief opponents and supporters of these Bills are not affected by the unobjectionable nature of some provision, such as have existed in every other measure, or in every proposed amelioration of the law. Let it be remembered, then, that it was not to the facilitating of the possession of land that anyone objected, and that no strong opposition was felt towards some experiments, of which the more experienced of the colonists have very small expectations. But the real question was, whether the pastoral interest should be sacrificed or placed in jeopardy, or subjected to needless annoyance; whether our millions of exports should be risked at once for changes, the issue of which no man can foresee, but which all persons of any standing in the country, and not the authors or political abettors of these Bills, have greatly distrusted.

"The great points of dispute, then, were the extension of the right of selection over the entire Colony, including millions of acres which are useful only for pastoral purposes, and capable of realising a revenue to the Crown; whether any man should capriciously enter a run, and render it worthless, not by the use which he could make of the small section he might acquire, but by the annoyance he could inflict, and for which relief will only be obtained by the payment of blackmail. The objectors to the Bill opposed the alienation of Crown lands without defining the limits of occupation, without having any legal description of its position—as leading to infinite litigation hereafter. The objection to the Bill was, that it gives to the occupiers of small allotments of land an unlimited credit, thus encouraging the unprofitable occupation of land, and creating a whole class of persons interested in evading and defeating the claims of the Crown. It is foreseen by those who opposed this measure that the 'deferred payment' will be no payment at all, and would lead to violence and bloodshed were it not certain that by our feeble Governments an unpopular ejection will never be attempted. Let it be remembered that the objection to the Bill is that it offers, to free selection, land which many persons would be anxious to possess, and for which they would be willing to give an auction price; not only an injustice to all who have purchased contiguous lands at auction, but a useless and improvident sacrifice of the difference between the Crown Land Office rate and the outside current price.

"The opponents of the Bill have maintained that the demand for land is limited, and in the nature of things must be—that any stimulus of speculation will only disturb the natural flow of capital without producing a return to the proprietor, and that this, although it may for a moment enrich the treasury, will in the long run, impoverish the country. It is maintained by the opponents of the Bill that anything which would excite the population to quit the production of raw exportable material for a fanciful scheme of agriculture, will end in disappointment, and in the formation—so far as it is successful at all—of a miserable race of shambling cotters.

"The opponents of the Bill have maintained that it is the interest of the country on behalf of morals, government, and commerce, to concentrate the population; that the plan of the Bill is to scatter it—that on those borders which divide the more settled from the remote waste lands of the country there will be a class of predatory squatters created, whose deplorable moral condition will ensure to a future Government a harvest of disorder and crime. . . ."

The actual effect of Robertson's Acts was that the original lessees of the lands affected were at the mercy of the selectors, the latter being able—and in innumerable cases only too willing—to pick out the best spots, or "eyes," in a run and, by so doing, spoil the whole value of the property, a procedure which was encouraged and facilitated by the fact that the Acts very unfairly put the same value on every acre of Crown lands in the Colony. Doubtless the legislation was framed with the idea of fostering immigration; and doubtless it did so. But that it worked incalculable injustice is no less certain.

It led to the eye-picking or "peacocking" we have mentioned; it led to the wholesale practice of the fraudulent system of "dummying"—under which non-genuine selectors took up lands as secret agents for the squatter—which was for many years the curse of the involved land tenures of the Colony. And it led to the very evil which it had been passed to prevent, *viz.*, the passing of immense areas of good land into the hands of a few individuals. The Act said that if the selection were not made *bona fide*, the selection was to be forfeited and sold. Consequently the fraudulent had only to take up land in fictitious names and leave it unresided upon. The inspectors then naturally reported that the selection was *mala fide*, and the land, being put up for sale, was bought right out by the moneyed man who had worked the trick, and by repeating it often enough, he arranged in the end to obtain the absolute ownership of a vast area. In a little over twenty years an area of 39,000,000 acres of Crown lands was disposed of in one way or another under the Robertson Acts, and more than half of it by selection, and yet this enormous alienation increased the number of settlers by only 21,000.

Even where the selection was *bona fide*, so far as the actual personality of the selector was concerned, it might be made in the worst faith so far as his intentions were concerned. He would select a portion of a squatter's lease and so harass him by impounding his stock, or preventing his access to water, or by some such annoying process, that the squatter would be compelled to buy the intruder out at an extortionate price. On the other hand, the really genuine selector could be similarly injured by the squatter upon whose run he had selected. It can hardly be wondered at, then, that war to the knife should have been declared between the two classes and that the whole land legislation of the Colony—and, as a corollary, the fortunes of the Colony generally—were maleficiently affected. It is true that, prior to 1861, all the available grazing and agricultural lands were locked up—or could be locked up—in the hands of a comparatively few moneyed men; and that some remedy for the evil had to be found. But even in this respect the remedy which the "free selection before survey" system provided was, as we have seen, worse than the disease; and it was long before the Colony recovered from the infection which it spread.

We have said that the system was inaugurated with the idea of encouraging immigration; and immigration was a matter that bulked very largely in the politics of the period. It was deemed necessary to induce the farming classes of the United Kingdom to come to the Colony; and with this purpose in view the Voluntary and Assisted Immigration Funds Act was passed about the same time as the Robertson measures. This Act appropriated £50,000 towards the assistance of the cause, and a further sum of £5,000 was voted for the purpose of sending lecturers and agents to the Old Country to address meetings and explain to possible immigrants the advantages offered them in New South Wales. Henry Parkes and William Bede Dalley were appointed to these positions and left for England about the middle of the year. They arrived there in August, and their eloquence and exertions in aid of the cause of immigration were fairly successful.

William Bede Dalley, who was born in Sydney in 1831—the same year as the *HERALD*—had, after completing his education at Sydney College and the School attached to St. Mary's Cathedral, joined the ranks of the legal profession and been called to the New South Wales Bar in 1856. In 1857 he entered politics, gaining the Sydney seat in the first Parliament under responsible Government, after Parkes, who had won it originally, had resigned it on account of his financial troubles. In the second Parliament he was returned for the Cumberland Boroughs, and was given the portfolio of Solicitor-General in the Cowper Ministry; and in the third he represented Windsor. He resigned

the seat in February, 1860, and in 1861 was appointed to the Legislative Council. His powers of oratory were already so established that in May, 1861, the Government had no hesitation in giving him the appointment to which we have referred.

The HERALD was very antagonistic to this scheme of sending commissioners to England, and said so in a number of leaders. When, despite its opposition, the proposals were accepted by the Parliament and the two commissioners appointed, the paper spoke its mind on the whole subject very freely. We quote from the leading article of the 23rd May, 1861:

"The appointment of Messrs. Parkes and Dalley as emigration commissioners required some explanation. No one ever understood what was the specific character of their mission. They had no tidings to carry to England of a special nature. The speeches delivered by Mr. Parkes and the principles they have been intended to elucidate certainly were no preparation for the present undertaking, nor will they furnish a text-book to sustain his appeals. . . .

"We may assume that the Land Bill will shortly become law. According to the notion of our local politicians, it is a grand thing to say that the whole Colony is open to free selection, but the statement of the agents of other colonies will be much more popular at home—that there are lands already selected, that their quality is already known, and that they have been reserved by the Government for immigrants; that they are measured and described, and that they will be enabled at once to enter upon them. To tell the English farmer that he may go and choose where he likes, and, at the same time, to inform him that all the land within the counties worth anything, in the opinion of the Ministers, is in private hands, is to tell him, at all events, to keep clear of New South Wales. Could Mr. Parkes point out in what way a man arriving in this port, would obtain a knowledge of good land, or enter upon it? Could he suggest any agency which could assist him in his search? Could he point out any person possessing a legal right to act as pioneers, and to sell their superior knowledge to others? Are not these *abuses* in the eye of the Ministry?

"The cry of free selection is a cry of vengeance. It is understood in this country. It is to punish a class of men who are too prosperous. But for men at home, who have no vengeance to satisfy, it is a cry of futility—of illusion—of utter uncertainty. And so it will be found when the Commissioners for this Colony come face to face with the representatives of Queensland, of Victoria, and of Southern Australia. . . ."

As it turned out, the Commissioners were successful in inducing a number of excellent settlers to come to the Colony, and, in view of this, and the incidence of other matters of more interest and importance, the HERALD's opposition gradually waned, although it was never translated into active support of the project, or of the men behind it.

About this time the Sydney Ragged Schools were established, and the HERALD gave a great deal of space to the reports and activities of the committees responsible for their support and progress. In this respect the paper was once more evidencing its advocacy of all truly philanthropic movements inaugurated in the Colony, an advocacy which has been as consistent throughout its whole history as it has been effective. In September and October, 1861, there was a strike of the coal-miners in Newcastle which lasted for some weeks and terminated, as the HERALD had foreseen that it must, in favour of the owners. The main questions in dispute were (a) the right of the employers to engage or dismiss men without reference to the Union, (b) a proposal to reduce wages in certain sections of the industry, and (c) the right of the Union to limit the output of coal, either as a whole, or of any particular man or mine. On the 7th November the paper makes a reference to its own attitude in such matters, and to outside opinion on that attitude, which, in view of the innumerable strikes and labour troubles which have since that time played havoc with our industries, makes interesting reading to-day. Says the writer:

" . . . It is the misfortune of many of the miners, not ours, to regard the opinions of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD as the mind of the capitalist, and to assume that they are expressed

with a sinister design. We might point to almost every case in which we have stood in hostility to the popular idea, whether in reference to the great political measures, or the movement of particular classes, to show in the event how true have been the principles we have laid down, and how thoroughly they have been confirmed by experience. We claim only to forecast the certain operation of causes, whose effect has been displayed a thousand times. There requires nothing more than the knowledge of the established principles of social life, or the conditions of industrial development, to tell beforehand, and with mathematical accuracy, how, what is now extant, will govern the development of that which is to come. . . .

"We hope that the example afforded by the strike will be useful hereafter. The people of Newcastle naturally and humanely sympathise with the families of the miners. It is pleasing to every right-minded man to see the working classes in comfort and prosperity, and it is especially pleasing to shopkeepers when the chief cost of production is represented by wages which flow into all the channels of retail trade. But both the miners and the traders of Newcastle will learn by this strike and its consequences, that their interest is not in contraction, but in expansion; not in repelling commerce, but in inviting it; not in making that dear which Providence designed should be cheap, but in producing at such a price, and under such terms as shall secure for the port of Newcastle a large and overflowing trade. . . .

"The only party benefited now are the employers themselves, whose capital is not required, and the only parties who are the losers are the men who have put violent restraints upon their own industry, and who now with folded hands have to wait, and long, we fear, will have to wait, the revival of that trade which they have so foolishly laboured to destroy."

In a leading article published on 3rd December, 1860, the *HERALD* had advocated the introduction from abroad of various game animals which it believed would breed well here and promote the fortunes of the Colony. Among the suggested importations were alpacas, elands, salmon—and the rabbit! "Those who recollect an English warren," said the writer, "and know how large a part it contributes to the provision market, will be glad to hear that an attempt is now to be made on a sufficient scale to introduce the wild rabbit on the estate of Mr. Holt at Cook's River." Now, in November of 1861, we find that the introduction had been duly effected, and are amused to read that: "Experience will doubtless prove that they (the rabbits) are not less prolific in this than in other countries. . . . Those in Mr. Holt's warren have already become numerous, and, before long, it will be necessary to thin their ranks. Thus the favoured sportsmen may renew at the Antipodes an English pastime, with which are associated many pleasing associations."

In the issue of the 8th November, of this year, there appears a Melbourne message, dated the preceding day, which will carry its own appeal to all who are in any way interested in the history of sporting. For it chronicles the running of the first Melbourne Cup—that great event which has been held annually without a break ever since that November day in 1861, and has now grown into one of the most important racing attractions in the world. It is curiously significant, both of the growth of the importance of "The Cup" and of the capabilities of the telegraphic service between the two cities, to compare this first bald message with the columns of descriptive matter that are to-day sent flashing to the four quarters of the globe upon the instant of the completion of the race.

The whole reference occupies only seven lines; and when the usual mail came along, a week later, bringing Melbourne news to the 11th of the month, the *HERALD* correspondent's budget from the Southern Capital did not even mention the race—or the meeting!

It only remains to add, of 1861, that the American Civil War having broken out during its currency, the *HERALD* dealt with the news from the seat of hostilities as thoroughly and effectively as the dilatory news processes of the day admitted.



HERALD OFFICE IN THE SEVENTIES.

The picture shows the congestion of two-way traffic in Pitt Street, and it will be noted that there are no trams. The Caxton head incorporated in the present building is above the clock.



Circular Quay in the sailing ship days. Some of the old buildings facing the Quay still remain. The photograph is dated 1871.



George Street, Sydney's main thoroughfare, was always thronged on the principal shopping night, then Saturday. The date of the picture is 1877.



The Sydney Four-In-Hand Club out for a drive 1873. The Governor (Sir Hercules Robinson) in the leading carriage.



Choosing a Valentine. A Sydney shopping picture of 1877.



New South Wales Volunteer Artillery in the early 'sixties; Government House in the background.

The leading article of the 31st July, 1862, makes reference to a matter which was to improve the system of conveyancing in the Colony to a very great degree. This was the introduction, by the passage of the "Real Property Act," of the "Torrens Title" system of dealing with transactions in land, whereby the complications of the Old Common Law Titles are eliminated, and a simple statutory system of registering with the Registrar-General every transaction on a prescribed form and having a notification of that transaction endorsed upon the one original "Certificate of Title" to the subject land, takes its place. The system derives its name from Sir Robert Torrens, of South Australia, who originated the idea in 1857, and succeeded in inducing the South Australian Parliament to make it the law of that Colony the following year. Queensland adopted the system in 1861, Tasmania early in 1862, and New South Wales and Victoria later in the same year. New Zealand was to follow suit in 1870, and Western Australia to make the system operate throughout the whole of Australia by adopting it in 1874. Many of the Old Common Law Titles, created before the inception of the system, still remain outside its provisions; but they are gradually and continuously being brought within them. As all lands alienated by the Crown since the passage of the Act of 1862 are necessarily within them also, it is evident that eventually the greater portion of the continent will be held under "Torrens Title." The *HERALD* article of the 31st July, 1862, strongly advocates the introduction of the "Torrens Title" and reiterates the advantages of the system which it had already explained in previous articles.

One other event of 1862 must be chronicled. On 9th October of that year, Wentworth, rising in his place as President of the Legislative Council, announced that that would be the last occasion upon which he would preside over the deliberations of the Chamber. In a brief but eloquent address, which moved not only himself but all his hearers to emotion, he bade farewell to the scene of his many labours and triumphs, and retired. The Council immediately adjourned out of respect for the occasion; and towards the end of the month Wentworth left for England. The *HERALD* of the 22nd of October devoted its leading article to a careful appreciation of, and farewell to, the "Grand Old Man" of Australia; and we quote briefly from the eloquent passages of the writer:

"We bid farewell to Mr. Wentworth, and wish that mild and genial suns—if he can find them in old England—may light his passage over the brief space which must separate three score years and ten from the bourne from whence no traveller returns. Nearly fifty years ago he appeared as a young Australian author, full of patriotism and poetry, breathing indignation against the neglect and contempt of his native land, and warmed with its opening destinies. For many long years he was the advocate, the tribune, and the idol of his countrymen. He turned an undaunted face to Power, asserted the rights of citizenship, and hastened their full recognition. He then became the legislator of Australia, and, looking to all nations, he found none offer a fit model for his own native land like the Constitution of England. . . .

"The addresses delivered by Mr. Wentworth on political subjects showed unabated mental vigour and steadiness of purpose. His last warnings sound like the last words of history, so fortified are they by his long experience. A balance of constitutional power will never be admitted by those who wield a despotism. We should offend Mr. Wentworth and degrade our proper position were we to load his career with indiscriminate eulogy. We wish we could say that his public character in all its parts, his principles in all their developments, merited unmingled admiration. But if we do not follow him with incense, we have never pursued him with defamation. We regard him as a great man, made so by the circumstances of his epoch, his force of will and eloquence of tongue, and by the large space he has filled in the eyes of the Australian world, thus drawing around him the warmest admiration and the strongest passions of the Anglo-Australian race.

"It would be fortunate for the youth of this Colony if the better qualities of their eminent countryman seized their imitation. It is easy to storm like Wentworth, to copy his daring, to imitate

his freedom of speech, but it was intellectual vigour, strong sense, and earnest toil that secured him in a place in history, and entitled him to a lasting remembrance.

"We follow Mr. Wentworth with our best wishes—that he may realise long life, that he may see the warnings he uttered obeyed; that he may be happy in his household, and that all he has done with a patriotic and single mind for the good of this country may return to him in its benedictions. We wish him all this—and more than this—although we name it not, and without which all else will leave but a sense of poverty.

*"Multa petentibus
Desunt multa. Bene est, cui Deus obtulit
Parca, quod satis est."*

Wentworth was never to return to Australia alive. He died in England in March, 1872, in the 79th year of his age; and, in response to his desire, his body was brought back to Australia for burial in his well-loved home at Vaucluse. On the 6th May, 1872, it was accorded a State funeral—the first of its kind in Australia. Both Houses adjourned for the occasion, and one of the greatest gatherings of the public that Sydney had ever known attended to do honour to "the patriot's" memory.

Early in 1863 the HERALD had published a number of leaders upon the action of Dr. Lang in attempting to get a Bill through the Assembly wherefrom certain of his educational projects—and incidentally himself—would reap considerable material benefit. The Bill was defeated; and, in annoyance at his failure, the doctor launched from platform and press a series of attacks against the HERALD. The paper, in return, published the leading articles referred to; and from these we quote the following brief extracts:

"Some thirty-two years have elapsed since the first movement of Dr. Lang in the establishment of his Australian College. The artifices by which he has eluded payment are really a study for a lawyer, and will entitle him to a distinguished place among those who are most skilful in fencing off uncomfortable claims. . . . It appears that the rent of the houses (College buildings) in these unhappy times is £800, and that his mortgage is £340. The clear gain, therefore, of the doctor upon the whole buildings is £460, and this from property created by public money, and under mortgage to the Crown, on which no interest has been paid for thirty years on more than £200 per annum. 'I only wish,' says this modest patriot, 'this paltry affair of the mortgage to be set at rest for ever, by its being cancelled forthwith.' Was Jenkinson's Greek half so sublime?"

" . . . All seemed likely to succeed, but the doctor's plans were exposed to the enemy. Hence the doctor's indignation, and the general amusement of the public, who like to see variety in the fortunes of roguery as well as in war."

Unwilling, apparently, at the time to attack of HERALD itself in direct reply to these articles, the doctor attacked it indirectly through its Editor, the Rev. John West. His indictment took the form of an open letter "To the Editors of the London *Daily News*, and *Daily Telegraph*, and of *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh," which the doctor subsequently handed to *The Empire* for publication. The writer coupled John Fairfax with West in many of his philipics; but the bulk of his anger was wreaked upon the latter alone. Here are a few typical sentences:

"This notorious slanderer of our community . . . the Rev. John West, Editor of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, under its now sole proprietor, Mr. John Fairfax. Of both these parties I might almost be tempted to say with the poet: '*Arcades ambo, et ambo cantare parati*'; that is, when done into English: 'Both professed Congregationalists and both ready, on all proper occasions, to cover over their deadly hostility to popular institutions and the rights of men, with the same hypocritical cant and sanctimonious whine.' . . .

"Such, then, is the discreditable turncoat who has been vilifying and slandering this noble Colony . . . to the people of England, through the columns of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, for years past. I have no intention to rake up the impudent falsehoods and calumnies to which he has given utterance. . . ."

Mr. West promptly brought an action for libel against the publishers of *The Empire* and was awarded £100 damages.

Dr. Lang was by no means satisfied with the result; but, for some reason which is not disclosed, he allowed his revenge to slumber for two years. Then, in the beginning of 1865, he brought an action for libel against the proprietors of the *HERALD* in respect of the article of the 3rd January, 1863, some of the offending extracts from which we have already quoted. The case came before the Supreme Court in Sydney on the 10th May, and is fully reported in the issues of the 11th and following days. It occupied three days and was heard before the same judge—Mr. Justice Wise—who had tried Mr. West's case against the proprietors of *The Empire*. It is unnecessary to go into the evidence; but a portion of the Judge's summing up is worth quoting, as showing the motive which actuated Dr. Lang in bringing the action. His Honour said:

"Over two years had elapsed since this publication. And, more than that, it was in evidence that no complaint had been publicly made by the plaintiff of the article now sued upon, nor any intimation given of an intention to make it the subject of an action, until the 6th June, 1863—six months after the publication of it. At a public meeting on that day, in reference to a recent action by Mr. West against the proprietors of *The Empire* for a libel on the former, said to have been written by the present plaintiff himself, the plaintiff first avowed his intention to make the article of the previous 3rd January the subject of an appeal to a court of law . . . not because he cared about the article as affecting himself, but because Mr. West had brought an action against *The Empire* . . . instead of proceeding against himself as writer of the article complained of. . . ."

His Honour then reviewed the facts of the case and, on the whole, summed up in favour of the defendants. "It was clear," he repeated, "that the plaintiff was not seeking damages merely because his own character had been assailed, but by way of vengeance for what had been done in the action against *The Empire*." The jury disagreed, but, the parties consenting to accept a majority decision, a verdict by nine to three was returned in favour of the plaintiff, awarding him £350 damages.

In December, 1863, occurred the sad and sudden death of Mr. Charles Fairfax, in circumstances which have already been detailed; and two years later his brother, Mr. Edward Ross Fairfax, was taken into the firm of John Fairfax & Sons, in his place.

The whole of this decade is rendered unhappily memorable by the revival of bush-ranging; a revival which the gold discoveries had inaugurated, but which did not attain to its worst proportions until the middle of the 'sixties. Owing to the vastness of the Colony, and the lack of essential protection which that vastness naturally created, it was almost impossible to prevent these lawless men from carrying on their reign of terror. The police performed wonders, and the Government tried its best; but gang after gang managed to defy both, for months—and even years—at a time. In the 'thirties and 'forties the evil had been to some extent held in check—and, indeed, at one time almost altogether wiped out—through the activities of the mounted police operating in the more or less settled districts of the Colony. But at that time the settled districts had been comparatively small, and the areas outside were useless from the bushrangers' point of view, except as a safe haven of refuge, since where there were no settlers there was naturally no communication, and no one on whom to exercise their callous trade. But now things were vastly different. Thousands of square miles had been added to settlement; communication was constant throughout the whole of the eastern, northern, and southern sections of the Colony; highly valuable goods, including the raw gold itself, the most valuable of all, were continually in transit between the outlying centres and the larger towns, and no police force could be maintained in sufficient magnitude to cope with such a state of affairs. It was an open invitation to the outlaw and the felon; and he was prompt to seize it. The *HERALD* files of this time are full of stories of the brutalities and desperate activities of the bushranger. The first, and one of the worst, of these crimes occurred in June, 1862, when the gold

escort from the Lachlan diggings was held up and about £14,000 in all was stolen. But this was but the beginning; and from that time onwards for many years the nefarious business of bushranging was prosecuted with a continuity and, to put it fairly, a success, that rightly roused the apprehensions of the whole community. The names of Gardiner, Ben Hall, and many another of their devilish kidney, were on all men's mouths and became bogey-words with which nursemaids frightened fractious children into quietude.

In March, 1865, the situation had grown so bad that the Government introduced, and carried in April, the Felons Apprehension Bill, which provided for the outlawry of persons guilty of bushranging, and of those who helped them. It also largely increased the powers of the police and proved in all ways very helpful as a means of restricting, although it did not by any means prevent, the activities of the reckless criminals who had taken to the bush. It is hardly too much to say that during the whole of Sir John Young's term of office—1862-1867—not a week passed without its record of this species of crime. Indeed, during a large portion of it, robberies and similar acts of violence were of almost daily occurrence. It was not until twenty years or so later, when the electric telegraph had cobwebbed the country, and the railways had followed the coach into the further recesses of the outback, that the evil, reaching its grand climacteric in the savage outbreaks of the Kelly Gang in the late 'seventies, was, with that reign of terror broken, at long last overcome. A short reference to that notorious band of outlaws, though it takes us temporarily ahead of our period, may therefore well be added here.

The doings of the Kelly Gang have fashioned themselves almost into a saga of crime. Certainly legend and exaggeration have added to a sufficiently sordid chronicle a glamour to which it had no rightful claim. The Kelly Gang were a band of brutal cut-throats, whose deeds were as execrable as their activities were unique, and their leader, the infamous "Ned," displayed throughout his career hardly a single characteristic, or performed a single act, which might be urged in his favour. For ten years he had led a life of thievery and crime, when in 1878 he organised the gang which was to achieve the unenviable notoriety of the "worst of the bushrangers." The principal members of the gang consisted of Ned himself, his brother Dan, and a callous ruffian named Joe Byrne. These three, aided by a number of secret sympathisers, carried out their business of "sticking up" mails and travellers and stealing horses for several years, making their headquarters in the Glenrowan district of northern Victoria. This wild and hilly country enabled them to elude pursuit and, by occasional expeditions across the border into southern New South Wales, both to mystify the authorities and terrorise the helpless settlers. In October, 1878, being surprised by a party of police near Mansfield, Victoria, the gang shot three of them dead; and, as a result, were outlawed. Thus rendered desperate, the Kellys began that two years of ultra-criminality which has made them so notorious. Eventually, in the last weeks of June, 1880, they were surrounded in a bush inn at Glenrowan, and, after a determined resistance, in the course of which both Dan Kelly and Joe Byrne were killed, Ned Kelly, clad in a rough, self-made armour, was shot in the legs, captured and taken to Melbourne. There, after he had recovered from his wounds, he was tried for the shooting of the police, convicted and sentenced to death. The usual petitions for reprieve that are signed in all such cases were received by the authorities; but Kelly's crimes were too red for any mercy to be shown him. The *HERALD* of the 12th November, 1880, thus describes the final scene:

"Kelly expiated his career of crime this morning on the gallows in the Melbourne Gaol. Up to a short period before his execution he entertained sanguine hopes of reprieve, and made frequent written appeals for clemency; but without avail. Yesterday the governor of the gaol in-

formed him that there was no hope, and told him he must prepare for the worst. Kelly made a final appeal that his body should be given up to his friends for burials, but this was also refused as against prison regulations. His three sisters paid him a farewell visit last night, and an affecting scene ensued. . . . Precisely at ten o'clock this morning the governor of the gaol and sheriff went to the door, and the warder announced that the fatal moment had arrived. The priests, one bearing a tall crucifix and intoning prayers, preceded the prisoner, who exhibited some signs of faltering, but made great efforts to hold up. The gallows is situated opposite to the cell door, and the rope is adjusted to a beam in the gallery of the new wing of the gaol, the drop being seven feet and a half. Kelly, on coming out, exclaimed: 'Ah, well! it's come to this at last.' He gave one look at those present beneath, and then cast his eyes down and stepped on the fatal spot, where the noose was adjusted and the white cap pulled over his face. The bolt was drawn, and the prisoner fell with a heavy thud. . . . An immense mob congregated outside, numbering about 6,000 persons, but there was no disturbance. Mr. Berry refused to publish the statements of Kelly, because they were merely a repetition of his defence. Kelly, in these statements, expressed no contrition, but justified the shooting of the policeman."

There have been sporadic outbreaks of bushranging since the days of the Kellys; but in every instance they have run their course speedily and, on the whole, with comparative ineffect.

The year 1867 is sadly remembered in our annals for the great floods which swept the valley of the Hawkesbury in the month of June. Of the many similar visitations which this area has known, this particular inundation was probably the worst it has ever suffered. There was considerable loss of life, and the destruction of property was enormous. The *HERALD*'s representative was on the spot, and his articles paint a vivid description of the catastrophe. We quote a few paragraphs:

"The plain on which Windsor is partly situated, united with South Creek and Eastern Creek, form a vast inland sea, over the surface of which, when the wind has been high, the broken-crested billows roll with as much force and volume as they do during moderately squally weather in Sydney Harbour. A boat may now be taken through deep waters from Riverstone to the Blue Mountains—a distance of about fifteen miles; and from Pitt Town to the Kurrajong, some twenty miles. If the course of the Hawkesbury were taken, the area of flooded country would be considerably greater. . . .

"The waters rose so fast that rescue in many places seemed hopeless. . . . Private boatmen, as well as the Government, under the circumstances, kept tolerably calm and continued their work with resolution and vigour. The wind at times blew furiously, the rain came down in torrents, and the waters rolled over the plains with a tumultuous impetuosity. The boats had to be pulled round chimneys or gabled corners, rowed over fences and telegraph wires, or pushed through patches of forest. But, despite every difficulty, the men worked cautiously as well as expeditiously. . . . The people saved were mostly taken off from the upper windows of their homes. Many were taken from off the ridges, and some were dragged out through holes cut in the roof. . . . William and Thomas Eather, living at Cornwallis, placed their wives and children on the roofs of their houses, and there clung with them, awaiting help; but the rising waters washed them off. The two wives and their ten children were overwhelmed in the floods, and the husbands saved themselves and one little boy, only by swimming to a willow tree, from which they were shortly afterwards rescued and taken in a boat to Richmond. . . . The distress of the whole district is frightful to contemplate, and the resources of the inhabitants are altogether inadequate to meet it."

Fortunately, the sympathy of the rest of the Colony was as spontaneous as it was practical. Funds were at once forthcoming from a hundred sources; relief committees were appointed and went to work at once; and everything possible was done to mitigate the cruel blow which fate had struck the Hawkesbury residents. But, all the same, it was long enough before the district altogether recovered from the effects of the flood of 1867.

Towards the end of this year, and of a rather colourless regime, Sir John Young vacated the gubernatorial chair and was succeeded therein, on the 1st January, 1868, by

the Earl of Belmore. On that same day the price of the *HERALD* was again reduced to twopence, a figure at which it remained for just a quarter of a century. The year, however, will be best remembered by the visit to Australia of the Duke of Edinburgh, and by the exciting incidents associated with it. His Royal Highness arrived in Port Jackson on the 21st January, after a short visit to Victoria, and received an enthusiastic welcome from the citizens of Sydney. Unfortunately, as the *HERALD* reporter puts it, "a leaden sky, a misty atmosphere and limp bunting consorted ill with the hopes and intentions of the day." But nothing could spoil the enthusiasm of the thousands who thronged each vantage point upon the harbour's flanks to see the Royal visitor. Despite the adverse weather conditions, the whole reception was a great success, and the *HERALD* devoted no less than six full columns to its description. In addition, the leading article concerned itself with the same theme.

The ducal itinerary had arranged for a stay of some weeks in New South Wales; but an unforgettable incident, which occurred on the 12th March, caused a lengthy and an involuntary extension of the visit. On the afternoon of the day in question, the Duke being then present at a picnic at Clontarf, in Middle Harbour, he was shot at, and severely wounded, by a fanatical Irishman named O'Farrell. Fortunately the wound, although inflicted at close quarters, did not prove fatal, or even gravely dangerous. But it was many days before the Duke was able to leave his bed, and a further period of about a month before he was sufficiently recovered to justify the continuance of his journey. The *HERALD* of 13th March prints a lengthy account of the affair at Clontarf, and in its leading article expressed the feelings of horror and detestation inspired throughout the whole community by the attempted assassination. Moreover, it struck a note which makes the article remarkable for its calmness of temper at a moment when the public mind was very naturally inflamed against the would-be assassin. After referring to the "shame, sorrow and rage" which pervaded the Colony, the writer went on:

"The passion would have passed all restraining bounds if the guilty wretch had not been quickly and safely removed from the reach of the popular vengeance. It was deeply moving to see how, not only the young and excitable were transported with rage, but how even grave and grey-headed men, whose tempers have been toned down by years, and whose subjection to public order has become a habit, were hungry for an immediate application of Lynch law. We count it fortunate that the opportunity was promptly withdrawn for such a display of the popular vengeance. It would have been a double calamity if the crime of the assassin against the life of our guest had been followed by a crime of the company against public order. . . .

"At present there is no authentic information as to the motives which led to the deed. Suspicions, of course, abound; but we strongly advise our readers to abstain from premature and unjust conclusions. Let us not, under cover of zeal for righteousness, commit the wrong of casting undeserved suspicions upon any person or persons—of confounding the innocent with the guilty, of assuming that the crime of a man is the crime of a party, and of implicating in the guilt, or sympathy with the guilty, those who recoil from it as strongly as we do ourselves."

As a matter of fact, O'Farrell was nearly torn to pieces by the exasperated throng at Clontarf; and had it not been for the exertions of the police he would certainly have been lynched. In the event, he was tried on the 30th March for attempted murder, duly convicted, and hanged on the 21st April. As to the suspicions to which the *HERALD* alluded, a committee was appointed to enquire into the whole circumstances of the case, and ultimately reported that "there is no evidence to warrant the belief that the crime of O'Farrell was the result of any conspiracy or organisation existing in the country." It was the era of Fenianism, an attack upon which had, strangely enough, formed the theme of a leading article in the *HERALD* a few days before the dramatic affair at Clontarf; and suspicions that Fenian activities had been concerned in the attempted assassination were rife and strong. But the report of the committee helped

greatly to allay those suspicions, although it succeeded neither in completely killing them nor in preventing Sir Henry Parkes, a little later on, from making considerable political capital out of them.

In 1868 New South Wales witnessed another advance in railway construction. The Western Line had been long delayed by the barrier of the Blue Mountains. In 1862 it had been opened as far as Penrith, at their feet; now it was carried, mainly as the result of an engineering feat known as the "first Zig-Zag," as far as Mount Victoria, on their crest. It was to take eight years longer to descend, by a similar means—known as the "Great" or "second Zig-Zag"—their farther slopes to Bathurst, the "city of the plains."

The year 1869 was undoubtedly the great year of the decade, if we are to measure greatness by importance of deed and of result. For on the 16th November, 1869, the opening of the Suez Canal shortened the distance between Australia and the Homeland by 5,000 miles, and the time for the voyage by considerably more than a fortnight. It is unnecessary—and, indeed, it would be difficult—to estimate the benefit thus effected. Its value is incalculable, and it has increased with the years.

It is, perhaps, appropriate to mention here, however, that more than three years earlier than this, *viz.*, on the 15th June, 1866, the *HERALD* had devoted a leader to the advantages of a new route to Europe, *via* Panama, which was just about to be utilised for the first time by the steamer "Kaikoura." The vessel completed the voyage in safety and with success, and returned to Sydney in the following September. She was the pioneer who blazed the trail for a fleet of followers; but the difficult transport across the Isthmus, and the double shifting of the cargo which the route necessitated, militated against its success, and the opening of the Suez Canal now administered a death blow.

The news of the opening of the Canal reached Sydney by telegraph from Adelaide, on the 21st December; but, despite the fact that on several occasions during its construction the *HERALD* had drawn attention to the greatness of the work, the paper had very little to say indeed when its completion was actually notified. In the leading article of the 21st December there is a general comment on the European news that day received, amid which there appears the following brief paragraph:

"The Suez Canal is actually opened. The ceremony attending the event drew an imposing assemblage, and a great public banquet afforded Monsieur Lesseps an opportunity to impress upon the Government of Egypt the necessity of making various reforms, especially in their judicial procedure. The steamboats of the *Messagerie Imperiales* have adopted the new route; but the P. & O. Co. do not as yet appear to have determined upon using it."

That is all—the rest of the article simply reviews the political affairs of Europe in general, and those of Ireland in particular. However, in the leading article of the 1st January following (1870) the writer, in recalling the events of the past year, did not forget to mention the Canal, although the reference was slight. "Then," he wrote, "the great achievement of Lesseps, one of the glories of French enterprise as well as individual courage, has recently been celebrated by uniting the waters of the Mediterranean with those of the Red Sea, thus opening a new way to commerce, and compressed thousands of miles." But there was not a hint as to the great results which the Canal must effect upon Australia's fortunes.

One other event of 1869 deserves mention. This was "The First Exhibition of the New South Wales Agricultural Society." It is true that exhibitions of the sort had been held before; but they had been sporadic in their occurrence and varied both in locale and management. Parramatta had seen several of them; but nothing on such a scale or so authoritatively run as this Exhibition of 1869 had yet been attempted. The Agricultural Society—for many years now entitled to the prefix "Royal"—is noted to-day

throughout the world for the magnificence and magnitude of its displays on its splendidly equipped ground at Moore Park; and the hundreds of thousands who attend the annual Show at Eastertide have long come to regard it as the great event of the year. The references, therefore, to this Exhibition of 1869 are compact of that interest which always attaches to the birth of any institution so fraught with popular appeal and wide importance.

The Exhibition was held, according to the account of the affair appearing in the *HERALD* of the 4th May—the opening date—in a “little territory, which for the time being the Corporation has placed at the disposal of the Society.” This “territory” was “bounded on the long side by Elizabeth Street, on the opposite side by the railway premises, and on the short side by Cleveland Street.” For the benefit of those Sydney residents who cannot precisely follow this description, it may be added that the actual site of the Exhibition was within Prince Alfred Park, in the vicinity of Cleveland Street Public School. “Within these bounds,” continues the *HERALD* report, “are about twenty-five acres of land from which a pretty view is obtained of the city and the Blue Mountains!” One imagines that the only way of obtaining such a view from that area to-day would be to climb the clock tower of the Station—and even then one doubts the aptness of the adjective “pretty,” as applied to the vista thus disclosed.

The Exhibition was opened by the Governor, the Earl of Belmore, and the ceremony was shorn of its rightful glitter by the state of the weather, which was “the most inauspicious that could be conceived.” However, the following days, though dull, were more favourable; and the Exhibition, which remained open until the afternoon of Saturday, the 8th May, was, on the whole, a great success. The *HERALD* had for very many years advocated the formation of such a Society and the holding of such an Exhibition; and was naturally very pleased with the whole affair. It devoted no less than three leading articles to the Exhibition during its currency, besides giving many columns to a description of the exhibits and of the events of each day. In its concluding leader, after reviewing the general success of the Exhibition, the paper stoutly expressed the opinion that the Society should arrange for larger and better grounds, and that the function should be an annual one. “Such a display of the natural and manufactured products of the Colony every year is just what is wanted,” it said, “and must be warmly supported.” How well that advice has been taken, the records of the “Royal” Show have proved for many years.

PART II.

On the 3rd January, 1870, the proprietors of the *HERALD* and the *MAIL* added a third journal to their list of publications. This was *The Afternoon Telegram*, an evening paper whose fortunes are referred to in detail in another section of this history, and which, after an uneventful existence of three months, was permitted quietly to expire.

Two other events only of this year need be mentioned—the first, the holding of the first International Exhibition ever known in Australia; the second the withdrawal of the last of the British troops from Australian soil. Of the first of these happenings it may be said that, although the Exhibition of 1870 was the first of its kind to be known by the term “International,” there had been at least two exhibitions of a minor and less general nature held in Sydney prior to 1870. A number of exhibits (of which 24 were from New South Wales, 10 from South Australia, and 350 from “Van Diemen’s Land”) had, indeed, been sent from Australia to the Great Exhibition of 1851 at the Crystal Palace in London, and these exhibits had ranged from a “Case containing 132 speci-

mens of merino wool, derived from the late Mr. Macarthur's original flock" to "a collection of mixed pickles" from J. Howe's, of Hobart Town. They had, however, not been exhibited in Australia before being sent to London. But a show of Australia's exhibits intended for the Paris Exhibition of 1855 had been held in the large hall of the Australian Museum, in November and December, 1854; and in 1861 a somewhat similar display of exhibits, intended for the London International Exhibition of 1862, had been held in the lecture room of the Sydney School of Arts. But these, by their very nature, were but small and curiously arranged affairs—the latter especially; for it included a display of stuffed llamas and alpacas to show, as it was naively explained, what sort of animals could be reared in Australia! Apparently there were no rabbits among the exhibits! The Great International Exhibition of 1870, however, as its name implied, was a vastly larger and much more elaborately planned affair altogether. It was organised and carried out by the Agricultural Society of New South Wales—an Institution which, after many preliminary failures, had, since the 'fifties, managed to blossom out into success—and was held in a building, which still stands and which was specially erected for the purpose, in Prince Alfred Park, Sydney. It was opened on the 30th August, and proved a great success, thanks mainly to the effective organising abilities of the Society's energetic Secretary, Mr. Jules Joubert. It remained open for just a month, and, during that time, attracted an immense number of spectators. Unfortunately, its opening almost exactly synchronised with the arrival of the news of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war; and the excitement aroused by this intelligence—fostered by the activities of the *HERALD* in publishing the details of the struggle both in the regular way and by "extraordinaries" as they came to hand—prevented the success of the exhibition, great as it was, from being even greater.

The *HERALD* of the 30th August devoted its leading article partly to a panegyric of the Exhibition and partly to comment upon the hostilities in Europe. We quote from it as follows:

"Our Grand Exhibition, for such it is in all its circumstances, which will be seen in the capital of the Australian world to-day, is a vigorous transplantation from the great nurseries of Europe. We start at once into manufacturing and commercial life, and have not to traverse these centuries of discovery and toil by which our nation gained its pre-eminence. The erection of a statue to Cook, the great navigator, might have been a fitting homage to his character. But he has a memorial in the building reared to show the industry, the wealth, and the incipient power of these Colonies, open to-day. St. Paul's Church, the second temple in the world, bears the following inscription to the memory of Sir Christopher Wren, which we might well transfer to the building, in view of the display which it presents—*si monumentum requiris circumspecte*—if you seek a monument, look around you.

"The exultation at this successful effort which we might feel, is abated by the intelligence from Europe. It is terrible to think that two nations, with rifled cannon, and the Chassepot and needle guns, each commanding a million of men, have suddenly plunged into war. It is still more gloomy to think that this war must cost thousands and tens of thousands of lives—that innumerable young men will perish—thus deprived of their interest in this world for the gratification of a cruel ambition. It is still more painful for us to reflect that, in the chances of war, our own nation can hardly escape. This feeling of regret must be still aggravated by the consideration that we are ill prepared for the strife. The war may be so disastrous to one of the parties as to demand an early peace. Berlin may be captured by the French troops, or France may be devastated by the Prussian armies; but whatever be the result, no advantage can follow to the nations diverted from peaceful labours, impoverished by extravagant imposts, exasperated by mutual injuries, and, perhaps, by these new weapons of war, suddenly filled with mourners. The thought of these dread games that are now playing out in Europe has cast a shadow upon the enjoyments which we should have otherwise realised, and awakened an anxiety for the future which it is not easy to suppress. . . ."

On the following day the paper published a full and detailed description of the opening of the Exhibition—the ceremony was performed by Governor Belmore—and of its varied contents. The report is full of interest, even to-day, and provides evidence, not only of the value and scope of the Exhibition, but of the excellent capabilities of the reporting staff of the *HERALD* at this date.

For some time past there had been exhibited by a certain section in England a feeling that the Australian Colonies were a growing burden to the Homeland, and that they should be permitted to work out their own salvation—if not their complete independence—in their own way. The cost of maintaining British troops at the antipodes was a particular grievance to this section; and, although the Government did not support them in this respect, and were willing to keep a small force in the Colonies, so much discussion arose as to the nature of the duties this force could be called upon to carry out, and as to the powers of the different Colonies in regard to them, that eventually the Home Authorities decided to recall the troops altogether. The last detachment left Sydney, in accordance with this decision, on the 6th September, 1870, and the *HERALD*, in the issue of the following day, had the following paragraph on the matter:

"Tuesday, August 18, witnessed an event which has not met with those reflections that its importance ought to call forth—the departure of the troops from New South Wales. The new policy of the British Government, in leaving the Colonies to provide for the duties hitherto performed by the Imperial Forces, virtually came into operation in this Colony on Friday last; its consummation was reached with the embarkation of the 18th at 3 o'clock on Tuesday. The circumstance is important, as marking an event in the history not only of this Colony, but of Australia; it is the first step towards nationality, not the result of direful conflicts and years of suffering, but the well-considered conclusion of men who rule the destiny of a great nation. We have, perhaps, looked on the British soldier as a part of our internal defence force for the last time, and now devolves upon us the responsibility of managing our own military affairs. We have seen two or three regiments of the line dwindle down to a couple of companies, for in Australia there are no internal enemies to cope with. In New Zealand, the Cape of Good Hope and Canada, there have been outbreaks which required the presence of British troops to suppress, but the time arrived when even those colonies were called on to provide for their own security against the enemy from within; so far they have been found equal to the task; and the British Government rely upon this fact as a justification of their policy. In 1788 the first representatives of the naval power of Europe landed in Sydney about 200 marines; in 1790 the first detachment of soldiers arrived, and in 1870, scarcely eighty years of time, Australia may be said to be the mistress of its own destiny, with a beneficial adhesion to the great nation to which her founders belonged."

On the 9th September there appeared a leading article, giving those "reflections" upon the departure of the troops which the *HERALD*'s reporter had very aptly said should be called forth by the event. The passage most pertinent to the subject runs as follows:

"... The probability of Britain being involved in war necessitates the consideration of the questions concerning our preparedness for the reception of an enemy. The Imperial Forces are now withdrawn and the Volunteer Forces are not sufficiently numerous. We will not discuss what is best to be done to satisfy the immediate demand for defence—whether that defence consist of the human breastwork, the armour breastwork of fighting vessels, the breastwork of masonry, or the submarine discharge of murderous torpedoes into the timbers of intruding hulls. To meet the present necessity, it may be prudent to increase the Volunteer Force by the offer of a large bonus, or to organise a colonial militia. We refer, however, to a matter of more primary importance even than these—the training of the boys in the public schools to the practice of arms. It comes hard upon us to spare adult men from the fields of industry for the drill ground; but if we drill regularly and efficiently every schoolboy in this Colony, we fit him to take arms when required, with very little additional preparation, and arouse a sentiment in favour of self-defence, which is at once natural and wholesome. . . .

"In our opinion, the lads so taught would gain a manly and self-reliant bearing, a lofty courage, a patient endurance of fatigue, and that salutary unquestioning obedience to authority which is so absolutely essential to the formation of a happy and successful character.

A little pugnacity might be infused; but this evil would be compensated abundantly by the fact of a people's being able, through this process, to dispense with an organisation far more costly and far less effective. It is a moral instinct that leads us to defend our homes, and certainly there can be nothing immoral in encouraging such military training as may tend to economise the physical forces essential for this purpose. The influence most inimical to peace is that of a standing army. A people trained to the use of weapons of defence, but engaged in peaceful avocations, are not likely to be aroused to aggressive assaults, though they quickly fire when the hearth is threatened."

As a result, partly of this article, and partly of the military enthusiasm constantly excited by the news of the European War, into which it was generally considered—as may be seen from the above quotation—that England might at any time be drawn, the Volunteer Forces were in each Colony largely augmented; and, within a year or so, they numbered several thousand in New South Wales alone. The Volunteer Force had been instituted so far back as 1854, when an Act authorising its formation had been passed by the Legislature. The effects of this piece of legislation were quickly seen; and (as it deals both with the movement and the association of the *HERALD* and its proprietors therewith) we quote an interesting section of Mr. Brewer's notes upon this period. He writes:

"Shortly after the passage of the Act of 1854, a Rifle Corps was brought into existence, similar to the London Rifle Corps, and, despite the excitement over the Crimean War, which had just then commenced, the response to this 'call to arms' was not at all general. Probably the expense of attending enrolment prevented many from joining. The Corps was afterwards nick-named 'The Buffaloes,' from an amusing incident that occurred one day while it was drilling. The Governor had a couple of cattle of the Cape Buffalo breed, which usually roamed over that part of the Domain which adjoined Government House. While at drill one afternoon, the bull, apparently exasperated by the intrusion of the troops, charged the company, head down, and put it to rout. There was no time to form square, and the bull was left in possession of the field.

"The Corps had only a short existence, as in the course of a couple of years, when the Crimean War ceased, it dwindled away, and was at last disbanded. The comparatively defenceless condition of the Colony came into prominence again at the close of the 'sixties, and the matter was ventilated in the press. Several citizens, including, among others, Mr. J. R. Fairfax, took an active part in bringing the matter before the Government of the day, and steps were taken to reorganise a force of volunteers on a more extensive scale. A proclamation was issued, calling on the people of the Colony to enrol. This time all classes responded well. Colonel Kemp, in command of the Imperial Regiment then stationed in Sydney, was appointed to the supreme command of the force; drill instructors were provided by the regulars, and some retired soldiers also gave their services in the same capacity. Drilling became the order of the day in the Domain in the early morning, at the various barracks during the day, and in the George Street Markets and other suitable places, after dark. Moonlight nights were also taken advantage of in Hyde Park. The enthusiasm spread to some of the country towns near Sydney, and towards the close of the year companies were formed and officers elected. One company was almost exclusively composed of persons employed in the *HERALD* office; and some of the other employees were members of other companies. When the election of officers took place, Mr. J. R. Fairfax was chosen captain of the No. 3 Company, composed entirely of persons unconnected with the *HERALD*, and a Mr. Harbottle was elected captain of No. 6 Company, three-fourths of whom were *HERALD* men, while Mr. F. C. Brewer was elected first lieutenant of the same company. In order to promote the efficiency of the new force in the use of the rifle, several of the gentlemen interested in the Corps took steps to establish the New South Wales Rifle Association, and gave handsome donations to provide prizes to be contested for. The Association was duly formed, Mr. Grafton Ross, son-in-law of Mr. John Fairfax, being the first honorary secretary. When the Association was first established, the funds were provided solely by donations, subscriptions for membership and entrance fees; subsequently the Government granted a subsidy—a grant which has been continued to the present day."

Mr. Brewer adds:

"This may also be a fitting opportunity to mention another Corps to whose existence some persons in the *HERALD* office contributed—the Naval Brigade. Its inception was due to the late

Mr. John Cuthbert, a well-known shipbuilder of Miller's Point. In a conversation with Mr. Charles Cook, then the *HERALD* Shipping Reporter, he expressed his regret that the numerous longshoremen about Sydney Harbour, and those employed in ship and boat building yards, were not enrolled in a naval corps with suitable boats for practice. He also expressed his willingness to act in the promotion of such a force. Cook mentioned the matter to Mr. Brewer, then hon. secretary of the Rifle Association, and he, after an interview with Mr. Cuthbert, called a meeting of the Volunteer Club for the purpose of taking steps to form the proposed Volunteer Naval Brigade. The meeting took place, resolutions were passed in accordance with the objects in view, and Mr. Cuthbert offered to provide a company from the men in his employ. The services of the Brigade were offered to the Government and accepted; and Captain Hixson was appointed Commander of the new Force, a position he still retains. The Brigade has ever been the most popular branch of the Volunteer Defence Forces, and is composed of the finest men, physically, in the service."

Mr. Brewer, it must be remembered, was writing in the 'nineties, and much water has run under the bridge since then. But he is entirely correct in his estimation of the popularity of the Naval Brigade, which, until its disbandment was necessitated by the re-formation of the Australian Military Forces, was undoubtedly first in the estimation of the public of all the volunteer detachments then in existence. The late Captain Francis Hixson, to whom he refers, was a well-known ex-naval officer who had arrived in Sydney in H.M.S. "*Herald*" in the 'fifties; but who had left the Navy and been appointed Superintendent of the Lighthouses of the Colony. He commanded the Naval Brigade until 1901. He also won distinction by raising and commanding the contingent of Naval Forces which saw service in China during the Boxer Rising. Later on he was appointed President of the Marine Board, when that institution was first established, and he held the position until the advent of Federation. He was also the founder of the Royal Naval House in Sydney, and of the Royal Shipwreck Relief Society. Two of his daughters married two brothers, Mr. G. E. and Mr. (afterwards Sir) James O. Fairfax, the grandsons of John Fairfax, and themselves subsequently to become the proprietors of the *HERALD*.

A further reference to this direct and indirect association of the *HERALD* with the Volunteer Movement about this time is given by Mr. Brewer. He writes:

"At the wayzgoose which took place in 1862, at Manly Beach, a rifle match was among the amusements provided—at this time the volunteer movement being in full blast. The match was organised by Captain J. R. Fairfax, and the firm provided the prizes, the chief one being a piece of plate. Targets were erected on the north side of the Ocean Beach, and there were many competitors. Some of them were members of the Volunteer Forces; and, of these, two—Mr. Samuel Cook (subsequently to become the General Manager of the *HERALD* Office) and a Mr. William Raynor—tied for the first place. In the shoot-off the latter won."

Such, then, was the early history of that Volunteer Force, which, at the period at which we have now arrived in our chronicle (1870), again began to figure prominently in the activities of the Colony. That activity was to continue until the Federal Defence Acts altered the whole military system of the continent; and in the enthusiasm and vigour with which the Volunteers of those days devoted their spare hours to their military duties may perhaps be seen the seed of the plant which bloomed into such splendid flower in the years of the Great War.

The issue of the 9th September, 1870, from which we have already quoted, exhibits, by the way, in a very striking form, the manner in which the proprietors of the paper kept the Homeland supplied from time to time with detailed reports of the affairs of the Colony. On each occasion when a mail left for England, the *HERALD* was published in an enlarged form, the extra pages comprising a complete summary of the local news from the date of the departure of the last mail. On this occasion the summary occupied no less than ten pages—sixty columns of close type—and included a complete statistical

history of every department of the Colony's activities during the eighty odd years of its existence. This summary is most carefully compiled, and a perusal of it is invaluable to the conscientious historian of our land.

In February, 1872, Lord Belmore retired from the governorship, and, after a few months, Sir Hercules Robinson took his place. The great event of this year—and few have affected both press and public so profoundly—was the completion of the submarine cable from England (*via* Gibraltar, Suez, Madras, Singapore, Batavia, and Port Darwin) to Australia. This great consummation of a long-worked-for ideal was mainly attributable to the splendid work of the South Australian Government, which was solely responsible for the construction of the connecting overland telegraph from Port Darwin to Adelaide. The distance between these two points is over 2,000 miles, and the country which had to be covered includes part of that vast stretch of central desert which has been termed “the dead heart of Australia.” This feat must ever stand as one of the greatest in the absorbing story of world communications.

Cable communication, as a matter of fact, had been established by cable before the land line across this central portion of the continent was quite completed, a horseman carrying the first message across a gap of about sixty miles. This event occurred on the 1st July, 1872, a date which may thus be regarded as the birthday of the service, although, as we shall see, its “official” birthday is generally recognised as having taken place nearly four months later. The message was forwarded *via* Adelaide and received by the *HERALD* about mid-day on the 2nd. It was published in a second edition of the issue of that day, and was, of course, repeated in the issue of the 3rd. The news which it gave was of no great importance, consisting mainly of financial reports, results of wool sales and a few references to the political events in England and the Continent, but its actual importance as the first of its kind is immense. Owing to a number of “breaks and unavoidable obstructions,” the message took some ten days to arrive in Sydney, having been despatched from London on the 22nd June; but, as the *HERALD* intimated in its leading article of the 3rd July, the citizens of Sydney could hardly find in that much cause for complaint, in view of the enormous increase in speed of transmission which the new method had effected. The column in that issue which was devoted to the cabled message was thus headed:

ENGLISH NEWS.

To June 22nd.

By Cable and Overland Line.

(Associated Press Telegrams.)

The following, which is the first direct telegram of news from England, per Reuter's Company, to the Australian Associated Press, by submarine telegraph, was received yesterday, at 12.30, and published in a second edition at half-past one.

The “Mercantile and Money Article,” dated the previous evening, also made reference to the new service in its opening sentences. “To-day,” it said, “marked a new era in connection with Australian commerce. During the forenoon the first direct telegram from London *via* Port Darwin was received by the Associated Press, and during ‘Change hour the commercial portions of it, posted in the Exchange, gave the mercantile community London quotations not quite ten days old.”

But, of course, the most important reference to the event is to be found in the leading article of this same day (July 3rd). It will, we think, be read with more than ordinary interest in view of the apprehensions, as well as the hopes, which the writer entertains. The material portions of it run as follows:

The appearance of the first Reuter's telegram in our journal is an event of great importance, as establishing the possibility of communicating items of intelligence not only over the Straits, but

through a vast desert. These items have their commercial and financial value, though they are not of a startling nature. . . .

The means we now have at command do not place us upon a level with European communication, where intelligence is flashed like lightning from one capital to another; but we presume our most impartial readers will hardly complain that the news has been delayed from London by breaks and unavoidable obstructions, and that it is dated so long ago as the 22nd of June! . . .

Besides the fairness of protecting the property in costly telegrams, it is of vital moment that the establishments entrusted with such great power should be thoroughly responsible. We, of course, cannot tell that the news we give is true. We may be made the instruments of immense mischief, and we are perfectly helpless in the hands of those whom we trust. A very serious statement might be made, and by an accident the wire might be useless. Suppose the last intelligence should be both mischievous and untrue! The establishment of Reuter pledges its position for the communications it makes. It is an important financial enterprise, and its stability and profits depend upon its settled reputation. This has been acquired by the experience of the English Press, which receives from Reuter the world's news. We have, therefore, some guarantee that we shall neither be made the instruments of fraud, nor share in the disgrace of publishing made-up telegrams and fictitious news. It must, however, be remembered that Reuter has no control over the wire which transmits for him, as for others, the intelligence we receive. There is no contract or agreement which prevents any newspapers from receiving from any other quarters telegrams addressed to them. The telegraph itself has no more to do with Reuter than the railroad with the passengers it conveys. Those who use it pay for it, and they only. There is no monopoly of the wire. Any message from any class of persons, for publication or not, can be sent on precisely the same terms; and Reuter receives payment for his own telegram as delivered at Java—all the other expenses from that place falling upon the Associated Press, besides the price of his news, which amounts to thousands per annum. In connection with this news, he employs agents spread over the civilized world. But we believe there is no country where they have exclusive power which does not arise from their own capital and labour. Thus we have laid before our readers a telegram whose great interest is in its history, as marking a grand event, and exchanging an anxious experiment into a great achievement. We cannot hope that there will not be some intervals of suspended communication; but we have reason to rejoice at the successful beginning, especially as we know that time will improve all facilities, and render increasingly perfect and useful this great instrument of modern civilization.

By an unfortunate mischance, on the day after this pioneer cable message was received in Sydney, a bad break in the cable was reported to have occurred between Java and Port Darwin. The *HERALD* of the 3rd stated that a steamer had been despatched to the scene of the break "with all necessary appliances, and it is expected that the damage will be promptly repaired." Unhappily, these expectations were not realised, and it was not until the 22nd October that communication was resumed; by which date the land line across Central Australia had also been completed. On that day the first "official" cable message was transmitted—those of the previous July having apparently no status in the eyes of officialdom. It was despatched by Lord Monck—the Chairman of the British Telegraph Company—to Sir James Ferguson, the Governor of South Australia, and was in these terms: "London, 3.40 p.m., 22nd October, 1872. As Chairman of the British Telegraph Company, I congratulate you and the Colonies of Australia on the completion of a great work. The spirit of determination of South Australia has nobly combined with the enterprise of the Mother Country in triumphing over all difficulties."

The Associated Press, of course, obtained their cabled messages on this same 23rd October, and in the *HERALD*'s "English News" column of that date the initial paragraph runs thus:

The following message was transmitted from London the 21st instant, at 16 hours 25 minutes, astronomical time (equivalent to 4.25 a.m. of the 22nd, Sydney time). It began to come through last night at twelve o'clock and was completed this morning at 12.46. It will be seen, therefore,

that the news has been received with great rapidity, and that there can be no doubt as to the perfection of the telegraphic arrangements or the quality of the line. The period embraced by the news is from 29th September.

The leading article of the same day was devoted to the great event.

As a final reference to this subject, we must chronicle the fact that on the 15th November following, a banquet was held at the Sydney Exchange to celebrate the opening of the cable. Sir Hercules Robinson presided, and the *HERALD*, in its issue of the following day, published a long and glowing account of the proceedings. The speeches of the various speakers are given practically in full, with the result that five columns of close type were required to carry the complete report.

A perusal of the account shows that in front of the Governor was placed "a telegraphic instrument for the transmission of congratulatory messages to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and also to all the Colonies of Australia." These messages were duly sent, and to the majority of the intercolonial ones replies were received, and read, before the proceedings terminated. To the toast of the Press, proposed by the Honourable John Hay, Mr. John Fairfax was appropriately called upon to respond; and as this constitutes another of the exceedingly rare occasions when he was prevailed upon to speak in public, we venture to quote his address. As will be seen, his remarks are not without a general interest, in addition to the special interest to this chronicle which they take on by reason of the personality of the speaker. This is the report of his speech:

"Mr. J. Fairfax said he rose with peculiar difficulty to respond to the very eloquent speech with which the toast had been proposed by the Hon. John Hay. So far as his firm was concerned, they had endeavoured to prepare for the occasion which this day celebrated. He quite concurred in all that Mr. Hay had said, that the Press must be independent of any Government and any class of persons. (Cheers.) He was not so sure if the very expensive telegraphic tariff might not send newspaper proprietors to King Street (laughter),* and then it might be that the Government would be asked for assistance; but so far as the newspaper press of this city was concerned, he hoped that event was far in the future. He was sure that every gentleman connected with the Press must feel the importance of the duty cast upon him from day to day in the publication of statements, of opinions, of speeches, and of circumstances that occurred. He had sometimes trembled when he read proofs and slips which were to appear in the *HERALD* of the following morning, lest good or evil should be the consequence of the publication. He thought there was no one who had been connected with the Press for 32 years in this Colony, as he had been, who could not look back upon the past without expressing what he thought Mr. Hay had intended to express, that the Press had been singularly free from exerting all that immoral and dangerous influence which pervaded some newspapers in other parts of the world; and he might say for himself and his family that, so long as he and they had the control and influence of at least one journal, that state of things should continue. They might sometimes err. It was human to err. They might sometimes pronounce opinions which were contrary to the opinions of other persons. They might sometimes make mistakes, and mistakes were even made in Parliament—(laughter)—and if these were to be forgiven, surely the mistakes of the newspaper editors and proprietors might be forgiven also. He thanked them for the manner in which the toast had been received; and he begged to thank Mr. Hay especially for the lesson in propriety of conduct he had given, as well as the approbation he had expressed of the management of our colonial papers. He hoped that on every future occasion of festivity, when this toast was proposed, that the same high opinion of our Press could be expressed."

The references in the preceding pages to "Reuter," "The Associated Press," and "The Australian Press Association," need a little explanation; and that being so, a few additional particulars concerning the growth of the cable service from that July day in 1872, when the first message was flashed from England to Australia, may very well be given at the same time. When the cable and trans-Australian land lines were approach-

* "Going to King Street" or "Up King Street" was for many years a popular euphemism for becoming bankrupt, the Bankruptcy Court being at the top of that thoroughfare.

ing completion and the new method of communication thus became a matter for immediate practical consideration by the newspapers of Australia, Mr. Hugh George, then the Manager of the Melbourne *Argus*—a journal with which the *HERALD* has always maintained a close reciprocity—was despatched to London, on behalf of *The Argus*, the *HERALD* and *The Adelaide Register* to arrange for a cabled service of British and foreign news. For this service, known as "The Australian Associated Press," the first arrangement was made with Reuters; but, as time went on, additional sources were made use of. In 1895 the Associated Press joined with the Melbourne *Age*-Sydney *Daily Telegraph* service; and the united body supplied overseas news to all the principal papers in Australia and New Zealand. Under the name of "The Australian Press Association" it is still managed jointly by the *HERALD* and *The Argus*. In 1910 an opposition service was started with a subsidy from the Commonwealth Government, but it came to an end after a few years. Later, however, another group was formed, and the organisation of The Australian Press Association and its relations with this group are referred to elsewhere.

There was no special rate for press messages in the early days—the one rate for all purposes being £9/7/6 for twenty words. "Fifty words daily" is stated to have been the average extent of cable communication received by the *HERALD* during 1873, and, allowing that number for each day of the week, the total for the year would have amounted to 18,250 words. In 1930 the total wordage for cable and wireless news available to members of, and subscribers to, the Australian Press Association was, approximately, 1,250,000! It will therefore be seen that the growth has been remarkable, and it is evident that, although there have been considerable reductions in transmission charges—and a press rate for newspaper messages has been established—the cost of conducting the cable service of the *HERALD* is enormous.

In 1876 the charge for ordinary messages was 10/6 and in 1877 10/8 per word, but there was still no press rate. It was not, indeed, until 1886, when the rate for ordinary messages was reduced to 9/4, that a special press rate was made. This was fixed at 2/8 per word. The next reduction was made in May, 1891, the cost for ordinary messages being reduced to 4/- and for press messages to 1/9 per word. An increase, however, was made in the price of ordinary cables in January, 1893, the price per word being raised to 4/8. Gradually the rates were reduced, very largely through the efforts of the Empire Press Union, referred to elsewhere; and at present they stand at 2/- per word for ordinary, 6d. per word for press, and 4d. per word for Beam wireless messages.

The political feature of the 'seventies was the duel between Parkes and Robertson for ministerial power—a duel which culminated, after each had held the leadership in several ministries, in their combining their forces in December, 1878. Parkes took the Premiership in the Coalition and Robertson the Chief Secretaryship, and the Ministry remained in power until the beginning of 1883. Later on, Robertson was to be at the head of one other government and Parkes was to be at the head of many; but the story of these governments, so far as they affected or were associated with the *HERALD*, will be related in their proper place in the chronicle. It seems appropriate at this stage of it, however, to refer briefly to the life-story of John Robertson, one of the most conspicuous and remarkable figures, so far as Australian politics are concerned, of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Robertson was born at Bow, near London, in 1816, and was brought to Australia at the age of four. His education was supervised by several well-known educationalists of the day, including Dr. Lang and Mr. W. T. Cape (the first headmaster of the Sydney Grammar School); but at the age of sixteen he answered the call of the sea and joined



"Captain Moonlight's last stand. After holding up Wantabadgery Station in 1879, the gang was besieged in a settler's house, and two were shot, the others surrendering.



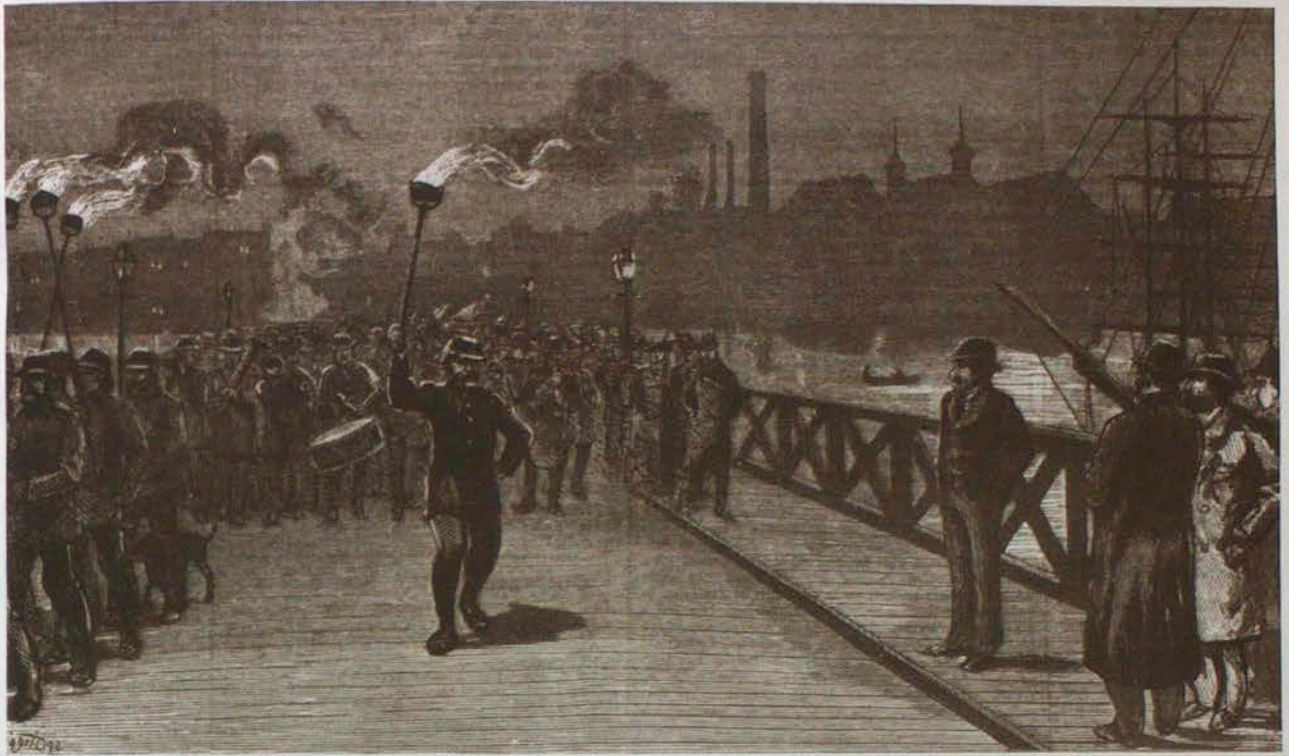
Attack on the police by the Kelly gang in November, 1878. They defied the police for two years, until the leader, Ned Kelly, was captured at Glenrowan, Victoria, in June, 1880.



Scenes similar to this occur on the departure from Sydney of almost every big "liner." The tangle of coloured paper ribbons, the crowded wharf below and decks above, and the gay costumes, combine to make an effective moving picture.

Arrival of a mail steamer in 1887. This specimen of a "Sydney Mail" picture of that year is humorously interesting when the old-time costumes are noted, to say nothing of the tremendous difference between the mail steamers then and now.

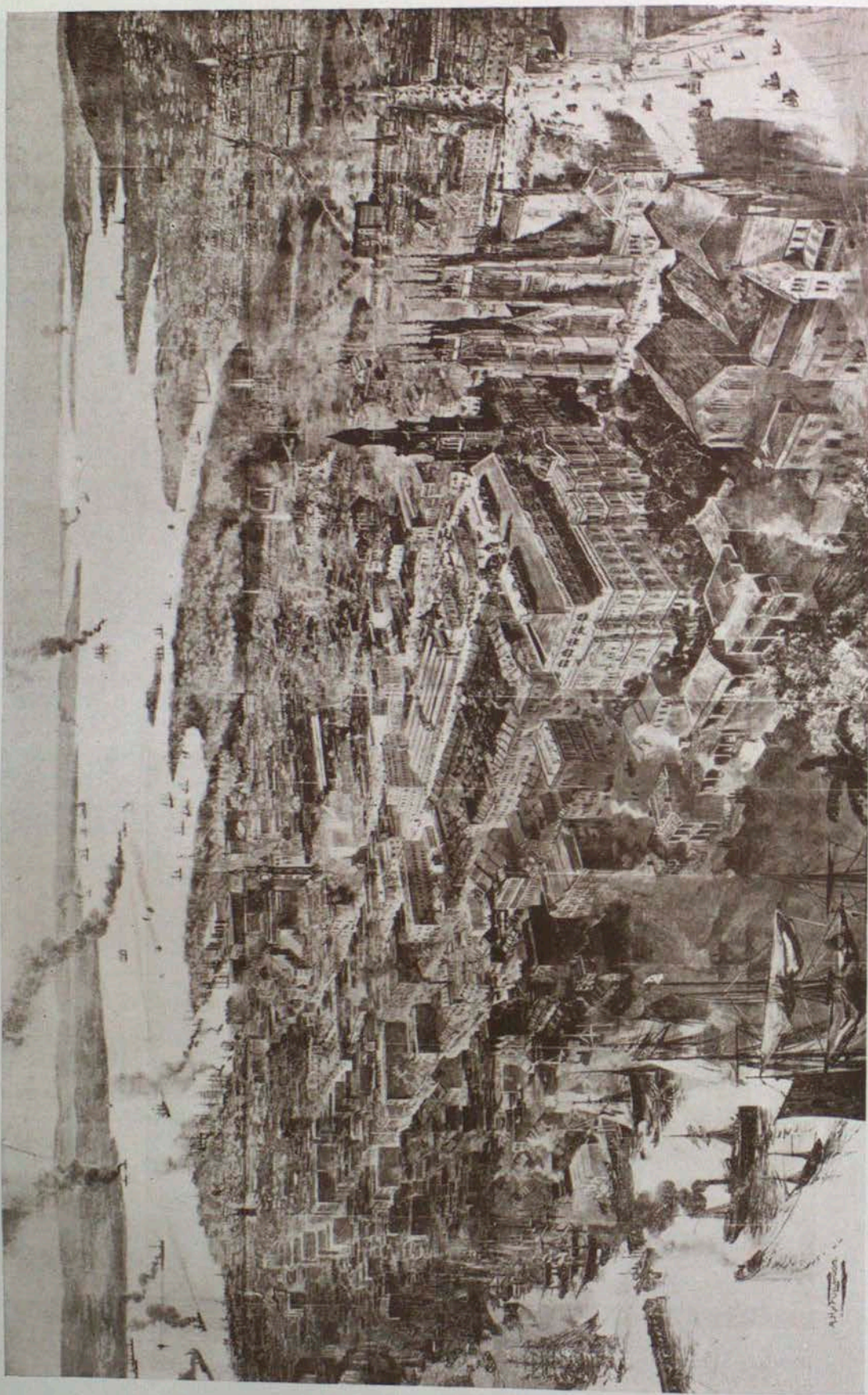




Celebrating the "freeing" of Pyrmont Bridge at midnight on August 1, 1884. The Government had then acquired it from a private company and abolished the tolls. A "Sydney Mail" illustration.



Watching election returns outside the old "Herald" office. These were exciting occasions. Eventually the displays were prohibited on account of interference with traffic.



A VIEW OF SYDNEY IN 1888.
From a woodcut supplement (greatly reduced) issued by the
Sydney Mail during the Australian Centennial Commemoration.

the crew of the "Sovereign," a sailing "tramp" of the period. In her he went to England and South America. After two years' experience of life on a windjammer, Robertson returned to Sydney with letters of recommendation from Lord Palmerston to the then Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke; so that it is clear that, even then, he did not lack the helpful attribute of "pull." In 1835 he took up land on the Liverpool Plains; and as this area was outside that whereon it was permissible to "squat," it is also evident that he did not lack "push." It is said that the swing doors of opportunity are marked with these two words; so that Robertson's subsequent success in politics may thus be possibly accounted for. After twenty years' "squatting" he was called upon to give evidence—as a man of standing among the land-holders whose "radical" opinions had been frequently aired in the press—before a committee appointed to inquire into the state of agriculture in the Colony. By his views, and the trenchancy with which he gave them, Robertson rose at once into political prominence; and next year (1856) he was returned to the Assembly as the representative for the Phillip Electorate. For thirty-odd years thereafter he remained one of the leading figures of our politics, and died in the end, in 1891, after a campaign against the Federation proposals of his old enemy and colleague, Parkes, that lacked nothing of his wonted fire and energy. His association with the "Selection Before Survey" legislation has already been referred to; he is notable during the period to which we have now attained as the occupant, with Parkes at the other end, of a political see-saw which raised and lowered them to power in regular succession and in the most curious way. Personally, Sir John Robertson, as he became in 1877, was a man of the most striking figure, especially in later life. He had the head and figure, the silvery hair and beard, of a patriarch who had stepped straight out of the pages of the Pentateuch; coupled with a tongue which, partly because of its husky indistinctness—he lacked a palate—and partly by reason of "its natural gift for profanity and uncompromising directness of speech" seemed most unsuitable to its environment. He was loved by his many friends with unswerving and whole-hearted devotion; he was hated by his enemies almost as ardently; and he always engaged the attention, and generally attracted the esteem, of a public who heartily appreciated not only his wordy thrusts and stabs, but also, and in particular, the explosive and sometimes almost incomprehensible manner of their delivery. It may be added that the *HERALD* was, as a rule, not on the side of Sir John; it preferred, after experiencing considerable and very natural doubt as to his radicalism, the more statesmanlike and larger methods of Parkes. This was particularly so when Parkes became, about the period at which we have now arrived, the apostle of Free Trade, a policy to which the *HERALD* was then, and ever remained, until Federation established Protection as the national policy, irrevocably wedded.

The tendency of the various governments in Australia, until well on into the second half of the century, so far as economics was concerned, was almost altogether in the direction of Free Trade. They had inherited the Free Trade ideas that ruled in England in the 'fifties; and if they supported any fiscal change at all, it was usually in the direction of a low revenue tariff on a selected class of commodities. It was in Victoria that the desire for a high Protective Tariff first took root; and the desire was created, almost entirely, as a consequence of the decline of the gold fever. As the result of that decline, towards the beginning of the 'sixties, the unemployment trouble grew until it became acute. General depression followed, and the gravity of the Colony's outlook led men to speculate upon some means of improving it. Of these, probably the one who worked with the greatest effect was David Syme, who had become the proprietor of the *Melbourne Age* in 1856. He saw the slough wherein the Colony lay, and believed he knew

the means by which it could be plucked therefrom. Accordingly he began, in season and out of it, to preach the gospel of protection. Salvation by means of a tariff wall, whereby the out-of-work Victorians would be enabled to find employment in their own factories, was the text of his every sermon; and undoubtedly he preached that sermon well. He appealed not only to the economist by his arguments in favour of work for the workless; he also appealed to the patriotism of thousands who would otherwise have had little time for fiscal theories, by his insistence that with every extra factory started, the land became increasingly self-supporting; more independent; freer, greater, more and more worthy to rank among the nations of the world. He incurred ridicule and opposition; but he never ceased to preach his doctrine to the limits of his powers, nor until he had forced a sufficiency of the politicians to his way of thinking and to place a protective tariff upon the Statute Book of Victoria. This was in 1866, and although the tariff was, like the misfortune of Midshipman Easy's nursemaid, a "very little one," it marked the beginning of a wedge which was to widen with the years, until the Colony was perhaps as purely protective in its policy as even the most convinced believer in its potency could hope for.

But the course of events in New South Wales was very different. Sydney, it was thought, would profit by remaining a free port, while Melbourne laboured under the burden of the Customs House. Also, there was plenty of coal in New South Wales and a harbour which simply invited ships to enter it; and these things seemed certainly to promise the leading position in the Australian world of commerce to New South Wales. Nor was there any advocate of protection to fight its battles as Syme had done in Victoria. Parkes, after some dalliance with *ad valorem* duties, abandoned them and declared himself in favour of a purely free trade policy. The HERALD had, on every occasion when the opportunity arose, invariably made a similar declaration; and under this leadership the Colony became as markedly free trade as her sister across the Murray was devoted to protection. Occasionally, it is true, a Protectionist Government would come to power in the Mother State, and impose a revenue tariff, and sometimes even a protective one. But invariably the wheel would turn and with the re-entry of the free trade party the policy of its predecessor would be jettisoned and all its duties with it. Thus, to sum up, we may put it that, although occasionally the scales would dip a little on the side of the protectionists, their normal position was for the protectionist pan to kick the beam.

The consistency of the HERALD's support of the policy of Free Trade is evidenced by many hundreds of leading articles whose appearances are spread across the period now under review. One of the earliest of these is to be found in the issue of the 15th May, 1860. It was induced by a series of incidents which began on the 18th of the preceding month, when the report of a Select Committee appointed to enquire into the condition of the working classes was submitted to the Legislative Assembly. The report stated that much distress existed, and recommended the fostering of colonial manufactures, the better administration of public lands, and the equalisation of taxation. On the 8th May the Assembly negatived by 27 votes to 6 a resolution moved by Henry Parkes, that the report be adopted and its recommendations placed before the Executive Council for consideration. When this decision became known, there was considerable public excitement, and three days later a large gathering of the unemployed in the city met outside Parliament House while the Assembly was in session. It was decided among them that a deputation should be sent in to certain members of the Assembly to protest against the action of that body, and the police on duty consented to allow the deputation to enter. But immediately the gates were opened for this purpose, the whole mob

rushed forward and strove to get inside; and a severe struggle began, which was not ended until many were wounded on both sides and the police had been sufficiently reinforced. A number of the ringleaders were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The HERALD, in referring to this episode, in the leading article of the 15th May, 1860, could not refrain from a reference to the policy of protection which was then beginning to be actively advocated. Thus wrote the leader-writer of the article in question:

"The crowd whose uproar was heard on Friday night through the open windows of the Legislative Assembly by the representatives of the people gathered there, considered themselves aggrieved by the summary rejection of a report which detailed the condition of the unemployed and suggested some proposed remedies. It so happens that the rejection of the report was no real grievance at all, but a great kindness done to the people. The report was treated as it was because it advocated the doctrine of protection to industry—a doctrine which, interpreted, means an unhealthy coddling of some forms of industry, and a costly bondage to other forms of industry. No class ought to be so determinedly set against protection as the wage-getting class, whose only capital is their labour, for protection is an elaborate scheme for putting labour in fetters and wasting a portion of its value. . . .

"When the practice of liberty becomes as well understood as its formulas are frequently repeated, such scenes as that exhibited on Friday night will become impossible. There will be no need for special laws to forbid them, for that self-respect which implies respect for others would be an effectual preventative. . . ."

Another example of the HERALD's consistent attitude on this fiscal question, and one that is peculiarly appropriate for quotation, since it was inspired by an article which Mr. Syme had contributed to the *Fortnightly Review*—is found in the issue of the 7th July, 1873. Mr. Syme's article was entitled "Free Trade from a Colonial Point of View," and had been mainly devoted to an attack upon the principle. The HERALD thus wrote in answer:

"While it is pleasant to find that colonial writers can get a footing in English periodicals, and that colonial ideas and arguments are thought worth listening to, we may demur to the representation of protectionist arguments as being in any way specially identified with what is colonial. It is quite true that in most of these Colonies taxes have been imposed which are of an anti-free trade character, but it is easy to account for this without supposing that it proves that a majority have intelligently adopted a protectionist legislation. . . .

"Mr. Syme might have done better to entitle his paper 'Restrictions on Trade from the Point of View of Some Colonial Politicians,' rather than 'from a Colonial Point of View,' because we should imagine that he would be quite unable to find a majority of colonists endorsing his doctrine that foreign commodities ought to be taxed in proportion to the taxation already levied in the Colony; because this is simply equivalent to stating that a people already heavily taxed must be taxed still more as a stimulus to their prosperity. . . .

"Where is the necessity and where is the justice of taxing nine people to benefit the tenth. Mr. Syme evidently feels the pressure of this argument, and labours hard to prove that protection to the few does not mean dearthness to the many, or at least only for a time, and that it ultimately results in greater cheapness. . . .

"Mr. Syme omits to take into account that there is no better stimulus to manufacturing industry than general cheapness, and that there is no better security for general cheapness than free trade. At the present time, for instance, New South Wales is on the whole a cheaper place than Victoria, the difference being mainly due to the protective legislation of the latter Colony. The mining excitement has made this difference less than it was, and prices have probably risen during the last ten months by at least ten per cent. But this is a disturbing cause, which is in no way due to legislation. Leaving it out of count, we may say that New South Wales is a better field for the manufacturer than Victoria is; and if the latter has in a few things pushed ahead, it is due less to natural advantages than to greater enterprise among the people, and, so far as this implies a defect in us, it is one which will never be made good by the coddling influence of protective legislation."

As a final example of the HERALD's antipathy to the policy which Victoria had so persistently maintained, an extract from the leading article of the 3rd November, 1879—a date which is a little ahead of the period now under review—may be quoted. The theme of the article was an effort made in the Victorian Assembly to review the Border Stock Tax, which had been imposed by that body some years before; and the pertinent portions run as follows:

The whole subject of the Border Stock Tax has been elaborately reviewed in the Victorian Assembly, at the instance of Sir John O'Shanassy, who moved a resolution for its repeal. . . .

Mr. Berry defends the maintenance of the tax now on protective grounds. It "completes the fiscal policy of the country," which is one of protection, and there is no reason why stock should be exempted from it. . . .

And the Assembly, after a discussion, negatived Sir John O'Shanassy's motion by 39 to 18, thus giving a decisive majority of 21. It may be presumed, therefore, that for the present at least the question is definitely settled, and that the Stock Tax is as permanent in Victoria as the rest of the protectionist policy. . . .

When the Stock Tax was first imposed, there were a few impulsive persons in Sydney, who, without thinking, said: "Let us retaliate." Retaliation would be easy enough, but it would be not only a crime, but a blunder. Only those call for retaliation who have never mastered the broad principles of free trade. The cry in England for reciprocity—which is simply a euphemism for retaliation—comes simply from the half-converted protectionists—men who were won over to free trade by its beneficial results, but who at the first pinch of bad times fall away. Free trade means doing the right thing, even though neighbours do the wrong; and this is not only virtue, but prudence. Commerce is a reciprocal benefit, and the restriction of commerce is a mutual injury. Free trade does good to both the parties to it, and retaliation does evil to both. We could not hit Victoria in revenge without hurting our own knuckles. Our true policy is to wait patiently till our neighbour gets into a better mood.

On the 11th December, 1874, the Reverend John West died, after twenty years' service with the HERALD as its first Editor, and was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Andrew Garran, who had been appointed Assistant Editor in 1856. Garran, the third son of an English merchant, was born in London on 19th November, 1825, and, after receiving the elements of his education at various minor schools, completed it at the University of London, where he took his B.A. degree in 1845 and his Mastership of Arts three years later. In 1850, for health reasons, he came to South Australia and accepted the editorship of *The Austral Examiner*, a position which he held for two years. The paper was then killed by the effects of the Victorian gold rush; and Garran was forced to the uncongenial work of a tutor on a Victorian station. This interlude, however, was fortunately brief, and in 1854 he was appointed editor of the *South Australian Register*. Two years later he came to Sydney and joined the HERALD. His work with West for the next twenty years marked him as a forceful, yet graceful, writer; and his contributions to the leading columns of the paper still stand as among the very best that have ever appeared there. He had not perhaps, the vigour of West; but his superior scholastic attainments and his quick and eager mind lent to his writings a "style" that not even the senior man at his best, could rival. Now, at West's death, there could be no question as to the succession, and Garran was immediately offered and accepted the editorship. He retained the post until 1885, when ill-health necessitated his resignation. It is a sufficient proof of his energies and his love for scholarship that, although his duties on the HERALD during his assistant editorship had been both arduous and yet most efficiently carried out, he found time to study law at the Sydney University to such effect that he took his degree of LL.D. in 1870.

After leaving the HERALD in 1885 and recovering from the strain of his editorial work, Garran devoted all his energies to the advocacy, firstly, of Free Trade, and subsequently of Federation, for the consummation of which he was quite as eager and

quite as active as West had been. In 1887 he was appointed to the Legislative Council by Sir Henry Parkes, of whom, although never at any time a political partisan, he was, so far as concerns the larger aims of that statesman, a consistent supporter. Three years later he was made chairman of a royal commission to investigate the whole question of the strikes and industrial troubles of the period; and when, as the result of that commission's findings, a council of arbitration was appointed, he was, with the expressed approval of both employers and employees, given the position of its president. Acceptance necessitated the resignation of his seat in the Council, but Garran did not hesitate. He held the Presidency until 1894, when he resigned, and was at once re-appointed to the Legislative Council by Sir George Reid, whose Ministry he represented there until 1898. It was about this time that his activities in regard to Federation rose to their greatest height. He had been, since 1890, one of the leaders and most outspoken advocates of a Federal Union between the States, and until Federation was accomplished he continued to work vigorously for its consummation. He died on 6th June, 1901, just six months after the cause he had done so much to assist had attained fruition. It may be added that in the 'eighties he accepted the position of editor of "The Picturesque Atlas of Australasia"—a magnificently illustrated work descriptive of the various Colonies of Australia and New Zealand, whose merits have never been so generally recognised as they deserve—and he was for many years the correspondent at Sydney of the *London Times*. His son, Sir Robert R. Garran, is a recognised authority on the Australian Constitution, and has been Solicitor-General to the Commonwealth since 1916.

On the 1st May, 1875, John Fairfax & Sons published from the office of the *HERALD*, the first number of *THE ECHO*, an evening newspaper whose history we trace in a later chapter of this volume. A close examination of the *HERALD* files reveals no reference of any kind to this "interesting event." The elder sister neither anticipated the birth of the younger by "the puff preliminary," nor greeted her arrival with a word of welcome.

The year 1877 was sadly marked in the chronology of the *HERALD* by the death of the man who had made it the leading paper of the southern hemisphere. John Fairfax died on the 16th June, and his sons, James Reading Fairfax and Edward Ross Fairfax, reigned in his stead. The chief responsibility was thrown, necessarily, on the former. For, as the elder of the two brothers, he had for some years past been prepared by his father in readiness for the inevitable moment which had now arrived.

By this time the continued growth of the *HERALD*, both in magnitude and complexity, necessitated the creation of the permanent position of General Manager. The choice of the proprietors fell upon Mr. Hugh George, who, as we have seen, had formerly occupied a similar position in the office of the Melbourne *Argus*. Mr. George took over his new duties in January, 1878; and retained the position of General Manager with credit to himself and profit to his employers until his death in 1886. Hugh George was born at Wick, in Scotland, on the 20th July, 1822, and in early life entered the office of the *London Times*, where he remained for a period of fourteen years, during which he became closely acquainted with all the many activities which go to make up the life of a great newspaper. Towards the latter portion of his engagement he acted as London Correspondent of the Melbourne *Argus*; and when, in the late 'fifties, he learned from one of the proprietors of that journal that some competent person was required to take charge of the mechanical department of the office, he applied for, and was immediately appointed to fill, the position. For over twenty years he remained with the *Argus*, becoming eventually, as we have said, its general manager. During this portion of his career there occurred an incident which not only brought him prominently before the

public, but raised him greatly in that public's estimation. An article appeared in the *Argus* accusing the then Chief Secretary of Victoria with having made a statement which "fairly bristled with falsehood," and, as Mr. George's name appeared on the imprint of the paper, he was summoned to the bar of the Legislative Assembly on a charge of breach of privilege. Questioned by the Speaker, he declared that there was nothing in the article which was intended to reflect upon the personal honour of the Chief Secretary; that it merely asserted his statements to be inconsistent with truth; and that it was no more than a fair criticism upon a public statement made by a public man in a public place. But this outspoken plea failed to move his hearers. Mr. Higinbotham, the Attorney-General of the day—who, by a strange coincidence, had, when Mr. George arrived in Melbourne to take up his duties with the *Argus*, been the editor of that journal—moved that the words objected to were libellous, and that Mr. George be committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. The motion was carried, and Mr. George was obliged to remain a prisoner within the parliamentary buildings during the remainder of the session. This incident made him almost a public hero. His name was in all men's mouths, and during his incarceration he was constantly receiving visits of condolence and sympathy from all sorts and conditions of men. Public opinion was strongly against the Government for their action, and when the "prisoner" was at last allowed his liberty, he was congratulated on all sides, the proprietors of the *Argus* recognising his attitude in their behalf by making him a presentation. Such was the character of the man who came to the *HERALD* as its first General Manager in January, 1878.

His end, after eight years' good service, came suddenly. He had not been feeling well and decided to go to Melbourne for a brief holiday. He left Sydney by train on the evening of Wednesday, the 12th May, 1886; and, arriving in Melbourne the following day, he took up his quarters at the Melbourne Club. On the Friday he died there suddenly of heart failure; and his body, conveyed back to Sydney, was interred in the Waverley Cemetery. The funeral was attended by a large and representative gathering; and the public expressions of sorrow at his passing were both numerous and sincere. The members of the Sydney Liedertafel, of which organisation Mr. George had been an enthusiastic vice-president, attended the funeral service in a body and sang "with weird and touching effect"—says the report—"The Long Day Closes" at the grave, by the express request of the family." It is hardly necessary to add that, among the many who mourned his death, none were more sincere in their sorrow than the staff of the *HERALD* and the members of the firm to whom he had rendered such good and consistent service.

To return for a moment to the year 1875, it should be mentioned that towards the close of that year an official addition to the Crown Colonies of the British Empire was notified. The new member of the family was Fiji—or the Feejees, as the archipelago was still called—and the occasion was one for complacent satisfaction for the Governor of New South Wales. For it was largely as the result of his activities and his representations that, if Britain did not annex the Islands, some other Power would, and that right quickly, that the Home Government came to its decision. The matter, indeed, had been long enough delayed. France for many years had been showing a fondness for Pacific annexation that had alarmed the Australian authorities, however carelessly the matter might be viewed in England. The *HERALD*, too, had many times expressed an indignant apprehension at the attitude of the Home Authorities in this respect. From its earliest days the paper had been sufficiently clear-minded to see that the fortunes of the various groups of islands in the South Pacific were bound up

with those of Australia; and, in consequence, to advocate with eloquence and persistence their annexation by Great Britain. The danger of the islands falling into the hands of the other Powers was repeatedly pointed out; and in this connection particular reference may be made to a series of articles which appeared in the paper so early as the latter half of the year 1832. These articles, published on the 12th July, 8th November and 3rd and 31st December of that year, are well worthy of perusal for their clarity and foresight; but are so long that it is impossible to do more than refer to them. In August, 1842, again, the propriety, and even necessity, of establishing a British settlement in New Caledonia was urged upon the Home Government by the paper; but without avail. The HERALD also fiercely attacked the activities of the French in Tahiti in 1842 and 1843; and repeatedly called upon the British Government to intervene in the interests of Queen Pomare, whom the French ultimately dispossessed. There is an article—also too long for inclusion here, unfortunately—which, written round the pathetic appeal of that unhappy island potentate, appeared in the issue of the 27th December, 1843, and which is compact of sympathy and eloquence. The leading articles on this subject were numerous and cogent; but, as in the case of New Caledonia, they availed nothing; and in the last one of the series the paper was compelled to admit, with sorrow and a becoming indignation, that “the time has been suffered to pass when Britain could have saved Pomare.”

Again, in 1853, Napoleon III. had annexed New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines, and had made of the former a penal colony. The Governments of the Australian States—and, in particular, the eastern ones—had protested against this action; but their protest went unheeded. And when, in 1859, the Fijian Chiefs had offered their country to the protection of Britain, the Mother Country had been urged from Australia to accept the offer without delay. The Home Government, however, would have nothing to do with Fiji at any price; the group, they said, was too far away to be of any use as a colony, and Britain already had enough naval stations in the Pacific. But when the infamous “blackbirding” trade grew into such proportions that the South Sea Islands were becoming depopulated as the result of the continuous raiding for the Queensland plantations, the grievous state of Fiji grew into a public scandal. Sir Hercules Robinson, shortly after his arrival as Governor in New South Wales, became apprised of the facts, and so horrified at them, that he left no stone unturned to induce the Home Authorities to take the step they had so often left untaken in the past. Eventually he succeeded, and in September, 1875, the Islands were duly annexed. The HERALD had always strongly supported the annexation of Fiji, as, indeed, it had of other Pacific groups; it was therefore particularly pleased at the action of the Home Government, belated as it was, and with the Governor’s activities in connection with it; and in a leading article on the subject, which appeared on 27th September, 1875, the paper duly expressed its satisfaction.

In the early part of 1878 an event happened which renders it appropriate to refer here briefly to the growth of international or “test” cricket during the period we have now covered in this history. In the opening month of the year 1862, the first All England cricket team to visit Australia had toured the country. The enterprise had been promoted by Messrs. Spiers and Pond, of London, and the celebrated H. H. Stephenson captained the team. Its first match commenced on New Year’s Day in Melbourne, against a Victorian team of eighteen, the visitors eventually winning by an innings and ninety-seven runs. The telegrams from Melbourne, which the HERALD published each day, make interesting reading. They are very full and careful descriptions of the game, running generally to the greater part of a column; a fact which evidences very well the

statement made in one of the earlier ones, that Melbourne was "cricket mad" over the advent of the Englishmen. A few days later Griffiths, one of the visiting team, played a match against a local eleven at Beechworth, in the Ovens District, all "on his own." The telegraphed report of the match (in the *HERALD* of the 14th January, 1862) is brief, but somewhat startling. It occupies but one line of type and runs thus: "He put all out for one run, and made five himself!"

On the 29th January the Englishmen began a match against twenty-two of New South Wales at Sydney. The public excitement over the event was prodigious, "the published slips," says the *HERALD*, being "sought for with an avidity not excelled by the demand made during the Crimean War!" The match lasted four days, and was won by England by the small margin of forty-eight runs. The *HERALD*'s reports are exceedingly able and voluminous. They run each day to four or five full columns, often detailing every ball of an over, and giving in the final analysis the actual runs as scored, exactly as they were entered in the scoring book. It is really a wonder that the visitors were able to play at all, if one may judge by the reports of the hospitality lavished upon them. The *HERALD* naively remarks on one occasion that "the gallant fellows were compelled to partake of five feasts during the one day."

We need only refer to two other matches played by the Englishmen. The first, which took place in the middle of February, in Sydney, was played against twenty-two of New South Wales and Victoria combined. The combination proved too strong by the comfortable margin of twelve wickets. The other match was played in March in Melbourne by the six Surrey members of the visiting team, together with five Victorians who hailed from the same county, against "The World." But Surrey was too ambitious—the "World" won! The visit of this Eleven was an undoubted success, both from the point of view of the encouragement and progress of the national game, and from the social side; and it is not surprising, therefore, that it should have been followed by others. In 1864, George Parr led a team which included Dr. E. M. Grace and did not lose a single match, although all were played against opposing teams of twenty-two players; in 1873, the Great "W.G." himself paid us a visit at the head of a side which contained a larger proportion of amateurs than usual, and which was also invariably opposed by teams ranging from fifteen to twenty-two players, and in 1876-7, Lilly-white's team arrived and played at Melbourne the first recognised "test" match of the great series which still continues to excite the two countries. This was in March, 1877, and, thanks to a magnificent batting performance by Charles Bannerman in the Australians' first innings, and an almost equally fine bowling feat by T. Kendall in England's second innings, Australia won by 45 runs. Now, in 1878, Australia was at last to pay her return visit to England. The chosen teams, consisting of twelve men selected from the various colonies and captained by D. W. Gregory, left by the steamship "City of Sydney" on the 29th March, 1878, amid scenes of the greatest enthusiasm, and the *HERALD* of the 30th thus describes the scene:

The R.M.S. City of Sydney presented a busy scene on deck yesterday afternoon on account of the number of friends who went on board to bid adieu to the friends, relations, and acquaintances, and a considerable time previous to her advertised time for departure watermen's boats might be seen pulling off with their living freight. A large number of persons collected to wish success to the cricketers, who are now on their homeward voyage, and success and good luck were wished them time out of number. Owing to some despatches being late arriving on board, the City of Sydney did not weigh her anchor till about half-past three o'clock, and as she steamed down the harbour, accompanied by the Bellbird, Britannia, and Prince of Wales, hearty cheers were exchanged between the team and their friends. The Permanent Artillery, together with the band, were drawn up at the cliffs near South Head, and gave the cricketers a specimen of British cheers,



TIRRANNA RACES.

An oil painting by G. W. Lambert, A.R.A., of the "picnic" race meeting at Turranna, near Goulburn, New South Wales, a popular social function.

[Original in the possession of Mr. Russell Grimwade, of Melbourne, and reproduced by his kind permission.]

the band playing "Auld Lang Syne." The water was beautifully smooth outside, and the City of Sydney left here with every prospect before her of a speedy and pleasant voyage. . . .

Although this team created a great sensation in England by defeating the formidable M.C.C. Eleven at Lords by nine wickets, that contest was not regarded as a "test" match; and the honour of representing Australia in the first "test" to be played upon English soil was reserved for Murdoch's team, which visited the Old Country in 1880, and, playing England at the Oval, was defeated by five wickets.

In March, 1879, Sir Hercules Robinson, whose term of office had been marked by much good work, retired from the Governorship. He did not, however, leave Australia until the following year. He was succeeded by Baron Loftus, who arrived in Sydney on the 4th August. This year is mainly notable for the Great International Exhibition, opened in Sydney on the 17th September, in the beautiful building known as the Garden Palace, specially erected for the purpose on one of the most commanding sites of the Botanic Gardens. The site, indeed, was so beautiful, and the exhibition building occupied so much of it, and obstructed the view so greatly, that its erection caused considerable discontent among a large section of the community. Others objected on principle to any portion of Sydney's parks and recreation grounds being "filched" from the public; and in this particular case there was considerable ground for their attitude; for the site selected was, is, and must ever remain, one of the most magnificent view-points in the city. It was not, therefore, an altogether unmixed calamity when, some three years later, the whole edifice was burnt to the ground in one of the most spectacular conflagrations that Sydney has ever witnessed.

Just prior to the opening of the Exhibition, and brought about largely as the result of the decision to hold it, occurred the inauguration of the first steam-driven tramway in Sydney. That the city's first tramway was completed in November, 1861, and opened at the end of that year, is true. But that was not a steam tram—it was merely a tram drawn by four horses, which ran from Circular Quay to Redfern by way of Pitt Street. The *HERALD* of the 24th December, 1861, describes it:

"The outside of the car has rather a gayish appearance, the body being a lively yellow. In the centre there is a lion and an eagle, taking the place of a unicorn, with the motto: 'Unity is the Strength of the Nation.' The names of the cars are respectively: 'Old England' and 'Young Australia.' The sum of threepence is charged for the journey, being one penny less than the previous fare." (The "previous fare" being, of course, by omnibus.)

This tram was not a success, and it is sufficient to say of its further history that, after being ridiculed by press and public alike, and being continually attacked in Parliament, it ended a lingering decline on the 31st December, 1866. The breach was filled by an enterprising omnibus proprietor with four of his all-embracing vehicles; but at irregular intervals ever since agitations for the construction of other city tramways had arisen. The efforts of the agitators had so far been useless, owing to the determined opposition invariably aroused when any such scheme was mooted. But early in 1877, some time after the decision to hold the Exhibition had been arrived at, the Hon. C. A. Goodchap, who was then Commissioner for the Railways of the Colony, laid before the Government a minute wherein he pointed out that the increased traffic of the city had so "outgrown the ordinary means of conveyance by omnibus as to render necessary the early adoption of some other mode of transit" . . . "the increased traffic which will take place at the opening of the Exhibition and during its continuance"—he added—"will greatly enlarge this necessity, and if some special convenience be not afforded in this respect the vehicular accommodation . . . will be unable to cope with . . . the demands of the public." He concluded by urging the immediate construction of a steam tramway to run from the Redfern terminus—as the Central Station was then

named—along Pitt and Elizabeth Streets to the immediate vicinity of the proposed site of the Garden Palace.

The suggestion was adopted and the work was put in hand at once. But so strong was public feeling generally against city tramways, that a clause was inserted in the enabling Act providing that, upon the closing of the Exhibition, the tramway was to be removed. The reasons given for this opposition were very much the same as those which had been raised against the horse tram of 1861. Briefly stated, they were that the new form of transport would prove unsafe in itself; that it would interfere with the existing vehicular traffic; that it would be dangerous to pedestrians; that it would be too costly to maintain and too uncertain in action; and, lastly, that it would unduly interfere with private enterprise. It is probable that this last objection was by far the strongest and most effective. But the march of progress refused to be stayed, even by such arguments as these. Only six months elapsed between the passing of the Act and the opening of the Exhibition; but, despite the shortness of the period, the line was duly laid, the necessary cars and motors were ordered from America and received, and the tramway formally opened for public traffic on the day before the Exhibition began. Owing, however, to unforeseen difficulties in the way of landing the heavy motors in the bad weather which preceded the opening, for some days the cars had to be drawn by horse power. This, however, was soon remedied, and the tramway was a great success. So great a success was it, indeed, that no further word was heard of its removal after the termination of the Exhibition. On the contrary, new lines were built; and from that day to this the city tramways—first driven by steam, then partly by cable, and now wholly by electric power—have steadily continued to extend their tentacles throughout the metropolitan and suburban area. The *HERALD* of the 16th September, 1879, thus refers to the opening of the tramway, a project which it had consistently supported from the moment of its first suggestion by Mr. Goodchap:

"The tramway opens to-day, and the department is to be congratulated upon the fact that the road and equipment will be put into use in time for the Exhibition. The delays which have occurred have been such as nobody in particular could be held accountable for. The motors did not arrive until twenty days after the date they were expected, and since the ship has been in port there has been so much rainy and tempestuous weather that the unloading of the motors has not been practicable. The carriages will, therefore, be drawn by horses in the first instance, and steam traction be substituted as soon as possible. Yesterday morning the tramway was practically tested. Four horses were attached to one of the new cars, which was well filled with people. It was then kept running backwards and forwards all the morning, and everything was found to work smoothly. . . ."

The *HERALD* had given immense prominence to the opening of the Exhibition. It was the great "feature" of the paper for many weeks before the event; and from first to last the paper enthusiastically supported the project and did everything in its power to make it the success which it undoubtedly was; while Dr. Garran himself was one of the Commissioners entrusted with the management of the Exhibition.

The *HERALD* of the 17th had a leading article on the function of the day; and also printed a special Exhibition Supplement of six pages, giving the history of the project and a general summary of the founding, growth and then actual position of the Colony and its many industries. The preparation of this summary involved an immense amount of labour, but the labour was well repaid; for the value and interest of the supplement are unquestionable.

We quote from its "Introductory Observations" as follows:

For the first time in the history of Australia, all the world has been invited to a competitive exhibition on our own soil of industrial products. Hitherto the share of Australia in connection

with great displays of this kind has consisted in sending samples of our own products to the great capitals, which have played the part of hosts. . . .

Now, however, our role is reversed. This year we play the part, not of guests, but of hosts, and, instead of contributing to the success of exhibitions in other countries, we have invited other countries to contribute to the success of ours. The invitations we issued have been responded to beyond our most sanguine expectations. The interest taken in Australia is greater than we had thought for, and our only embarrassment has been to find room within the limited time at our disposal for all the valuable commodities that have been sent out. Our thanks are due to the foreign countries which have thus honoured us, and which are worthily represented by special commissioners, and we hope that, to them, the time and money will not have been spent in vain, and the result be not unsatisfactory. . . .

A hundred years have not yet passed since the first attempt at settlement was made on the shores of Port Jackson, and for the first half-century of its existence Australian colonization struggled along very slowly. It is only during the last fifty years that it has had anything like an important commercial history, and it is during the last twenty-five that its progress has been the most rapid. In casting the horoscope of the future, therefore, it is a little misleading to speak of Australian colonization as now a hundred years old. Counting by the calendar, that may be true; but counting by the pulse-beats of a vigorous life, Australia is much younger than that. But whatever the term of its veritable vitality, the moment is now opportune for us to take stock of our achievements, of our momentum, and of the lines on which our material and social forces are moving.

Thereafter followed a series of sections devoted to the discovery and colonization of the country; its population, its natural products, its pastoral and agricultural progress, its manufactures, trade and commerce, its press, its constitutional history and political status, its legal, ecclesiastical and educational advancement, its industrial conditions, its military defences and its amenities and recreations. A final summary reviewed the story of Sydney itself and described its principal features.

On the 18th September the *HERALD* describes the opening ceremonies of the day before at length. Fortunately, the weather, which had been so unpropitious for several days as to lead to the belief that the function would have to be shorn of much of the out-of-door splendour arranged for it, decided against the pessimists. The day was brilliantly fine; immense crowds attended the opening; the official ceremonies in the Great Hall passed off with eclat; and altogether the Commissioners and the public alike had good cause for congratulation. We need only add that the day was proclaimed a public holiday; that eighteen thousand persons attended the Exhibition during the day; that all the vessels in the harbour—including ships of the British, French, Austrian and German navies, which happened to be there at the time—were gaily dressed for the occasion; and that no accident or misadventure of any kind seems to have marred the proceedings. The Exhibition remained open until the end of April of the following year (1880), and continued to prove a "draw" of the first magnitude to the last. It was not, of course, a direct financial success. The entire expenditure associated with the project totalled over £300,000, while the total receipts were under £44,000. But no such exhibition is ever expected to produce direct profits; it is in the indirect benefits which it creates that its true value lies. And in this respect there is no doubt whatever that the Colony benefited very greatly indeed. Its resources were well advertised throughout the world; the many exhibits had a large educational value; and the Exhibition as a whole certainly led to a considerable increase in Australian trade and commerce.

The first telephone system was inaugurated in Sydney in the year which saw the close of the International Exhibition. There had been, as was only natural, and as is certainly always the case with any such proposed innovation, considerable argument upon the merits and demerits of the telephone for some time previously. The *HERALD*,

always keen to keep abreast of the latest developments of applied science, had strongly urged its adoption; and when the authorities, after considerable hesitation, at length decided to give the new invention a trial, the paper was naturally jubilant. It refers to the inauguration of the system in a paragraph in the "News of the Day" column of the issue of the 7th August, 1880, which runs as follows:

"... Mr. F. R. Wells, the local agent for the invention, fitted up one of the Edison-Bell telephones yesterday at the Sydney Exchange, and a fellow one at Mr. Cracknell's room at the General Post Office, the two instruments being connected by the usual wire. During the day almost everyone who entered the Exchange touched the communicator and started a conversation; so that Mr. Cracknell, Mr. Maguire and Mr. Wells, who relieved each other at the other end, were kept employed pretty busily in answering queries, many of which were of a rather silly character. The telephone worked admirably; the tone is clear, the means of communication simple, and the whole apparatus little liable to get out of order. We are informed that an effort is to be made to establish here a Telephone Exchange—that is, an institution between which and the houses or warehouses of subscribers telephonic communication will be established. Then, if a subscriber at the North Shore wishes to speak to another at the Glebe, he will be able to do so by signalling to the clerk at the Exchange office, and getting him to connect the wires running to the North Shore and the Glebe residences respectively, and the conversation will go on without fear of anyone overhearing it *en route*. This offers a great convenience to business men, and the project is likely to be taken up. . . ."

As we know, it *was* taken up, and so effectually that, from that small beginning in the Sydney Exchange, has been spun a web that covers the whole State to-day.

The particular era whose story we are now concluding—the 'sixties to the 'eighties—was the great age of the "clipper" ships, whose grace and speed and beauty have provided so fine a theme for many writers, and which in themselves were so closely associated with the story of Australia. It is true that the late 'fifties also knew the "clippers," and that they made a brief re-appearance in the 'twenties of this century. But, generally speaking, the two decades referred to covered by far the most important period of their activities. Those activities may be roughly divided into three sections. Firstly, there were the passenger clippers. These were ships like the "James Baines," the "Champion of the Seas," the "Lightning" (which is credited with holding the record of 63 days for the homeward run from Melbourne to Liverpool) and—a little later—the "Sobraon," and the "Parramatta." They catered for the rush of migrants to these shores in the years which followed on the gold discoveries in New South Wales and Victoria, their living freight continuing to swell our population figures, indeed, until well into the 'seventies. Secondly, there were the "tea clippers" of the 'sixties—ships which, sailing to Australia with miscellaneous cargoes, returned by way of China, and from there raced back to England laden with tea. Of these, the names of the "Thermopylæ" and the "Cutty Sark" are perhaps the most famous in the modern annals of sail. They were great rivals, and although the "Thermopylæ" on the outward run almost always had the best of it, the "Cutty Sark," which generally made Sydney her Australian port, almost as invariably turned the tables on the homeward journey. Thirdly, there were the wool clippers of the 'seventies and 'eighties, who competed for the carriage of the wool clips of Australia to the markets of the old world. Of the ships of this class, special mention should be made of the "Loch Etive"—in which Joseph Conrad sailed as mate and which he immortalised in his "Mirror of the Seas," and famous also for the fact that she was commanded, from the date of her launching in 1877 until his death on board her in 1894, by that fine seaman, Captain William Stuart, who, in his forty-three years of master-ship, never lost a man or a mast—and the "Macquarie" (or the "Melbourne," as she was first named) one of the most beautiful and most popular of them all.

The HERALD issues of these years are full of references to these beautiful ships. We see their names in the advertisements, we note their arrivals and their departures in the shipping news, we read the accounts of their thrilling voyages and their rivalries and races over and over again. But so much has been already written of the clippers by Lubbock, Bone and others, that to quote any of these references would be a work of supererogation. While all of them were well and affectionately known to Sydney-siders, one of them is so closely associated with the history of New South Wales and its capital, however, that a little further reference must be made to it. That is the "Sobraon," one of the finest sailing ships that ever graced the seas. She was launched in 1866, and for many years she carried passengers to Australia. In that capacity her popularity was unbounded, and many are the tributes that have been paid to her comfort and speed. Even long after the luxurious liner had almost obtained a monopoly of the passenger traffic overseas, the "Sobraon" was able to fill her cabins with those who put quiet before speed and preferred the long, cool route around the Cape in a sailer to the shorter, hotter steamer trip by way of Suez. In 1891 she was sold to the New South Wales Government and turned into a reformatory ship for juvenile offenders; and in 1911 the Commonwealth Government took her over, renamed her the "Tingira" and converted her into a training ship for boys entering the Royal Australian Navy. In these two capacities she became a well-known object in Port Jackson, and remained so until some two years ago, when the authorities decided that she had passed beyond repair. She was accordingly dismantled and now lies, rusting to a lonely death, in one of the smaller inlets of the harbour—a pathetic sight to those who know her history and remember her in those far-off days when she walked the waters like a thing of life.

SECTION VIII.

TO THE COMING OF FEDERATION

1881—1900

PART I.

THE first event of the 'eighties to warrant particular notice is the visit to Australia of the two grandsons of Queen Victoria, the Princes Albert (or Edward, as he was usually called) and George. The former was the elder of the two brothers, and, as such, in the direct line of succession to the British throne; but by his early death in 1892, at the age of twenty-eight, the succession devolved upon the younger Prince, who now reigns as King George V. This being the first time a future King of England had visited Australia, the importance of the occasion was generally recognised, but presumably at the wish of the Queen, the Australian Press paid very little attention to the actual presence of the Princes in our midst. Beyond an occasional mention of their names at one or other of the many functions that were arranged during their visit, the reader looks in vain for any comment upon them or their doings. The Princes were members of the personnel of the "Bacchante," an iron screw corvette of a little under 3,000 tons, under the command of Captain Lord Charles T. M. D. Scott. The "Bacchante," however, was neither the largest vessel of the visiting squadron, nor its flagship. That honour was held by the "Inconstant," an iron frigate of slightly over 4,000 tons, which carried the flag of Rear-Admiral the Right Honourable the Earl of Clanwilliam, C.B.; and the remaining ships were the "Carysfort," the "Cleopatra" and the "Tourmaline," all three corvettes of about 2,000 tons. The Princes were mere boys at this time, and held the rank of midshipmen. They were accompanied by their tutor, the Rev. Mr. Dalton; and were called upon to perform their duties and conform to the routine of the ship in the same way as the rest of her personnel. Owing to an accident to her rudder, the "Bacchante" had been forced to put into Albany on her arrival in Australian waters, and the Princes and their tutor came on to Adelaide by the P. & O. mailboat, the "Cathay"; and from thence to Melbourne by special train. In both the southern capitals a round of festivities was arranged for the officers and crews of the squadron, the Princes usually participating. Prince Albert, indeed, played the principal role at some of the functions, laying more than one foundation stone and opening a number of institutions, whose birth happened by a curiously happy coincidence to have synchronised with the date of the Royal visit. Eventually the Princes arrived in Sydney—having been transferred to the "Inconstant"—on the morning of the 14th July, 1881. The customary festivities followed; but the HERALD, although reporting them all, stresses the functions so little that it is somewhat difficult, even for the reader who looks for these reports, to find them. The Princes themselves, with the rest of the midshipmen of the various ships, were engaged for the greater portion of the first week of their visit in wrestling with an examination in navigation; but, later on, they were able to

participate in the festivities fairly regularly. The principal official functions were the Mayor's Ball and a meeting at Randwick Racecourse, specially arranged for the occasion, two of the races being entitled respectively the Princes' Stakes and the Squadron Handicap. The visit was to have terminated on the 23rd July, but the Earl of Clanwilliam was, a day or so before that date, seized with a sudden illness which necessitated a delay of nearly three weeks, so that the squadron did not clear the Heads until the 10th August. This postponement permitted the Princes to take part in what was really the great event of the whole Australian tour, *viz.*, the laying of the foundation stone of the pedestal for a statue of Queen Victoria at the top of King Street, near the northern entrance to Hyde Park, in the very heart of the city. Prince Albert performed the ceremony and the *HERALD* of the 3rd August devotes two columns to recording the proceedings at the ceremony.

The Earl of Clanwilliam having been sufficiently restored to health—his recovery being hastened, no doubt, by the receipt of news from England that he had been promoted to Vice-Admiral—the squadron left Port Jackson on the 11th instant for Brisbane and Japan. The "Bacchante" had by this time been repaired, and had arrived in Sydney Harbour, so that the Princes were able to regain their old ship, and continue their voyage in her. On the morning of the 11th the *HERALD* published its only editorial comment upon the visit; and even in this it made no mention of the Royal guests. The article simply commented on the importance of, and interest attaching to, the various vessels of the squadron, and upon the great and curious changes in warship-building that the past few years had witnessed. The last paragraph of the "leader" makes interesting reference to the "race for armaments" that was even then disturbing the chancellories of Europe, and to the happy position of the United States in being exempt from all such anxieties. The paragraph runs as follows:

The United States alone remain safe from the war fever, secure in their remoteness from the old battlefields, and in their immense and ever-growing resources. They have no great standing army; their ironclads, and other ships of war, the creation of a few years of civil strife, are mostly lying idle and unmanned in the national arsenals, and their State militias are kept within very small proportions. The national energy is directed to the triumphs of industry, leaving any foreign emergencies to be met by the tremendous latent power of the Republic as occasion may require. England would like to follow that example, for very few persons love war for its own sake, and the half-threat "we don't want to fight," has a grain of sincerity in it. But a trade of seven hundred millions sterling per annum, and an Empire which stretches over four continents, embracing some of the richest and most populous countries of the globe, cannot be left to the forbearance of foreigners, and while Europe remains a great hostile camp, England must continue to maintain her naval supremacy, and the means of efficient land defence throughout her dominions.

On the 22nd September, 1882, as the result of the most spectacular conflagration which the city of Sydney had ever witnessed, the beautiful building which had been erected in the Botanic Gardens to house the great International Exhibition of 1879-1880, and which, on account of its form and site, had received the name of "The Garden Palace," was totally destroyed, together with all its valuable contents. Since the close of the Exhibition the Palace had been used for many purposes. Concerts and public gatherings of all kinds had been held there; much of the original collection of statuary and objects of art was still on view; it housed the Technological and Mining Museums; and several of the important public departments of the State had been accommodated with offices within its wooden walls. Consequently the loss—apart altogether from that of the building itself and its artistic contents—was very serious and, indeed, in some cases, irreparable. The origin of the fire was, and remains, a mystery; the outbreak was discovered by the two watchmen employed to look after the building at a little before six o'clock, and so fast did the destroying flames work that by nine o'clock the whole edifice was

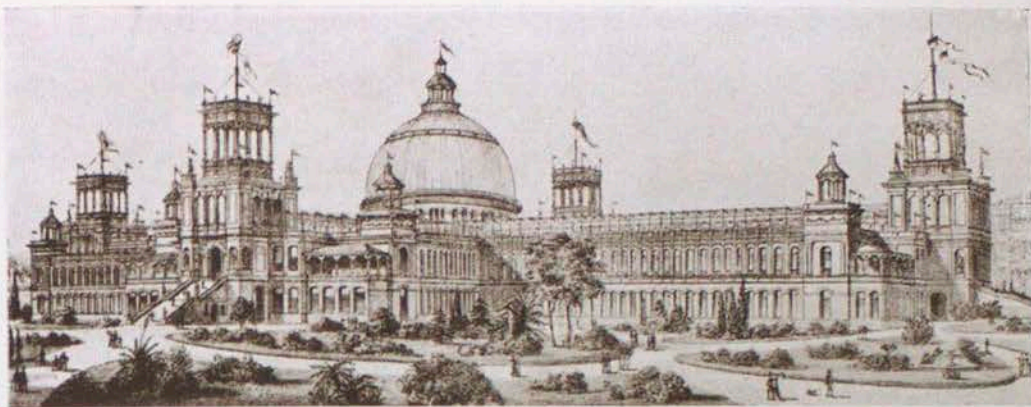
consumed. The building being situated on one of the highest points in the city and within the open space of the Gardens, the fire provided a magnificent spectacle for many miles around; and as it occurred when the majority of the citizens had risen, or were about to rise, from their beds, it was witnessed by an enormous and awe-stricken crowd. The destruction of the building was in many ways a blessing in disguise; for it restored an open space to the citizens of which they should never have been deprived, and it removed a danger that must have grown ever more dangerous with the years. But it was hard to regard that blackened mass of cinders and broken statuary with equanimity, and the first expression of public feeling, at any rate, was one of grief at the loss of so much beauty and art. The *HERALD* of the 23rd September printed a very full account of the disaster, from which we quote the following extracts:

To describe the progress of the fire is to analyse the events of a few minutes. The flames burst through the dome, then to the right and left, north and south, the roofing, like a gigantic firework, breaking into dotted lines of light. The flames appeared to have run along the interior walls of the transepts before they broke out, as in places great gaps were left between the outburst. Reaching the towers, the fire rippled along the parapets, and in a few minutes there was no point of the building on which the eye could rest but was fringed with bright flames of fire. Then came a dull, roaring sound and a crackling like the discharge of firearms. An immense flame leapt into the sky, volumes of black smoke rolled up, and with a crash like a peal of thunder the mighty dome fell in. The current of air created by the fall carried up as in a whirlwind great sheets of galvanized iron and clouds of burning embers. The wind carried the iron and fragments of the covering of the dome far away to the suburbs. Hot cinders fell on a house at Potts Point and ignited it, but the fire was soon extinguished; other fragments were carried to Rushcutter Bay and Darling Point; two sheets of corrugated iron into the grounds of the Hon. W. Macleay, Elizabeth Bay, and showers of ashes fell upon the houses in Woolloomooloo. After the dome the first tower to fall, perhaps because it was the most exposed to the breeze, was that at the north-western corner. Soon the flagpole on the tower facing Macquarie Street fell over, then the wooden upper portion collapsed, and fell within the brick walls of the tower. The scene would have been magnificent at night time, and even in the light of day it was grand. The flames were sometimes tempered carmine, green, yellow, or blue, by the burning of the galvanized roofing and the various metallic substances containing in the building, and the heat from the conflagration was so great that at five minutes past six o'clock, or twenty-five minutes after the first alarm was given, the glass in the windows of houses in Macquarie Street began to crack. . . .

The scene was the most imposing, as it was the most pitiful, ever seen in the colonies. Fire brigades arrived from all quarters of the city, with steam fire engines and manual engines, with reels, and all the equipment of their warfare; but they could only stand still and gaze as utterly powerless before the great element opposed to them as children to keep back the tide of the ocean. . . .

The fire was now in the fulness of its power; walls were falling, towers toppling over and tumbling huge masses of ruin into the great lustrous sea of red-hot metal and burning woodwork beneath. By 9 o'clock all was over, the residents in Macquarie Street had their view of the harbour restored to them, and the pretty Garden Palace, whose gray-tinted dome could be seen lifted above the pine and fig trees—a beacon light to those “incoming to our shores,” the first object of beauty in the city as the Heads was passed—was a mass of smoking timbers and falling walls.

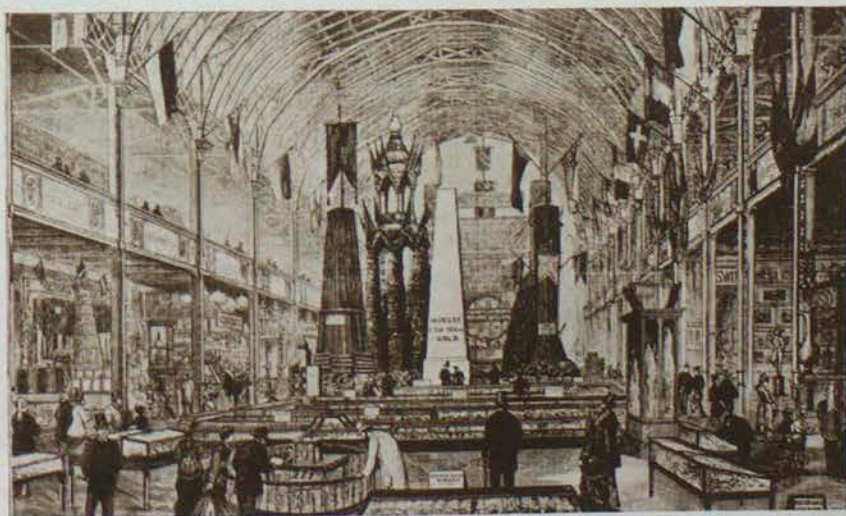
The annexation—or partial annexation—of New Guinea was the next great event, so far as Australia was concerned, of the decade. The annexation was the outcome of a course of events which had begun in 1875. Persistent rumours that Germany intended to plant her flag in the Pacific induced the Queensland Parliament in that year to urge upon the Home Government the necessity for occupying that portion of New Guinea which was not already in the possession of the Dutch. The Queensland Premier, Sir Thomas McIlwraith, pointed out the danger of allowing a foreign power to occupy a place which was so close to Australia, and stressed the intrinsic advantages to the Empire in general, and to Queensland in particular, of British ownership of a possession whose potentialities were so great. The *HERALD* warmly supported McIlwraith's proposal; but the majority of the various Australian authorities were very doubtful as to the necessity



The building known as the Garden Palace was constructed for the International Exhibition of 1879-80. It was destroyed by fire on September 22, 1882.



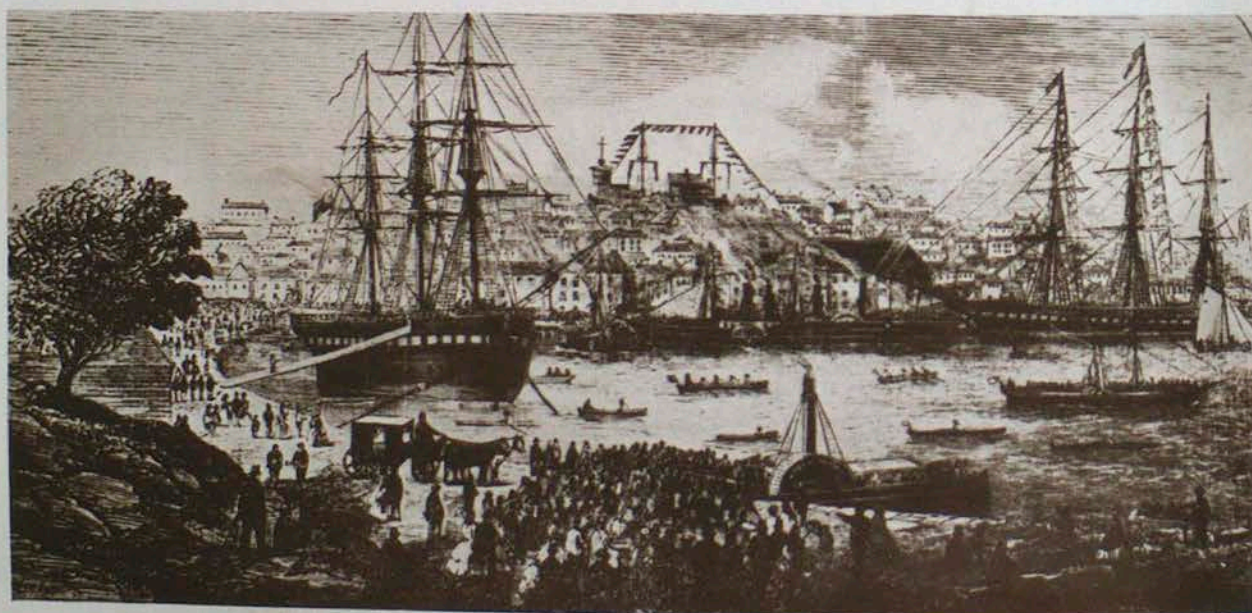
The Exhibition stood in the portion of the Botanic Gardens, still known as the Palace Garden.



The New South Wales Court. The pillar in the centre is inscribed "Mudgee gold, 1,708,764 ozs."



Fifty years ago, even as to-day, the various tradesmen's associations were accustomed to hold their annual picnics. The picture represents the Grocers' Picnic at Botany, 1883.



Circular Quay on Anniversary Day, 1866. Then and for years before the Regatta was the principal event on this date, and has remained so ever since.



A kangaroo "drive" in the Bathurst district in the 'seventies, when vast numbers of these marsupials roamed the plains and foothills of the Blue Mountains.



Coaching in the Araluen Valley. This spirited picture formed one of the most popular of the Sydney Mail's coloured supplements, issued at Christmas, 1893.



MEMBERS OF HERALD ADMINISTRATIVE AND LITERARY STAFFS IN 1888.

Back Row: J. Fraser, J. P. Dowling, J. P. Riddiford, P. Proctor, C. Leys, W. R. Pratt, A. Corlette. Second Row: H. J. Du Rieu, W. D. White, J. F. Soley, Jas. Elliott, J. H. Taylor, A. P. Cooper, E. Hine, P. E. Quinn. Seated: F. Brewer, A. Britton, W. Curnow (Editor), S. Cook (General Manager), T. Ward, Gilbert (now Sir Gilbert) Parker, W. J. Tarplee, F. Corlette. Front Row: J. O. (afterwards Sir James) Fairfax, G. E. Fairfax, T. D. Elwell.

for the step. On the Secretary of State replying that the British Government would be prepared to move in the matter if the Colonial Governments would meet the expense of governing the new possession, the local authorities regarded the suggestion with less enthusiasm than ever. In consequence, the matter dropped for the time. In 1882, however, McIlwraith gained definite information that Germany intended to annex the island, and again cabled the Home Authorities, informing them of the fact, and stating that Queensland was prepared to assume the cost of government and take formal possession. This was early in 1883; and, receiving no reply, McIlwraith acted promptly. On the 20th March he instructed the Police Magistrate at Thursday Island to proceed to New Guinea and take possession, in the name of the Queen, of the whole of the island not in Dutch occupation. Mr. H. M. Chester, the magistrate in question, carried out his instructions on the 14th April, and the action was duly reported to the British Government, with the request that it should be approved. On this occasion the other Australian Governments were in accord with McIlwraith's action; but the *HERALD* was opposed to the reasons he gave for it. Curiously enough, McIlwraith urged the annexation mainly on the ground that it would greatly assist the planters of Queensland in obtaining native labour—and this argument it was which aroused the antagonism of the *HERALD*. The paper was quick to acknowledge the disadvantage, even the danger, of a foreign power planting its flag in New Guinea; but it feared, with good reason, the effects of the official extension of that system of "blackbirding"—as the forcible recruiting of native labour had come to be called—which had already, in the hands of such men as the notorious "Bully" Hayes and his like, become almost synonymous with the horrors of the "middle passage." The leading article of the 16th April, commenting on the action of the Queensland Government, said:

A telegram published in our issue of to-day announces that the police magistrate of Thursday Island has taken formal possession of New Guinea on behalf of the Queensland Government. This can hardly be considered equivalent to the incorporation of the island with the Empire, nor, if the suggestion of our Brisbane correspondent as to the motive for such annexation is correct, is it desirable that it should be so. When the present attitude and action of France and other European Powers are considered, solid grounds enough appear upon which annexation might be argued, and possibly justified; but they are removed from that now advanced—the simple desire of obtaining plantation labour. The Rev. Mr. Lawes has protested against this design; if it is seriously entertained, he will be joined in his protest by the common sense of the continent, and probably be upheld by the direct veto of the Imperial authorities. It is highly desirable that labour should be supplied to the planters, but it is not to be tolerated that the population of a continent should be further degraded and brutalised for that purpose. And the history of the labour trade teaches us that its tendency is to further degrade and brutalise those unhappy savages amongst whom it is practised. Recruiting is divided by a dangerously fine line from kidnapping, and, as their true character becomes known, island after island presents a hostile front to the vessels of the labour fleet. Seldom one comes into port now without some tale of tragedy and blood, the merest details of which shock the sentiment of all natural-minded men. Philanthropists may well be startled when it is proposed to establish the same kind of commerce with New Guinea, and if annexation means the beginning of such a commerce, those who have obtained a footing in the island continent may well feel that resolute resistance is at once their necessity and their duty.

Thus, despite its previous advocacy of annexation, the *HERALD* was now logical enough. It was not annexation itself, but those consequences of it upon which such stress had been laid by McIlwraith, to which the paper objected, and with good reason. The Imperial Government repudiated the Queensland Premier's act, which was thus rendered of no effect; but next year, being again urgently pressed by practically all the Colonial Governments to reconsider the position, and having been promised by them that the sum estimated to cover the cost of governing the island would be forthcoming

from Australia, the Secretary of State decided to proclaim a protectorate over non-Dutch New Guinea. Unhappily, before action could be taken to effectuate this decision, Bismarck notified the British Government that Germany was considering the idea of herself establishing a protectorate over part of the northern area of the island. This complication delayed matters, and when, in October, 1884, Gladstone again announced his intention to proclaim the protectorate, further protests from Bismarck were again sufficient to dissuade him. On the 6th November, however, a protectorate over the south coast was proclaimed by Commodore Erskine on behalf of Great Britain, and ten days later the Germans landed at Wilhelmshafen (now Madang) and a German protectorate over the northern area of the island, together with some of the islands adjacent, was duly proclaimed. On 4th September, 1888, the three Colonies of New South Wales, Queensland, and Victoria having agreed to bear the cost, the British portion of the island was converted into a Crown Colony under the administration of Sir William MacGregor.

During the course of these negotiations, the Colonial Governments had become more and more irritated, their disappointment growing with the vexatious delays; and the *HERALD* was eloquent again in support of the demand for complete annexation. The final result was a great and grievous blow, both to the people of Australia and to their leading journal. On the 7th November, 1884—the news of the proclamation of the day before having then, of course, not yet come to hand—the paper said:

We are told that the Earl of Derby, having got his £15,000 promised, wants more. . . . If he will complete the protectorate along the north coast, he may have without demur any additional sum that is fairly demandable. The Colonies want to see a particular thing done, that is to say, New Guinea preserved from any foreign flag. They are more anxious about that than about the smaller islands in the Western Pacific. . . . The reasons ought to be extremely strong which limit the British protectorate to the southern coast.

It was not until the 26th of November that any suspicion was aroused in Sydney that all was not well, so far as German aims on the north of New Guinea were concerned. The *HERALD*'s leading article of the following day exhibits the concern which the suspicion aroused. Says the writer:

We get indirectly from a German authority information that would be more satisfactory if it had come to us from the British Government. . . . The *North German Gazette*, in a semi-official paragraph, states that the omission of the north coast from the protectorate is due to a friendly exchange of ideas between the British and German Governments. Why should not the British Government have informed us that, while acquiescing in our desire for a protectorate, so far as the south coast was concerned, it had diplomatic reasons for abstaining for the present from planting the British flag on the north coast. . . . The Germans have no interest at present on the north coast of New Guinea, and could be in no way injured by such a protectorate. For legitimate trading reasons, therefore, we fail to see what German objections there can be, while there would be very strong objections to any proposal to divide the coast amongst the great Powers, and to the establishment of naval depots by other countries. If Germany has asked that the north coast may be left open for the present, it is of extreme importance to Australia that we should know the reason why.

Again, on the 1st December, the paper voiced its apprehensions in the following terms:

There is, no doubt, room for arguing that we ought not to have touched New Guinea at all, but have let things take their chance. There are some amongst us who think so still, and, though we cannot agree with them, they have a case. But we can see no ground whatever for the position taken by the British Government, that it is wise to protect the south coast, but not the north coast. Most of the arguments, though not all, that justify dealing with the south coast, equally justify dealing with the north, and there will never be satisfaction in Australia till the work which has been begun has been completed.

On the 19th December unofficial news of the German annexation arrived in Sydney—over a month having elapsed since the actual date of the occurrence. Said the *HERALD* on the 20th:

A telegram from Cooktown announces that a German war vessel—"Elisabeth"—attended by two gunboats from Singapore, has formally annexed the portion of New Guinea over which England has not extended her protectorate. The news requires confirmation, and the hope is that it may not be confirmed. If the officers of the German war vessels have really annexed the northern part of New Guinea, the presumption must be that they have done so without express authority from the German Government. When the establishment of the British Protectorate was decided on, it was conveyed that there had been negotiations between the British and German Governments, and that between the two Governments there was a perfect understanding. It was not hinted, and it certainly never occurred to anybody that England did not take in the northern territory because that territory was wanted by Germany. If that was the reason to the limit that was set to British operations, it is a reason that ought to have been given. The British Government should have said frankly: We can only take the south of the island, for Germany wants the north. Any arrangement in the direction indicated ought to have been explained to the colonies. We may still indulge the hope that there was no such arrangement. If there was not, any such movements as those which are now reported would be little short of a breach of faith. . . . There is surely room enough for German enterprise beyond New Guinea, and it is in the last degree undesirable that three European nations should be asserting their claims even on so large an island. . . . What we shall be anxious to know is whether the transaction described in the telegram has really taken place, and if so whether the German Government has given its sanction to it. When our Governments are satisfied as to the former point, they may be expected to ask for immediate information in regard to the latter. If the Germans are both to annex and to occupy the northern portion of New Guinea, as compared with their annexation our protectorate will be an exceedingly hollow affair. . . . However the news may be explained, it may turn out that it is high time for our authorities to keep an eye on the Germans.

A cable message, indirectly confirming the German annexation, was received on the 22nd, and next day the *HERALD*, left with little hope, commented on the position in these terms:

It is not very easy to reconcile the telegram we publish elsewhere with some of those which have lately appeared, reporting ignorance both at London and Berlin of all movements by Germany towards the acquisition of territory in the Southern Seas. . . . *The Standard*, however, is a journal of both enterprise and authority, and the statement now made—that Germany has "notified the Powers"—is of such a character that it can hardly be discredited as a matter of mere rumour, even though the information had up to the last moment been kept unknown to nonofficial ears. . . . Some time ago, and before England had taken any action in the matter, it was remarked by Lord Derby or by Mr. Gladstone that the annexation of New Guinea by any other Power would be regarded as "an unfriendly act." Perhaps it is not a matter of consideration to Prince Bismarck how the British Government would regard such a step as that which is now said to have been taken. . . . In point of fact, however, the feebleness and hesitation of the British Government in this matter have been practically an invitation to any other Power with greater boldness to step in. So far as Lord Derby is concerned, the probability is that if the statement of *The Standard* be true, he has inwardly hailed the German notification with relief, because it will save him the trouble of coming to a definite conclusion and taking positive action—a thing his dubious soul abhors. Not the least curious part of the information that reaches us by telegraph is that England has been aware of Germany's designs since July.

Finally, on the 23rd December, direct confirmation of the act of annexation by Germany was received and the leading article of the 24th delivered the paper's opinion in no uncertain terms:

Whether the British Government has been aware or unaware of German intentions, the course actually taken has been one tending directly to lay the basis for future troubles and complications, instead of obviating them. The idea of a coast-line protectorate, leaving absolutely undetermined the distance inland over which the influence of the protecting authority might from time to time be held to extend, is peculiar, to begin with. . . . To establish a protectorate over the southern coastline only, was to leave it open to any other Power—almost as if by tacit invitation—to deal

with the northern coast-line and the whole territory inland. The man who wants to protect a paddock against trespass is not content with a fence on only one side. . . .

In this matter Lord Derby has under-valued the interests of the Colonies and overlooked the true interest of the Empire. He was in a certain sense obliged to repudiate the proceedings of Sir Thomas Mellwraith, taken without authority in the Queen's name. But by failing to do immediately afterwards with authority what the Queensland Government undertook to do without, he missed the turn of the tide, and involved himself in difficulties which both his inaction and his action have only tended to increase. It is a mistake to say that the Colonies could have protected their interests more effectually against Germany if they had been independent, or if they had established a Federal Council. If Germany has not shrunk from committing an unfriendly act towards Great Britain, the regard of an independent Australia would have been very lightly esteemed. The opinion of the Colonies in the matter of New Guinea has been unanimous. It could not have been expressed with greater emphasis by a council of fourteen. But it is bad for both the Imperial and the Colonial cause when a Secretary of State for the Colonies under-values their interests, fails to sympathise with their legitimate desires, shuts his eyes to their future, and treats them in the present with scant confidence. If Lord Derby is not open to these charges, the defence that is to clear his reputation must be stronger than anything which now appears.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of the matter, the ultimate consequence was that a German New Guinea had to be captured by an Australian expedition in 1914, and not without loss of life.

The electric light was in its infancy in the early 'eighties; and yet, so seized with its possibilities were the proprietors of the *HERALD*, that they arranged, so early as 1882, to have a system of electric light installed in the office. The installation was completed, and the new illuminant first used, on the 3rd November of that year; although gas was still, of course, mainly relied upon for some considerable period.

A long account, in the *HERALD* of the 11th June, 1883, of the unveiling, in Macquarie Place, Sydney, of a statue of the late Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, makes it appropriate at this point to make brief mention of the man who founded an industry which has long been one of Australia's greatest assets. Mort was born in Lancashire in 1816, but arrived in Sydney at the age of twenty-two to take up a mercantile career. After a few years' service as a clerk in the firm of Aspinall, Brown & Co., he started business on his own account as an auctioneer, and almost at once began to experiment with methods of exportation of meat foods to England. Not meeting with success, he abandoned the project for the time and turned his attention to wool-broking. In 1845 he founded the firm of Mort & Co., a firm which was to grow to greatness with the years; in 1849 we find him one of the principal supporters of the Parramatta Railway; in 1851 he formed the first gold-mining company to be registered in Australia; and in 1854 he built Mort's Dock, a work which led to the formation of that firm of Mort's Dock & Engineering Co. which is famous in our annals. In 1856 he established his well-known farm at Bodalla, on the south coast of the Colony, and in 1857, together with the late Augustus Morris, a New South Wales and Victorian pastoralist, he endeavoured once more to exploit his former ideas for the exportation of meat. But it was not until 1870 that his experiments were crowned with any practical success. Five years later they had so materialised that he was able to establish a slaughter-house and freezing works at Lithgow and ice-works at Sydney. He then chartered a steamer, fitted her with refrigerating machinery and loaded her with a cargo of frozen meat. Unfortunately, the freezing plant broke down on the voyage, and the consequent failure put back the progress of the industry for several years. In 1878, however, the venture succeeded so well that from that day to this the frozen—or chilled—meat industry has grown continuously in magnitude until it has become, as we have said, one of the greatest assets of Australia.

Unhappily, Mort did not live to see it triumph; but he did live long enough to see its initial success. He died in May, 1878, just as that initial success had been accomplished. An interesting sidelight on his methods and character is provided by the fact that in 1873 he offered a number of shares in the Mort's Dock & Engineering Co. to his employees, an offer which was promptly accepted by a number of his foremen, who had every reason subsequently to remember with gratitude this practical exhibition of co-operation on the part of their employer. The statue which was erected in Macquarie Place three years after his death, and to which we have already referred, was unveiled by the Governor, Lord Loftus, in the presence of a very large assemblage, and the *HERALD* devoted not only three columns to an account of the ceremony, but also a leading article upon its significance.

These references to T. S. Mort recall the fact that it was just about the time that his frozen-meat venture was meeting with its long-delayed success, that another invention, which was to revolutionise the harvesting of Australian wheat, was being brought to practical fruition by a young Victorian named Hugh Victor McKay. McKay was born in Rayward, in the southern colony, in 1865, and his invention combined in the one operation and in the one machine, the "stripping" of the grain (which was the limit of the activities of the older machines) with the winnowing—and, ultimately, the bagging—which had previously been done by separate processes. The youth—he was but nineteen at the time—met with an inventor's usual difficulties in his efforts to induce public belief in the efficacy of his machine; a matter which is hardly to be wondered at, seeing that it was of home manufacture, crudely constructed out of odd bits of farming machinery and a number of kerosene tins and similar make-shifts. But he refused to be daunted, and toured the country with his contraption so persistently that he at last succeeded in overcoming the not unnatural scepticism of the farmers. In 1888 McKay was able to establish a factory for the manufacture of his "Sunshine Harvesters" at Ballarat. In a few years the immense advantages of his invention had been so thoroughly proved that they were universally admitted, both in Australia and abroad. In 1906 McKay transferred his factory to a settlement near Melbourne which he called "Sunshine"; and when he died in 1926 he had lived to see that settlement grow into a model township of some 4,000 inhabitants, all of whom were either directly or indirectly associated with his factories. Over 2,000 persons are actually engaged there in various ways to-day, the wages and salaries paid exceed £600,000 per annum, and practically the whole of the materials used are of Australian origin. During the Great War, McKay was appointed a member of the Board of Business Administration associated with the Defence Department and the Sunshine factories were used for the manufacture of munitions. In recognition of his great services in this connection he received the C.B.E. A trust which he established for the improvement of the living conditions of the inland districts of Australia produces an annual income of about £10,000, and is administered by three trustees.

The year 1884 was also notable for a drastic alteration in the land laws. The Robertson "Free Selection Before Survey" system had now been in operation for over twenty years, and, as we have already shown, had failed to effect the reforms it had been intended to produce. Instead of putting the land into the possession of the small settlers, it had enabled the larger squatters still further to increase their holdings, and it had created a bitter class-war between the two sections. Apart from this, moreover, the condition of affairs in the Colony had changed so greatly since the early 'sixties that it had become necessary for the land laws to be amended, too, to conform to them. The Premier

of New South Wales at this time was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Alexander Stuart, and his Minister for Lands was Mr. J. S. Farnell, to whose hands, therefore, the new legislation was entrusted. Its main provisions were that the Colony should be divided into three districts (to be known as the Eastern, Central and Western Divisions), in each of which a Land Board should be stationed for the purpose of making itself acquainted with the local conditions and advising the Department thereon, and of actually administering the Act itself in many ways. In the Eastern District selection was limited to 640 acres; but in the more unsettled and less favourably conditioned Central Division the maximum area of the holding that could be taken up was increased to 2,560 acres. In the Western Division no selection could be made by way of purchase at all, all lands being subject to leasehold only. The maximum area that could thus be taken up was 10,240 acres. In all cases the tenure was conditional upon the selector residing in person upon the subject area and effecting certain improvements thereon. All these lands were to be made available to selectors by dividing every squatter's pastoral leases into two portions, one-half of which could be retained by the lessee, the other half—which was technically known as the “resumed area”—being thrown open to the small settlers whom the Act was designed to encourage.

It was a brave endeavour to cope with a difficult problem; for, by the residence and improvement conditions, it made it as certain as certainty is possible in such matters that the selections should be taken up in good faith, while it also made it impossible for them to be taken up anywhere but in the specified resumed areas, thereby eliminating the “peacocking” that had been the cause of so much trouble.

The HERALD gave the consideration to this new land legislation that its importance demanded. When Farnell introduced his Bill in October, 1883, the paper devoted several leaders to a critical examination of its provisions, and a perusal of the article of the 12th shows that the paper was, at this stage, cautiously commendatory. The writer, after setting out the main alterations in the existing law which the Bill would effect, concluded as follows:

It is a comprehensive and carefully considered measure; but, notwithstanding the evident intention of its framers to promote certainty and security in transactions of all kinds, the extensive retention of the conditional element has prevented the exclusion of complexity and occasions for trouble and dispute. Perhaps it would have been impossible to avoid this in dealing with the eastern and central divisions; and it is to be admitted that a greater measure of simplicity is attained in the provisions for the western division, where there is a freer field and fewer causes of embarrassment present themselves.

Two days later, a second leading article dealt at length with the Bill, and, after a careful resume of the stimulants to *bona fide* selection which it contained, the judgment of the paper on the measure was delivered in these words:

On the whole, therefore, it is not too much to say that the new Bill does provide an improved system of conditional purchase so far as the risks of conflict with pastoral lessees, and of mistakes, disappointment, and loss to selectors, through uncertainty and delay in the settlement of disputes, are concerned; and thus one, at least, of the objects sought for is in a fair way of accomplishment.

Despite its obvious advantages, however, the new Act failed largely to solve the problem of the lands. But the failure was due rather to outside circumstances than to any defects inherent in itself. The drought through which the Colony had been passing before Farnell's Act became law, was long and terribly maleficent in its effects, especially in the far west. The rabbits, too, had by now become a grave menace, and to destroy them involved an expense too great for the majority of the selectors to meet. Over-stocking and the spread of non-edible shrubs, and departmental delays and other irritating difficulties also added their quota to the sum; and in the end only a very few

settlers were able to avail themselves successfully of the provisions of the new Act. The resumed areas being thus left untenanted and uncared for, soon became over-run with scrub or eaten out by the rabbit.

A measure intended to relieve the troubles thus created was introduced in 1889, but with little effect. The dry seasons continued, the land-holders saw their properties fall into the hands of the banks; the financial crisis of the early 'nineties, to which reference will presently be made, completed the debacle, and although the 1894 Act of Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Carruthers, by which the resumed areas were again made available to the squatters as pastoral leases, was well conceived and did, in fact, do something to alleviate matters, the relief, so far as the Western Division was concerned, at any rate, had come too late to be of any real or permanent benefit. By the end of 1900 six million acres of western lands had been abandoned, the sheep of the Colony had decreased from seventeen millions to five millions, and pastoral properties had depreciated generally from fifty to eighty per cent. It was not until well into the new century that any recovery was appreciable; and then it was in reality almost wholly confined to the Eastern and Central Divisions. With the introduction of the system of selection upon the basis of "a living area," which has now been in vogue for more than a quarter of a century, the main difficulty of administering the department in these divisions has lain rather in the problem of coping with the incessant demands for land, than in meeting the problems—constant and serious enough as these are—which arise after those demands have been attended to.

As for the Western Division, the conditions there even to-day are sadly similar to those obtaining thirty years ago. In October and November of 1899, Mr. (afterwards Senator) E. D. Millen described his experiences on a comprehensive tour of the whole Division, which he had recently made, and published them in a series of articles in the *HERALD*. They attracted wide attention. Mr. Millen travelled on horseback from Bourke westward to Milparinka, southward to Broken Hill, south-eastward to Menindie and Ivanhoe, north-eastward to Cobar and thence again almost due northward to Bourke, thus completing a round trip which covered all sections of a division whose area is considerably larger than that of Victoria and Tasmania combined. In view of the information thus made public, and of that supplied, as a result of the articles, by numerous correspondents, the *HERALD* strongly urged the appointment of a Royal Commission "small enough to visit the western districts thoroughly and expert enough to know the real significance of what it sees and hears." The suggestion was adopted by the Government, and the Commission, appointed in August, 1900, issued a unanimous report in October, 1901, upon which the greater portion of the foregoing description of the conditions in the Western Division has been based.

In February, 1885, there occurred an event which for the time eclipsed all others in the thoughts of every Australian—an event with which the *HERALD* was very closely and peculiarly associated. The issue of the 12th inst. contained a cable message from London, shattering the last hope as to General Gordon's safety, and giving details of his assassination at Khartoum. The issue which carried this fatal telegram also contained a short leading article commenting sorrowfully on the loss which the Empire had sustained—and a certain letter which was to have extraordinary results. Residing in the harbour suburb of Manly at the time was a well-known ex-Army officer, Sir Edward Strickland by name, an English soldier with a fine record, who had recently retired with the rank of Commissary General and had come to live in Australia. The tragedy of Gordon's untimely death becoming generally known on the 11th, the news inspired in Strickland's mind the thought of suggesting to the Government of his

adopted country that it should send a local contingent of armed forces to the Sudan. And this, not because the English forces there were in any dire need of assistance, but because such an act would show the world how keenly the loss of Gordon had stirred the Colony and how resolved it was to stand by the Mother Country in a crisis. The then Premier of New South Wales, Mr.—afterwards Sir—Alexander Stuart, had gone to New Zealand on a health trip, but Mr. W. B. Dalley, who had been appointed Acting Premier during his absence, by a coincidence which was to bear a quick harvest, also resided in Manly; and to him Sir Edward at once delivered himself of his idea. Dalley advised him to put his suggestion in the form of a letter and send it to the *HERALD*. This he did, and here it is, as it appeared in that same issue of the *HERALD* which announced the death of Gordon:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *HERALD*.

Sir: It was in the first moments of grief and indignation on hearing the news that "Gordon was dead," that the idea flashed across me that Australia should at once give expression to her deep sorrow at the loss of this great commander and *preux chevalier* by following the example of a sister Colony, Canada, and tendering to our Mother Country substantial aid in the time of need.

If we are correctly informed by the wires, Canada has placed 600 of her local forces at the service of the Home Authorities; and it is not very many years ago since the 100th Regiment, now styled the Royal Canadian Regiment, was raised in Canada and incorporated with the Royal Army. A grand opportunity is now offered to Australia of proving, by performing a graceful, a loyal, a generous act, that she yields not to Canada or to any portion of the British Empire in loyalty and affection towards our Mother Country.

I would suggest that a regiment 1,000 strong be raised in Australia as speedily as possible, and placed at the service of Her Majesty the Queen, to aid her troops already engaged in bitter war both in North and South Africa, or to supply the place at home of those drilled battalions sent out to reinforce their comrades in the field.

There is no sort of use in attempting to shut our eyes to the fact that England has now upon her hands two of the most bloody wars of the century, apart from possible contingencies with some European States. First, we have the warlike, brave Saracens, led by the Mahdi, and fighting under all the savage influences of fanaticism; we have attacked them on their own soil, and we can never retire from the field except as conquerors, unless we are content to have peace with dishonour. Secondly, we have the hardy Boer, a deadly shot and an excellent soldier. We are on his soil, too, and there we must either assert the supremacy of English rule or yield the country to the Dutch.

By continued successes over Hicks, Baker, and now, alas! poor Gordon, the Saracens are learning the art of modern military strategy, and they are acquiring arms and artillery, and a knowledge of how to use them. If not crushed now, by force of arms, they may easily become as formidable as their renowned ancestors of old. It therefore well becomes every Christian people to aid in the great task now undertaken by England singlehanded, and to no Christian people is this a more sacred duty than to the children of old England.

Every Christian-born subject feels to-day that he has lost a friend in Gordon, therefore all Christendom will ring with praises of the gallantry of Australia in losing not a moment in tendering aid in the hour of need for the maintenance of the integrity of our nation and the ascendancy of Christianity.

I would beg of you to accept many apologies for thus trespassing upon your well-tryed kindness and soliciting of you a place in your columns for this suggestion, which I hope may be well accepted by my fellow-colonists.

I am, etc.,

E. STRICKLAND.

The response to this patriotic suggestion was immense and immediate. The *HERALD* was inundated with letters from enthusiastic correspondents, ardently supporting the raising of a contingent at once. Many of these were printed in the following day's issue. But that same issue was able to publish a much more striking proof of the efficacy of the appeal. Dalley had been so impressed with Sir Edward's suggestion that he had

that same afternoon called a meeting of the Cabinet to consider the matter. So impressed, in turn, were his colleagues that it was decided before the meeting closed to cable the Imperial Government, offering to supply two batteries of field artillery, with ten 16-lb. guns properly horsed, and five hundred infantry, the whole force to be landed at Suakin within thirty days of embarkation.

The HERALD unmistakeably showed its own feelings in the matter by devoting a short but emphatic leading article to a commendation of the Government's action.

If the excitement had been intense before, it can easily be imagined that the announcement of the Government's offer increased the heat of that excitement to boiling point. Scarcely anything was spoken, or even thought of, but "the Contingent." Offers to enrol poured in to the military authorities long before the answer to the offer was received; and when that answer did arrive and it was learned that the offer had been accepted, subject only to the condition that the force should be under the supreme command of the British officer in charge of the general operations, scenes unprecedented in our history occurred throughout the Colony. Indeed, it may be said that the flame of enthusiasm swept the continent. Messages of hearty approval poured in from every quarter; the Colonies of Victoria, South Australia and Queensland cabled offers of similar assistance to the homeland; and in every way the Australian public showed how strongly it was behind the project. The HERALD, of course, was continuously to the fore in its support; articles on every phase of the subject poured from the pens of its staff; and from first to last the paper and its proprietors were in the van of the enthusiasts. There were those, of course, who were opposed to the idea of sending Australian troops beyond the boundaries of Australia; and of these opponents the most prominent was Sir Henry Parkes. Sir Henry was out of office at the time, and, in consequence, was in a disgruntled mood. He wrote a number of letters to the HERALD, in which he urged that there was no need for the contingent, the Imperial Forces being well able to cope with the situation; that, even if there were such need, the first duty of Australian troops was to remain in their own country in order to defend it from outside attack; and that, even if it were a good thing to send the contingent, it could not and should not be sent without the consent of Parliament, a consent which had not been obtained. There was a good deal in these arguments, especially in the last—a fact that was admitted later on, by Parliament being asked, when it reassembled after the contingent had left, to approve and confirm the action which had been taken behind its back. In the issue of the 25th February, however, the HERALD, having published a long and bitter attack by Sir Henry, in which he alleged that a considerable section of the enthusiasm for the movement and a considerable amount of the subscriptions raised to support it, were either insincere in the one case, or forced upon unwilling employees by tuft-hunting employers in the other, the HERALD replied to him in the following trenchant article:

Has Sir Henry Parkes, through his long and varied experience of life, lost the capacity for believing that there can be real sympathy and true feeling? It may suit his purpose just now to proclaim an interest in the fettler's wife's new dress or the porter's Sunday dinner, but does that place him on a pedestal from which he can throw scorn upon those who are freely giving—whether from their need or from their abundance—to the cause of the widow and the orphan? Let it not be forgotten that this is what he is now doing. He is as powerless to stop the expedition as a cur yelping at the heels of a procession would be to call a halt. What follows? The men will go, and some will die; and if Sir Henry Parkes' letter could influence the people, the widow and orphans of those who die might suffer without a hand to help them. The contributions that are being made to the rightly-called "Patriotic Fund" are for their benefit. This man, who can whine about the loss of a new dress and a Sunday dinner, sees nothing in them but contributions to "the huge Dalley delusion." He is apparently so dazzled by the brilliancy of the chance of recovering lost ground and lost confidence which, with a politician's instinct, he comes

from his cell to seize, that he cannot discern the plainest facts before his eyes. . . . Let Sir Henry Parkes go on mumbling the constitutional principles he has not yet shown that he understands, and let him get all the political capital he can out of them. But when, finding that process unprofitable, he tries to check the current of public benevolence, we say, "Out with your pitiful popularity-hunting and petty malice."

The contingent was necessarily composed entirely of volunteers; and so keen and so sustained was the rush to enrol, and so active were the organising authorities, that the entire force was ready for embarkation, and was, in fact, embarked, within sixteen days of the receipt of the cable from England accepting its services. The acceptance was received on the fifteenth of February, the contingent embarked and sailed for Suakin on the transports "Iberia" and "Australasian" on the 3rd March. The day was one of excitement in Sydney; it is certain that never before were the streets of the city so crowded, nor the nearer country districts so depleted of their inhabitants. The *HERALD* of the 4th March described the scenes attendant on the embarkation with skill, and at such length that nine full columns were required to contain the matter. It also devoted its leading column to an article expressive of the sentiments of the day. From this we quote briefly as follows:

Our soldiers are gone, and, judging from the demonstration of yesterday, the best wishes of the majority of the community will follow them. . . . Never, it may be affirmed, has the proposal of a Government been received with more general or more enthusiastic approval. . . . It is not so much the sending of troops to the Soudan as the motive which has inspired the sending of them that entitles the Government to the support of the Colony. In acting as he did, Mr. Dalley declared that the cause of the Mother Country is our cause; and the present is not a time in which such a declaration can be said to be of no importance. As long as the Colonies are a part of the Empire, they must be prepared to bear their share of its burdens. We cannot expect to have the privileges of the Imperial connection without its obligations. If Englishmen are to fight our battles, we must hold ourselves in readiness to fight theirs.

The *HERALD* decided to send one of its own staff with the contingent to act as special correspondent at the front; and for that purpose Mr. W. J. Lambie was selected. Mr. Lambie had been on the staff for some time, and his work fully justified his selection for this important post. Mr. Lambie subsequently entered the service of the proprietors of *The Age* newspaper, in Melbourne, and, being sent by that paper as war correspondent with the Australian contingents to the Boer War, was killed in action. It only remains to add that the contingent arrived at Suakin on the 29th March; that as a mark of courtesy it was brigaded with the Guards; that it took part in only one small engagement—a skirmish at Tamai—and that only three of its members were wounded, and they but slightly. Its main duties were associated with railway-construction work; and on the 17th May, the campaign in the Sudan being at an end, the force was re-embarked for Australia. It arrived in Sydney on the 23rd June, and was then disbanded. But though the record reads tamely enough, the value of the contingent is not to be measured by the glory it gained, but by the sentiment it expressed; not by what it did, but by what it stood for; and the value of the thing it stood for is beyond assessment.

Towards the end of the year 1885 Dr. Garran retired from the editorship of the *HERALD*, and was succeeded by Mr. William Curnow, who had formerly been a Wesleyan clergyman, but who, owing to the incursions of a throat trouble, was compelled to exchange the pulpit for the pen. Mr. Curnow was born in Cornwall in 1832, and became a minister of the Gospel upon attaining his majority. The Wesleyan Methodist body in England having received a request from Australia, asking that a number of young ministers should be sent out, Curnow was one of those selected to satisfy the demand. He arrived in Sydney in 1854, and, after ministering in various country districts of New South Wales and Queensland, he was eventually appointed to the pulpit

of the leading Methodist Church in Sydney. In 1874 he was compelled to resign from the Ministry for the reason already mentioned; and his prose articles, contributed from time to time to the columns of the *HERALD*, having won the approval of the proprietors, he was invited to become a permanent member of the literary staff. He accepted, and, under the influence of such men as Garran, Ward and Greenwood, his natural aptitude for journalism was finely developed. From January to May, 1884, he was editor of *THE SYDNEY MAIL*, and in 1885 a still greater position was bestowed upon him; and the editorial chair of the *HERALD*, which he was then called upon to fill, he occupied with credit to himself and to the paper for eighteen years. In 1898 he was enabled to pay a visit to England, and during his absence Mr. Gullett—subsequently the Hon. Henry Gullett, M.L.C.—then Associate Editor of the *HERALD*, occupied the Editorial Chair as Acting Editor. In the beginning of 1903 Mr. Curnow's health failed so badly that he was compelled to resign his position, and he died, after ten months' illness bravely borne, on the 14th October of that year. To quote from the notice of his death which was published in *THE SYDNEY MAIL* on the Wednesday following his death (October 21st, 1903), it may be said of Curnow that: "He was always honest in intention and fairly free from the faultiness which is the lot of all humanity. . . . He had within him the knowledge of right, and he did right regardless of all consequences. At one of those old-time festive gatherings, a *HERALD* 'Wayzgoose' . . . speaking to his fellow workers, he said: 'The agreeable man is the man who agrees with you. I fear I am not an agreeable man. I have an infirmity of temper, but I hope you at all times recognise I mean well.' A reply came promptly in the form of loud cheers. . . . His pen was never dipped in the gall-pot. He was not an extremist, or a journalist of the cut and slam order, but although not boldly venturesome, his course was not always along beaten tracks." Curnow's advice to a young writer, "State in your first sentence a truth, and then stick to it," was characteristic both of the man and of his methods.

The *HERALD* was subjected to another grievous loss during the year following the resignation of Dr. Garran. As previously mentioned, Mr. Hugh George, who had since 1878 carried out the important and onerous duties of general manager with splendid efficiency, died, during a vacation in Melbourne, on the 14th May, 1886. The position was not immediately filled—indeed, it was not until 1888 that Mr. Samuel Cook was given the vacant office. He held the position until 1907. "Mr. Cook's career," says a brief biographical notice penned on the occasion of his death, "was an honoured one. On June 19th, 1854, he landed in Sydney from the ship 'Nimrod,' and started work on the *HERALD* as a compositor. He was an expert in Pitman's shorthand, and was the first man to attain a speed of 200 words. Naturally such a valuable man—for he had shown every journalistic aptitude—did not stay long at the compositor's frame. He was soon given a post on the editorial staff, and came to be, in quick succession, head of the Parliamentary staff, chief of the reporting staff, associate editor with the Reverend John West, and from 1888 till 1907 was general manager. He had a hand in all the big journalistic work of his time, and his tact and kindly manner, and his knowledge of human nature, helped him on to success."

Mr. Cook was born in the city of Leicester, England; and at the age of fourteen was apprenticed to Mr. W. H. Burton, a general printer of that town. On the expiration of his articles he migrated to London, where he was soon fortunate enough to obtain a "frame" in the office of the Government Printer. Shortly afterwards he joined the composing staff of *The Morning Post*, and three months later he accepted an engagement on the staff of *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*. He sailed for Sydney early in 1854. During his career in England he had mastered the art of shorthand, and the accomplish-

ment stood him in such good stead that three weeks after he entered the HERALD's service he was promoted from the compositor's case to the pencil of the reporter, and given, almost immediately, a position in the Parliamentary Gallery. His subsequent steps upwards on the ladder of promotion have already been stated, his last literary appointment being to the editorship of the *Echo*, a post of which he was still the incumbent when in 1888, his final promotion to the General Managership was given him. Just prior to this, by the way, he had been invited to stand as a candidate for Parliament, but, preferring journalism to politics, he declined the honour. Despite his devotion to the business affairs of the HERALD, Cook found time to take considerable practical interest in many social, philanthropic and public matters. He was one of the founders of the Atheneum Club, and also of a Model Lodging House scheme, subsequently taken over by the Government and managed as a public concern. But probably his best services to the State were represented by his consistent advocacy of the extension of park lands in the city and suburbs. He took a leading part in obtaining for the citizens such well-known areas as Victoria, Balmoral, Scarborough, Cook and Marrickville Parks, while his activities in this regard were so able and effective that they were recognised by the then Minister for Lands naming after him the splendid reserve on the foreshores of Botany Bay formerly known as Lady Robinson's Beach. This reserve is generally supposed to have been named in honour of Captain Cook; but the real facts of the case are as we have stated. Mr. Cook also won considerable repute in the literary field. He published a handsome volume on the Jenolan Caves, and on one occasion won a prize of one hundred guineas offered by the proprietors of *The Wagga Wagga Advertiser* for the best essay on the land-tenure systems of Australia. At the Conference of Newspaper Proprietors and Journalists held in Sydney in July, 1900, to discuss the amendment of the law of libel, he was elected Chairman. In 1907 his age compelled him to retire from the General Managership, and on the 21st July, three years later, he died, respected by all who knew him, and leaving behind him an honourable name and a host of friends.

In April and May, 1887, the first of the Colonial, or as they were subsequently termed, Imperial, Conferences was held in London, the Colony of New South Wales being represented by Sir Patrick Jennings and the Honourable R. Wisdom. Considerable interest was manifested in its doings; and, although its results were not, directly, very important, indirectly they led to much. The subject which created the greatest discussion at the Conference was that of Naval Defence and in what way the Colonies were to participate therein. In the end a satisfactory arrangement was evolved, whereby for ten years the Colonies were to subscribe a prescribed amount per annum and in return the Home Government was to maintain a naval squadron of seven ships in Australian waters. Although at first the HERALD was doubtful as to the value of the Conference, it welcomed the Naval Subsidy Agreement as the practical solution of a difficult problem. The leading article of the 4th April runs as follows:

According to announcement by cablegram, the Imperial Conference begins its deliberations to-day, and the first organised effort to concentrate British and colonial opinion upon matters of common interest will now stand upon its trial. It is not clear what Canada and the other dependencies think upon the matter, but they all have sent delegates, and this Colony, for its national honour, could not stand aloof, even if there were no great faith felt in the result of the Conference. While it must be admitted that the scheme has been looked upon here as very largely sentimental and academical, there was still the necessity of providing for the possibility of some practical result by sending our representatives to act in national concert. There would be every reason to be thankful for any common benefit arising from the discussions of the Conference; yet its consultative and tentative character, the shortness of its duration, and the multiplicity of subjects to be considered, do not promise much. It may be intended as the initiative degree to a grand Imperial combination; its actual meaning does not in all probability extend far beyond a graceful

and fitting conclusion to the amenities and interest centred in the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. . . . It is no great matter if the Conference comes practically to nought. It will not have put the country to any great expense, and it will have the merit at any rate of having brought together prominent men from all parts of a great Empire, who at least have privilege to express the sentiment of loyalty felt by the people whom they represent towards the parent Government; and if they cannot give a sublimation of colonial opinion on the subjects to be discussed, they can do no particular harm by expressing their own ideas.

The HERALD's approval of the Naval Agreement in the article of the 14th April is thus worded:

In our opinion, the offer of the Imperial Government is a reasonable one. . . . It must be remembered that the payment we are asked to make is for the exclusive services of the vessels. An essential part of the bargain is that the cruisers and torpedo boats are to remain with us under all circumstances. As we are to have the sole use of them, it is only fair that we should pay for their maintenance, and as regards the sinking fund, as that is intended to provide for depreciation, it is only maintenance under another name. If no provision of the sort were made, the Imperial Government would have to renew the vessels from time to time at their own cost, and this would be more than we could properly ask for. If the cruisers are found in the first instance, that is all we can fairly expect from the Mother Country.

Finally, on the 9th May, the Conference having then practically come to an end, the HERALD summed up its activities and briefly estimated their value:

When the Conference was opened, each of the representatives of the Imperial Government intimated that it was the first of a series of similar gatherings; and that prediction seems likely to be fulfilled—first, because enough has been done to justify the meeting, and, secondly, because enough has been left open to justify a second whenever the various questions are ripe for settlement. When we ask what has been done, we are bound to say that with absolute finality nothing has been done. No treaty of any kind between the Mother Country and the Colonies has been signed, sealed, and delivered; but that is only because, the Conference being consultative, the representatives had not the right to commit their respective Parliaments. But we may say that, substantially, the question of naval defence has been settled. . . . The offer made by the Admiralty is a good one. The weak point in our defence was the want of coast cruisers, and we are not in a position at present to start a federal navy; and, therefore, the most efficient and economical arrangement for us is to get the work done by the greatest naval power in the world. The cost to us will be only a fraction of what we should have to pay if we were an independent community; and if the knowledge that we are sufficiently protected prevents our ever being attacked, we should be well content that the cruisers should ultimately be sold for old iron without ever having fired a shot in anger.

The Naval Agreement worked satisfactorily in the whole and fully justified the paper's support. In fact, it remained in force, with certain modifications, until the creation of the Australian Navy, in the first decade of the Federation, rendered its further existence unnecessary.

This same year, 1887, witnessed the celebrations of the jubilee of the reign of Queen Victoria. In common with the rest of the Empire, the Australian Colonies decided to express their loyalty on the occasion in a fitting manner, and a series of functions to mark the event were arranged for in Sydney. Among others, it was proposed to hold a children's fete to impress the importance of the occasion upon the plastic minds of the younger generation. A meeting to consider this proposal was held at the Town Hall on the evening of the 3rd June; but was unfortunately completely broken up by a certain section whose disloyalty had recently been expressed in many ways. This section obtained admission to the Hall and, after creating the utmost disorder, managed to carry an amendment to the arranged loyal motion, to the effect that "the proposal to impress upon the children of the Colony the value of the jubilee year of a Sovereign is unwise, and calculated to injure the democratic spirit of the country."

The majority of the citizens of the capital city were grievously annoyed at this disloyal act, and on the following day the *HERALD* expressed the opinion of that majority in these terms:

We are quite sure that those who attended the meeting last night at the Town Hall, and paraded their disloyalty, did not represent at all the feeling of the people of Sydney. . . . In no sense was the meeting the voice of Sydney. It was packed with so-called democrats, bent on thwarting the purposes for which it was convened, and for the fact that we have to report such a result, the loyal citizens will have to thank themselves. That, of course, is no justification for what did occur. . . . The uses of the jubilee are not alone to celebrate the fifty years of a sovereign's reign, but also to mark with proper emphasis a cycle of progress under one constitutional head. The colonists as a body are, we believe, thoroughly in sympathy with this natural feeling of loyalty to the Imperial connection; but they are also loyal to the Queen herself, who has presided over the working of an Empire for half a century in such a way as to at least command the respect of the most ultra-democratic. . . . The citizens of Sydney will scarcely be prepared to let this record go forth as the will and action of the Colony. Immediate steps should be taken to neutralise the effect of last night's proceedings.

The *HERALD*'s advice was taken and a second meeting was called for the evening of the 10th June, to be held, as before, in the Town Hall. Precautions were taken to prevent a recurrence of the previous disorder; but unfortunately those precautions were insufficiently organised. Directly proceedings commenced, the rowdy element took charge and the meeting almost at once degenerated into a pandemonium. Fighting and other forms of disorder became general, and eventually the police had to be called in to clear the building. This having been done with difficulty, the conveners of the meeting decided to hold yet a third gathering and, by choosing the old Exhibition Building in Prince Alfred Park for the purpose, obtain a real expression of the opinion of the people. This meeting in the Exhibition Building, held on the 15th June, was one of the most extraordinary demonstrations ever held in Sydney. It is estimated that over thirteen thousand people were packed inside, and an even larger army outside, the building. A small minority of disloyalists attempted, as before, to take charge of the proceedings; but on this occasion the vast loyal majority of the citizens was determined to assert its supremacy. Despite the noisy interjections of the disaffected, the resolutions of the former meetings were quickly rescinded and the original motions carried with a decision and an élan that was unmistakeable. The proceedings terminated with the singing of "Rule Britannia" and "God Save the Queen" by a voluntary choir of twenty thousand voices; and, as was well said at the time, the meeting thus became in reality the first of the Jubilee celebrations, and one of the most effective. The *HERALD* devoted six columns to reporting the meeting in full, and in its leading article of the following morning, aptly commented upon the proceedings in the following terms:

Last night's demonstration at the Exhibition Building has had no parallel in Sydney. The meeting was enormous, enthusiastic, and well nigh unanimous. Held as a protest against the disloyalty of a paltry section of the community and the ruffianism which would deny the citizens the right to speak in their own halls, it completely answered its purpose. Everyone knew that the people of Sydney were loyal to the Mother Land, and to the Throne, which is only another name for the free and liberal form of Government under which British subjects live; but the proceedings of last week made it necessary that the citizens should show to the world, by some special act, that they will not have their loyalty insulted nor their mouths closed by a small but aggressive minority. The thing that was required was done, and done thoroughly. The well-disposed citizens flocked to the Exhibition, not as single spies, but in battalions, until an army of loyal order-loving people was assembled together. . . . But the assemblage was not remarkable for its numbers merely; it was distinguished by its thoroughly representative character. There were gathered together under one roof, on the platform, and in other parts of the hall, citizens of all ranks, professions, and stations, from the Judge and the Cabinet Minister to the humble artisan. It was in no sense of the word a class or a party gathering. Politicians of every shade were in-

cluded in it, and business men, professional men, labouring men, all played their part. Every stage of life was represented, as well as all ranks—there was vigorous youth, the prime of life, and grey and feeble old age. The citizens, in fact, were roused by a general and intense feeling, which brought them together in a way that is rarely seen in any community. The voice that was heard—and it spoke with no uncertain sound—was the voice of the people of Sydney. . . . It was at once a declaration of attachment to the Queen and Empire, and a repudiation of the disgraceful proceedings of a mischievous section of the community.

The actual celebration of the Jubilee took place on the 20th and 21st June, and was an immense success. In every centre throughout the Colony—and, indeed, throughout the whole continent—the festivities were marked by a display of loyalty and sincerity which was remarkable. In Sydney the enthusiasm was particularly notable and the illuminated and decorated streets were thronged with a joyous crowd. The *HERALD* reported the whole proceedings with its usual attention to detail, and its leading article of the 22nd June is worth quoting in part, for the eloquence and fervency of its summing up. Said the writer:

The Jubilee Celebration has been an unqualified success. The illuminations on Monday night were good, and the pyrotechnic display in the harbour last night was all that could be desired. To some, perhaps, the occasion was no more than a holiday, an opportunity for relaxation and sight-seeing, which was taken advantage of without much thought beyond the enjoyment of the hour; but there were others, and a very large number, whose hearts were warmed and the loyal sentiment within them stimulated by the doings of Monday and yesterday. This was shown by the demeanour and temper of the people, who exhibited by unmistakeable signs that the part they took in the demonstration was not that of mere sight-seers; the occasion had a genuine interest for them in itself; and the spirit of loyalty that animated them came to the surface in many ways. . . . We have not the presence of the Sovereign, nor have we the State processions and pageants, the religious services in venerable piles, the imposing ceremonies in immemorial halls, which belong to the Jubilee celebrations in England. Having all these things, the people at home are in a position to do what we cannot attempt here; not having them we have done the best we can in our own way, and we have no reason to be ashamed either of the display we have made or of the behaviour of the people.

In the beginning of the following year another great anniversary fell due for celebration; for the twenty-sixth of January, 1888, marked the centenary of the foundation of the Colony by Governor Phillip. Immense preparations were made to recognise the importance of the event and to mark it suitably. On the 24th of the month the *HERALD* produced its "Centennial Supplement" of ten pages—"A Review of the Origin and Progress of Australian Settlement, of the Growth of Australian Interests, and the Development of Australian Resources." This elaborate publication was to all intents and purposes a complete guide-book to every branch of Australian history; it dealt with politics and trade; labour and industry; social and religious endeavour; sport, the drama, and art. Its statistics were complete; and its historical section, in particular, was more elaborately compiled. In addition, the paper devoted many columns each day during the course of the celebrations to their detailed report; and on the morning of the twenty-sixth it published a leading article from which we quote the closing sentences:

We have a right to be proud of the colonising capacity of our countrymen. To the achievement of what we count up to-day there has gone an immense amount of energy, endurance and daring; and in the midst of our congratulations and enjoyments we call to mind with pleasure and with pride the gallant work done by the pioneers of our civilisation, and the moral quality, as well as the mental labour and the muscle that have been wrought into the fibre of Australian life. Our position to-day is not an unlaboured growth; it is the product of immense toil; and we recognise in the fullest spirit of gratitude those labours of a generation passed away which it is ours to continue and complete.

Two of the most important items in the long series of functions and festivities which marked the celebration of the anniversary in Sydney, were the opening and

dedication of the great Centennial Park, and the State Banquet given by the Government to the Governors, statesmen and prominent representatives of the other Colonies who were present on the historic occasion. The real credit for the construction of the Centennial Park—one of the finest and most beautiful of Sydney's many lungs—is due to Lord Carrington, who was Governor of the Colony from December, 1885, to November, 1890, and who, shortly after his arrival, expressed his surprise at the absence from the amenities of so important a city of a large park wherein the residents could ride or drive. The comment exercised the mind of Sir Henry Parkes, then Premier of the Colony, and in June, 1887, that statesman laid before Parliament the details of the scheme which was brought to fruition six months later. Naturally the park (originally known as the Lachlan Swamps), at the date of its opening, was little better than a promise of better things. How well that promise has been carried out, those who have had the good fortune to see the Park any morning in the spring these latter years will readily concede. Lord Carrington presided at the dedication ceremonies, which took place in magnificent weather and were witnessed by an enormous crowd of interested spectators. This event took place in the morning of Friday, the twenty-seventh of the month; and in the evening the second great event to which we have referred—the State Banquet—was held in the Exhibition Building in Prince Alfred Park. It was attended by almost every notability in Australia at the time; and was probably the most important event of its kind that had ever taken place in any of the Australian Colonies. The significance of the event was added to by the presence of the Governors and representatives of the other Colonies and by the importance of the addresses that were delivered. That the *HERALD* recognised this significance is shown by the large amount of space which it devoted to reporting the proceedings; a comment which also applies to its treatment of the dedication ceremonies in the Centennial Park. More than a week was devoted to the celebrations, each day having its own particular function or functions; and when the whole proceedings were completed, it was felt by everybody concerned that the event had been recognised in a manner eminently appropriate to its importance. The reporting of the festivities naturally levied a great tax upon the resources of the staff of the *HERALD*; but they were found fully equal to the occasion; and the paper received many congratulations on the complete and capable manner in which it had dealt with a great occasion.

PART II.

Ever since the Lambing Flat riots in 1861, the Chinese immigration problem had been troubling the authorities of the Colony, and in the early months of 1888 the matter suddenly assumed almost the dimensions of a crisis. Certain restrictions on the entrance of the Chinese into New South Wales had long been in force; a poll-tax, for instance, had to be paid by each immigrant, and certain identifying documents obtained and produced. But the difficulties of identifying the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire had long been experienced by Australian officialdom, to whom, as to most members of the Caucasian race, one Chinaman so closely resembles another as almost to defy the restrictions of a written description. Consequently it was known, though it could not be proved, that quite a number of astute Orientals were entering the Colony by the simple processes of either "double-banking" the permits, or of wrongfully applying them. In addition, it was very confidently felt that the permits themselves were frequently forged, and forged so ingeniously that detection of the swindle was exceedingly hard to prove.



*Departure of the Sudan Contingent—March 3, 1885.
The troopship leaving Circular Quay, the first occasion
on which Australian volunteers served overseas.*



*There was a great demonstration in Martin Place, as the above
picture from the Sydney Mail at the time so finely illustrates,
when the first troops went off to the South African War.*



The rush on the Savings Bank in Barrack Street, Sydney, in 1892; drawing by Percy Spence in the "Sydney Mail" of that year.



An earlier illustration from the "Sydney Mail": Scene in Sydney on a Randwick race day in September, 1876.



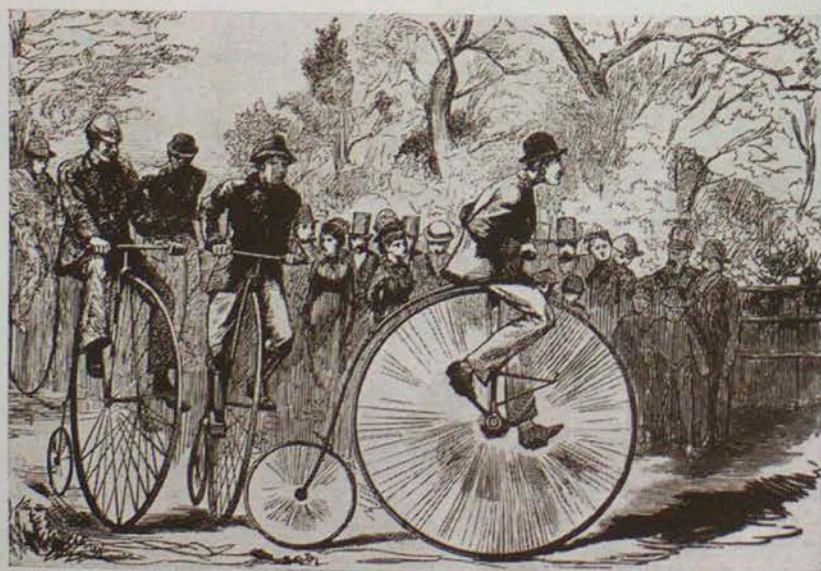
Beach scene at Bondi at the end of the 'eighties. The absence of surfers will be noted. Bathing then was subject to restrictions as to time, place and dress.



Bathing machines, as they were called, at Coogee about the same date, when surfing—especially a swim in the ocean—was regarded as quite a venturesome act.



Tennis in the 'eighties. Waists and long skirts for the women, and "bouters" and blazers for the men, were de rigueur in those days.



Bicycling, in the era of the "high wheel," was a popular but somewhat exhausting pastime. A scene in the Domain in the 'eighties.

Finally, the sudden increase in the number of Chinamen who were entering the country in the beginning of 1888 kindled a fire which had long been threatening to burst into flame. In one of those curious fits of excitement to which the general public are so prone, the incursion of the Chinese became a burning question. The objections were at once economic, social and racial. The demand that Chinese should be prevented from landing grew daily in intensity; public meetings of protest were held, and, although no actual riots occurred, they were with difficulty prevented, while it is to be feared that considerable hardship, growing at times to actual physical assault, was suffered by the unfortunate causes of all the trouble. Parkes had even been antagonistic to "inferior aliens" being allowed to enter the Colony except under the most stringent conditions and restrictions; and he now allowed his feelings to carry him too far. He not only determined to introduce legislation to prevent the trouble in future, but he also attempted to over-ride the existing law and prevent those Chinese who were actually arriving under that law from landing in Sydney. The HERALD was with him, and the public, in the belief that strong restrictive measures were necessary to cope with the evil in the future; but it was strongly opposed to his attempts to anticipate those measures by disregarding the measures actually in force. But Parkes was not to be moved; he refused—or his officers did so by his authority—to allow a number of Chinese to land, despite the fact that they had complied with the statutory provisions affecting their entrance; and when the Supreme Court, applied to by the legal representatives of the harassed Chinese, granted the application for relief and allowed the applicants to enter the Colony, he used terms in a series of public speeches which could only bear the interpretation that he would rather disobey the orders of the Court than permit Chinese immigration to continue. In this attitude he received the support of the unthinking majority; but the HERALD opposed it strongly. The Supreme Court, applied to again and again on behalf of Chinese immigrants who had conformed to the laws, but who were, nevertheless, still held prisoners on the ships which had brought them, spoke out at last so strongly that even Parkes was constrained to pause. Instead of harrying the Chinese, who had done nothing to deserve it, he turned his attention to the passage of an Act which should prevent their indiscriminate incursions in the future; and at a conference with the representatives of the other Colonies—whose proffered assistance in the matter he had in the past declined to accept—a measure was drafted which satisfied all parties, except, perhaps, Downing Street and Peking, both of whom saw in the suggested legislation a pretty cause of friction between the two Governments. The measure was rushed through both Houses; and, having been passed, Chinese immigration as a problem ceased to exist. Despite the alarmists, the solution had been found, and neither Peking nor Downing Street found any occasion for anxiety in its application. Fortunately, the precedent Parkes set at this time he never followed in the future, nor has it ever been copied by any of his successors in office. When, on the 17th May, the arrival of the steamer "Afghan," with a large number of Chinese immigrants, had caused Parkes to reiterate his determination to ignore the existing law, the HERALD spoke its mind:

According to the impassioned speech made by the Premier in the Assembly last night, the Government, in dealing with the Chinese question, has not only crossed the stream, it has burnt its boats. It has taken up a certain position, and it will not recede from that position whatever the cost may be. It admits that it acted illegally, but pleads justification, and demands an indemnity from Parliament. . . .

Two distinct questions are involved in the Premier's statement to the House last night. One is the alteration of the law, the other is the breaking of the law. As regards its proposals for the amendment of the Chinese Restriction Act, we are with the Government in the main, although we

are unable to follow them in imposing a license-fee upon the Chinese who are already in the Colony. We recognise, as they do, that the Australian people have made up their minds to have no more Chinese immigration, and the Ministry does perfectly right to ask Parliament to pass an Act to give effect to public opinion. But when the Premier boldly declares that the Government has not only broken the law, but means to persevere in that course, when he tells the country that the rights which have been conferred by Acts previously passed by the Legislature are to be disregarded, we must part company with him. As we said yesterday, our honour and credit as a community are at stake. The law relating to the Chinese is of our own making, and if the Government breaks the law it commits a wrong and an injustice. We deliberately adopted certain provisions, in compliance with which the Chinese came here, and we cannot with any show of justice refuse to receive them until we have altered the law.

On the 29th May, the Premier having stated publicly, in defence of his action in defying the Courts, that he believed "a great error had been committed by the high legal tribunal of this country," the *HERALD* pertinently asked: "But what *is* the law of this country? The law as laid down in judgments of the Supreme Court, or the law as it is supposed to exist in the belief of politicians of whom in succession the Executive Government is constituted?" The paper then proceeded to show the unsoundness of the Premier's attitude in the following trenchant terms:

We have heard too much of this convenient belief on the part of the Government that the Supreme Court is in error. It matters little what the Government may believe or disbelieve until the law, as laid down by the Supreme Court, has been reversed by a higher tribunal. Until then the Government is bound to accept it and respect it. That is certainly a peculiar phrase, "to set an unnecessarily bad example to the population." It is setting an inexcusably bad example to deliberately ignore the law as laid down by the Supreme Court, and then to justify the proceeding by talking at large about a belief that the Supreme Court has committed a great error. The recognition of the authority of the Court is at the foundation of order, and a main security for individual rights and liberties. To supersede it by acting upon the authority of an elastic power of faith or scepticism that would accept what was convenient, and reject what was inconvenient, would lead sooner or later to the dissolution of society if this new gospel were generally and successfully followed. The thief would exalt in the freedom of his belief that all the judgments of the Courts as to the law of larceny were vain.

Finally, when the conference of the representatives of the various Colonies had agreed upon a legislative method of enforcing the general desire to restrict the immigration of Chinese in future, and Parkes had dropped his dangerous attitude of antagonism towards the Supreme Court, the *HERALD* in the leading article of the 15th June approved of the happy issue out of a very delicate situation in the following words:

The Chinese Conference has ended satisfactorily. An agreement has been arrived at as to the representations to be made to the Imperial Government, and the foundation has been laid for uniform legislation by the Australian Parliaments. While the results of the conference fail to show that the action of New South Wales was premature, the negotiations appear to have brought about a good understanding amongst all the Colonies. . . .

The draft Bill adopted by the conference, though short and simple, is a more drastic measure than the Restriction Bill introduced by Sir Henry Parkes. It omits the poll tax, a charge which is understood to be particularly offensive to China; but it severely limits the number of Chinese which may be brought to the Colonies, and confers no exemption upon Chinese who are British subjects either by birth or naturalisation. . . . The Bill appears to be thoroughly effective for the purpose intended; if it were brought into operation in all the Australian Colonies the Chinese difficulty would be at an end.

As we have already stated, the proposed measure, or one very closely similar to it, was brought into effect in the various Colonies, and the "Chinese difficulty" was at an end from that moment.

The 'eighties were notable in the world of sport for the advent of the bicycle. The form in which it made itself popular was that of the "high-wheel," or "ordinary"—as it

was called, after the first appearance, a little later, of the "safety" or "cushion-tyre" machine. These monstrosities (as they appear to us to be to-day), with their enormous front wheels and their ridiculous little rear ones, although merely an adaptation of the old "boneshaker," captured the public fancy to such an extent that in a very short time bicycling had become one of the most popular sports of the day. Bicycle clubs were formed everywhere, and the spectacle of a "crocodile" of young men, mounted on these huge machines and plugging solemnly along the dusty streets of the suburbs, was one of the common events of every Saturday afternoon. Bicycle races, too, were popular; and, considering the handicap of these ungeared, heavy machines, the speeds and the exciting finishes put up by the competitors were truly remarkable. The Sydney Cricket Ground was the favourite venue for these contests, and the stands and "hill" were constantly crowded with enthusiastic spectators to witness them. Soon afterwards the "safety" was invented, and the new type, with its later addendum of the "cushion-tyre" and, finally, the present-day "free-wheel and pneumatic-tyre" machine, ousted the old "ordinaries" to the comparative oblivion of the museum and the curiosity shop.

With the advent of these later developments, cycling took on an even greater popularity than ever, both as an exercise and as an athletic contest. Immense sums were offered as prizes by the promoters of cycling "carnivals"—amounting in certain cases to as much as £1,000 for one event—and, in consequence, the best riders from the United States, Great Britain and the Continent, were seen in Sydney and the other capitals of Australia in competition with the local champions. This was in the "nineties," and later, and the *HERALDS* of this decade are full of lengthy reports of these meetings, which were frequently held at night—the track being illuminated by electric light—and attended by enormous crowds. Even to-day, although the motor-cycle has largely driven the pedalled machine from the field, such contests are not infrequently held, and their popularity seems to warrant their continuance.

The invention of the "safety" led to the further development of a machine for the use of women; and the craze for cycling thereby rapidly increased. It was the era of "emancipation"; and, although it was long before the full freedom of the sporting field was granted to—or captured by—women, it was in the 'eighties and 'nineties that they first began to take active participation in such recreations as lawn tennis and cycling. Lawn tennis, indeed, about this time, became one of the main attractions of every garden party; and tennis lawns began to assume a place in the list of residential attractions which the estate agent felt compelled to advertise. The costumes of the day were about as unsuitable for such exercises as can be imagined; and flounced and waisted skirts reaching to the ankles, together with floppy, wide-brimmed hats, naturally made the game an affair of pat-ball rather than one of skill. Nor were the men attired, as a rule, much more suitably. Straw "boaters" were commonly worn, and it was even unusual for stiff collars and cuffs to be discarded. But the popularity of the game was unbounded; and before long the very necessity for amendment in dress brought that amendment about, with the effect upon both the game and the players that we witness to-day. It was not until the early years of the twentieth century that tennis was really to "come into its own" and produce such Australian champions as Brookes, Anderson and Patterson. But by the close of the nineteenth—and even, indeed, by the end of the 'nineties—it had gained so firm a hold upon the Australian youth of both sexes that no possible doubt of its permanence as a national sport could be entertained. Tennis clubs were in evidence in every centre; and although the first exclusively women's club was not formed in Sydney until 1905, women, as we have seen, had taken to the racquet with enthusiasm and some success at least fifteen years before that date.

Early in the morning of the 2nd October, 1890, the greatest fire in the history of Sydney broke out in the printing establishment of Gibbs, Shallard & Company, situated in Hosking Place, to the rear of the narrow little street then known as Moore Street. This was a continuation of the central thoroughfare running from George to Pitt Streets, but which had then but little reason for its ownership of so dignified a title as Martin Place. Situated in the very heart of the City, hemmed in by high buildings on almost every side, and containing also a number of old and inflammable offices and shops, Moore Street offered to the flames all those facilities which the fire-fighter most greatly dreads. A strong wind aided their progress, and in the course of a few hours the damage they had done exceeded £600,000. Twenty of the most important buildings in the area were completely destroyed, including the City Bank, the German, Athaneum and Southern Clubs, the Wheatsheaf Hotel, and nearly a dozen warehouses, offices and chambers. The fire continued to burn for several days, and when it had finished its destructive course the section of the city bounded by Castlereagh, Pitt and Moore Streets and Hosking Place had been almost wholly laid waste.

Indirectly, however, the fire was a boon to the city; for it cleaned up an area that had always been unsightly and dangerous, and it enabled the Government, when widening Martin Place a little later, to extend that thoroughfare at its full width from its former termination at Pitt Street right through to Castlereagh Street, thus giving to Sydney at once its finest thoroughfare and a "Place" worthy of the name. Martin Place, indeed, almost immediately became that rallying-point for all the city's most notable open-air gatherings which it has ever since continued to be.

About this time, an event occurred which, both directly and indirectly, effected a change of the first magnitude in the political conditions of the Colony. This was the great maritime strike of 1890. But before referring in detail to this particular crisis, it is necessary to say a few words about the growth of trade-unionism in Australia; for it was as the result of that growth that the maritime strike was made possible. Although there had been organisations of the kind so far back as the early 'thirties (indeed, even in 1822 an organised endeavour to obtain better conditions was made by a number of convicts) it was not until the discovery of gold in the early 'fifties created that extraordinary dislocation of industry to which reference has already been made, that trade unionism became in any way an effective force. In those early years trade unions were purely industrial institutions, organised and maintained for the sole purpose of regulating, by the combined power of their members, the conditions under which the various industries should be conducted. The "eight-hour-day" was established in 1855, through the action of a certain Hugh Laundry, a member of the Operative Stonemasons' Society. On the 22nd September of that year a meeting of the Society was held in the Parramatta Hotel, and Laundry carried a motion to the effect that eight hours should be the maximum of a day's labour. Practically all the Sydney contractors agreed to the proposal; but one hardy soul, venturing to stand out, all the masons in his employ were at once withdrawn from his contract, and in a fortnight all opposition was at an end. The principle was gradually adopted by the great majority of the industries, while in the 'seventies, the various unions themselves combined in "congresses" to carry the standard of trade-unionism still further. It is interesting, by the way, to note that, although the HERALD at this time recognised the rights and even the beneficence of trades-unionism, it also foresaw the dangers to the community which industrial organisations, whether of masters or men, might well create. In a leading article, published on the 30th August, 1875, the paper expressed its opinion upon these points, and, incidentally, described in

interesting terms the influence and status of the movement at that time. The relative portion of the article is thus worded:

The influence of Trades Unions on national wealth and on the social condition of the people is a subject of growing importance. They are becoming a potent factor in regulating prices; they materially affect the master's profits and the workman's wages; they not infrequently impose a limit to profitable production, and to that extent they determine the localities of particular industries and the general direction of the world's commerce. It is, therefore, more than ever necessary that masters who are naturally disposed to consider the question from the side of profits, and workmen who are as naturally inclined to view it from the side of wages, should endeavour to comprehend the great economic laws of production on which both their mutual prosperity and the public welfare depend. Every transgression of those laws will entail a penalty; those who are sinned against may be the first to suffer, but it is inevitable that in the end the burden of expiation will fall most heavily upon the transgressors themselves. It will pay neither the employers nor employed, any more than it will pay society at large, to push every temporary advantage to the utmost extent, and regulate their relations with one another by the barbarous law of the strongest—"that they shall keep who have, and they shall get who can." . . .

At the outset, let it be acknowledged that trades unions are as legitimate as professional associations. Barristers and lawyers have a monopoly under the sanction of legal enactment. Medical men have their diplomas as warrant for their qualifications, and if they cannot send unlicensed empirics to prison, they can often effectually send them to Coventry. Even the clerical profession has something of class monopoly about it, for an unauthorised person who assumes the title of reverend may expect ecclesiastical ostracism as his reward. If, then, members of learned professions may legitimately combine for the maintenance of a proper scale of fees and due etiquette, why may not members of skilled trades combine to secure good wages and suitable conditions of labour by the use of lawful means? . . .

. . . On the one hand, it is not desirable that the working classes, the great body of the people, should toil for a bare subsistence, as they long did, and do still in many countries, and even in the agricultural districts in England. On the other hand, it will not benefit the workmen and may ruin the employer to have the conditions of labour altered by sudden and violent changes, when contracts have been taken, and immense sums invested as fixed capital. Out of that investment both wages and profits must come, and the ruin of one must be the ruin of both. The workman's capital is his labour, and he takes that with him, wherever he goes. Not so the employer. In large works expensive machinery is required for profitable production, which absorbs the savings of many years. When capital has been sunk in such machinery, and large contracts taken, a strike for higher wages and better conditions of labour may succeed, but it will discourage future investments of a like nature, and drive capital to other markets not subject to such fluctuations. . . . To claim the benefit of success, and yet throw all the risk of the enterprise, and the results of failure, upon the capitalist, is an injustice which will defeat its own end.

In the present state of industry in this Colony, the subject is of special interest. In consequence of the recent disputes in the iron trades, it is asserted that orders to the extent of at least £30,000 have been recently sent home. Anyone in the habit of visiting Circular Quay can see for himself that a Government order for railway carriages which was given to a colonial firm under the impression that the work would be executed in the Colony, is being executed at home; and no one can be surprised that the Government have determined in future to buy in the English market themselves, rather than pay double profits. And now we are threatened with another dispute in these trades in regard to the arrangement of the hours of work. . . . It was not by strikes and lock-outs that England became the commercial sovereign of the world. In this Colony we have the same advantages of coal and iron; but if these disputes which are endangering the industrial supremacy of England are also to be fought out here to the bitter end, they will neutralize our natural advantages, and prevent Sydney from becoming the great emporium of the Southern Seas.

The seamen, who had previously made several attempts at organisation which had lacked cohesion, and consequently permanence, managed in 1874 to re-adjust their internal differences and to become a strong and compact Union. In 1878 they put their powers to the test and, finding a grievance in the employment of Chinese by the Australasian Steam Navigation Company—a firm operating in more than one Colony—they managed to secure for their body the "honour" of initiating the first Australian

strike to have "intercolonial ramifications." And not only to initiate it, but to win it, the Company being forced to agree to a settlement on terms distinctly favourable to the Union.

The effect of this victory was almost immediately seen in the formation of a number of other maritime unions, such as the Wharf-Labourers; and in 1884 a Maritime Council was formed to represent all these Unions collectively. Although this body did not function very effectively, it established a precedent which was followed eventually by the Australian Workers Union (one of the most powerful industrial organisations in Australia, representing, as it does, practically all the pastoral and agricultural workers of the eastern States), the Mining Unions, and others. By the year 1890, there were some hundred and twenty unions in Australia, with an estimated total membership of over fifty thousand. Trades Unionism had evidently become entrenched, and the general industrial restlessness which a belief in its powers inspired amid its members generally, came to a head in the maritime strike of August, 1890. It arose through the desire of the Marine Officers' Association to have certain grievances considered by the shipowners. In Melbourne the Association was linked up with a number of other Unions, and the owners refused to consider its request unless and until it dissociated itself from these organisations. The Marine Officers declined to do this; and, the position being complicated by the grievances alleged by other maritime unions in Sydney and Brisbane, a general strike of all the maritime unions was ordered by their executives. An intercolonial committee was established to conduct the strike, and this sat continuously in Sydney from the middle of September until the end of October, when the strikers, although supported by all the local unions and a number of similar organisations in New Zealand and in England, were so handicapped by the continual increase of unemployment occasioned by their own drastic action, that they were compelled to admit a defeat. But while the strike lasted many of the leading shipping centres of the continent, and of Sydney in particular, were in a state of ferment bordering at times almost on revolution. Crowds of strikers and their sympathisers gathered at the Quay and elsewhere, and were not dispersed without bloodshed, and, on one occasion, the reading of the Riot Act. Hundreds of young men, sworn in as special constables, were encamped near the Quay, and, armed and mounted, patrolled the streets for many weeks. Many of the rioters were arrested and imprisoned, and with every fresh arrest and every fresh act of violence the situation became more sinister. But strikes, however justly based they may be, cannot continue indefinitely without funds; and it was the lack of funds that, after three months of needless suffering, brought at last the strike of 1890 to a close.

The HERALD was opposed to the action of the Maritime Unions, although it sympathised with many of their complaints, which it declared to be legitimate. The leading article of the 18th August, 1890, said:

At noon on Saturday the twenty-four hours' notice given by the maritime officers to the steamship owners expired, and the first strike of what may be an extensive series commenced. . . . What the next development will be, time will show. Meanwhile, it is possible, if not probable, that the places of officers who quit their ships will be filled; and if that should happen, the question will be whether, in accordance with the new "plan of campaign," the seamen will—in the language of the times—be withdrawn from the steamers. Everyone who desires the welfare of the community, everyone who would deprecate a serious check to its progress, everyone who would look with sorrow upon the picture of hundreds, nay, thousands, of unoffending people, for the most part women and children, suffering from avoidable, though none the less painful, privation and distress, will hope that some means will be discovered and applied for preventing a resort to such extremes, and that between the parties to the original dispute a satisfactory understanding will be reached shortly.

As to this original dispute, so much has been said on both sides that the chief points of the situation are clearly in view. The officers are dissatisfied with the payment they receive, and ask for better terms. The steamship owners have practically admitted that there is ground for dissatisfaction in that respect, and have made known their disposition to grant better terms. . . .

The impediment that blocks the way to a reasonable conference as to the question of terms is the preliminary condition which has been laid down by the steamship owners, and has been rejected by the marine officers. The steamship owners ask for an assurance that the Officers' Union shall not be affiliated to the labour unions, and the officers refuse the request with something like indignation or scorn. . . . The point to be considered is the character of the condition named. Is it of such a character as to be beyond acceptance by men of self-respect? . . . The justification of it arises as a matter of necessity out of the relations which a ship's officers hold to the seamen whom they direct, on the one side, and, on the other, to the owners, whose interests they are appointed and paid to protect. The object of the condition is, in fact, not to destroy their liberty but to ensure it against interference. It emphatically recognises the honourable and responsible position they occupy, and provides that in the discharge of the duties attaching to it they shall not be liable to be "called out" or "withdrawn" by the mandate of a labour council, or at the instance of the very men who on shipboard are under their control. If the officers would look at this matter from the point of view which the owners are justified in taking, they might see it in a new light. But the question is treated also as a matter of policy. The officers say, in effect: "If we undertake to hold aloof from the labour unions, we cannot expect them to enforce our demands; and we are more likely to get justice by enlisting their pressure on our side than by trusting to the fairness and right feeling of the owners." The officers have a right to form their own judgment as to what is best for their own interests; but it is doubtful whether, in adopting and acting upon such a conclusion as this, they will receive the sympathy or support of the public.

. . . It is difficult to believe that the marine officers have considered the situation in all its aspects. It has probably not occurred to them that a persistent refusal to accept the preliminary condition laid down by the steamship owners would be, in plain terms, a refusal to throw away the opportunity or chance of bringing a great disaster upon society. It would be well if their position were reconsidered without heat and in a judicial temper from all sides.

The strike, however, was persisted in, despite the reasonableness of this advice, and the rapid approach of the danger which it forecasted; and, as "like a wounded snake it dragged its slow length along," the distress and hatred which it bred were naturally expressed in outbreaks of lawlessness which undoubtedly helped to stifle any public sympathy which the original justice of the strikers' claims may have created. The HERALD expressed itself strongly on the subject, and prophesied that such violence would defeat its own ends and inevitably bring about the defeat of those either actively indulging in it, or passively permitting it to take place. When the result eventually justified this forecast, however, and the strikers were compelled to admit defeat, the paper expressed itself rather in sorrow at the distress which the strike had occasioned, than in anger against those who had so unwisely persisted in endeavouring to maintain it. Indeed, when shortly before the actual cessation of the strike, the employers, moved thereto by the success which now was certainly within their hands, seemed inclined to act against the men in an aggressive and revengeful spirit, the HERALD was inspired to write, in its issue of the 8th October, the following timely disapproval of such methods:

At the outset of this unfortunate conflict, the duration of which we are now coming to count by months, we ventured the opinion that when the end came the victory would be to the most moderate. Our anticipation was based on the influence which public opinion must have in the final settlement of such a dispute as this, and we hold the same anticipation still. But what appears to be happening, and this is much more apparent in Melbourne than in Sydney, is that the two sides are changing parts and weapons. If the spirit of strife and disposition to push matters to extreme limits, which at first characterised the men, is now coming to character the employers, the two sides will speedily change the position they hold in the judgment of the public. The public does not desire to see this conflict terminated by cruel and hopeless defeat on one side and relentless victory on the other. What it hopes is such a pacific and satisfactory settlement as will give a prospect of a permanent peace. The labour leaders in Melbourne have given assur-

ance that they would go into conference ready to make such reasonable concessions as will afford such a prospect. It has been stated on their behalf that they are even ready to concede the demand excluding non-union labour from working with unionists. This is a concession of principle and goes deep. If these repeated demands for a conference, and this professed readiness for concession, fail to elicit from the other side anything more than the arrogance of victory and a policy of evasive and wearying delays, then there is indeed nothing for it but for the conflict to go on "to the bitter end," and it will henceforth become very doubtful what that end may yet be.

Finally, when the marine officers having consented to dissociate themselves from the other unions and the owners to meet them in conference, the announcement was made that the strike had come to an end, the *HERALD* published, on the 7th November, 1890, the following leader:

It is, we feel assured, with the utmost profound and universal satisfaction that our readers will to-day receive the news that the long strike is actually at an end. . . . There are some questions remaining for settlement down at the southern mines,* and possibly some minor difficulties in Sydney. These, however, will probably prove of easy adjustment, now that there is a general desire to get back to work. There is talk of plans for another general strike later on, when the non-unionists have been absorbed into the unions, but it is not necessary to attach much importance to this. It is extremely unlikely that the men will again be led into strife and starvation by a secret, arbitrary, and irresponsible committee, as on the last occasion. If the employers are wise they will endeavour, by fair and reasonable treatment, to mitigate the men's sense of defeat, and to refrain from taking any harsh advantage of their victory. The public also will probably be called upon to relieve the distress and privation which the strike has carried into thousands of comfortable homes. Now that the cruel conflict is over, the course of kindly conciliation of the excited feelings and the sore wounds which it has doubtless left behind is the best for all, and it is the one which will certainly be most in accordance with the humane sentiments of the community.

But, though the strike itself was over, its repercussions were far from being ended. Indeed, they never have been ended yet, and the long sad record of industrial unrest which has disfigured the later chapters of the history of Australia may be said to have been initiated by this strike of 1890. One of the first of its effects, and one which has had an immense effect upon the social and industrial life of the country, was the formation of the Labour Party and the transfer of the activities of the unions from purely industrial matters to an interference with those which were political. But this result could not have been effected, even by the strike, had it not been for the assistance of another factor, introduced into the political life of the country in this same year. That factor was the payment of members of Parliament, which came into force, as the indirect result of the fate of a Bill to that end, introduced by Mr. Daniel O'Connor, a member of the Parkes Ministry. The Bill was a private one; and was not actively favoured by Sir Henry Parkes. Indeed, we have every reason for believing that that statesman actually disapproved of the principle which it embodied, on the ground that it would interfere with the independence of Parliament as a whole, and would almost certainly bring into politics men whose presence would not improve the atmosphere of the House. But when, the Assembly having passed the Bill, the Legislative Council threw it out, the Premier re-introduced it and gave it Governmental support, since, in his opinion, it was a money Bill, and the Council, having gone beyond its powers in rejecting it, he believed it incumbent upon him to assert the rights of the Lower House. With Parkes' weight behind it, the measure passed both Houses and became the law of the land. This was, as we have said, in 1890, and the effect of the new enactment was seen in the following year, when, at the general elections, over thirty Labour members were returned to the Assembly, including several of the men who had been conspicuous as leaders in the recent strike, and the Political Labour Party thus came into being. The *HERALD* had

* The miners at the South Coast collieries had struck in sympathy with the Marine Officers, and had seized the occasion to formulate claims of their own.

actively opposed the introduction of payment of members, basing its objections thereto on very much the same grounds as those originally asserted by Sir Henry Parkes. But it accepted the inevitable with as good a grace as possible, although the incursion of the Labour members into the Assembly in 1891 was regarded by the paper with a certain amount of anxiety. The leading article of the 3rd July was devoted to a consideration of the new Party's prospects and possible courses of action. It concluded thus:

Their decision may largely affect for good or ill the interests of the general community, and also those of the class they specially represent. It is to be hoped that they will not be forgetful of the responsibility attaching to power, or of the strength and wisdom which are associated with moderation.

Among the newly elected members of the new Party were two men, one of whom was destined to become Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, and the other the Premier of his own State. The latter, Mr. J. S. T. McGowen, was the leader of the Labour section of the new Parliament, the former, Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Cook, abandoning the Party when its platform became over socialistic for his liking, entered the Federal Parliament in 1901, and became Prime Minister in June, 1913, a position which he still occupied at the outbreak of the Great War.

The Labour members in the New South Wales Parliament of 1891 could, if they had combined firmly, have held the balance of power, but differences arose whenever the fiscal question cropped up—which at this time it was continually doing—and consequently they did not effect any very great results. They gave general support to Sir Henry Parkes until he refused to introduce a measure to shorten the hours of labour in coal mines, when they went over in a body to Sir George Dibbs, his Protectionist rival. But the latter's fiscal policy split them again more hopelessly than ever. At the general elections of 1894 twenty-seven Labour members were returned; but they were not even then, by any means, a united party, since fifteen of them were "pledged" members—that is to say, they had signed a pledge "to vote in the House as a majority of the Party, sitting in caucus, has determined"—while the other twelve were "independent" of this or any other such agreement. Among them were two future Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth in the persons of Mr. J. C. Watson and Mr. W. M. Hughes. Considerable negotiations ensued between the two sections and eventually the great majority of the members of both agreed upon a pledge worded very similarly to that already quoted, and one which, with minor amendments, has remained in force ever since. Cook refused to sign, left the Party and became a member of Sir George Reid's Cabinet as Postmaster-General a few months later. The elections of 1895 saw nineteen "pledged" Labour members returned; and this time, being a fully united body, they held the balance of power and used it to such effect that Reid, who relied upon their support for continuance of office, brought upon the Statute Book a considerable proportion of the legislation which constituted the planks of their platform. These included day labour (instead of contract) for public works, a Workshops and Factories Act, Coal-Mining Regulations which greatly ameliorated the conditions of the miners, and other similar legislation. In 1898 the elections again strengthened the Party at the expense of Reid, whose followers were very considerably diminished. In 1899 Reid, being unable to agree to the extensive further demands of the Labour members, was incontinently turned out of office by them and Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Lyne received their rather dangerous support. At their behest he legislated in favour of early closing, of old-age pensions and of miners' accident relief and, speaking generally, gave them probably a good deal more than they would have been able to obtain if they themselves had been in office with a combined and powerful party on the opposition benches. At

the beginning of 1901 the Federation of the Colonies was consummated, and the principal Labour activities were almost at once transferred to the sphere of Commonwealth politics. It only remains to add that the Labour representation in the New South Wales Parliament gradually increased, until in 1910 it amounted to an absolute majority of the whole House; and McGowen became the first Labour Premier of the State.

But to return to 1891. Before there was much time to worry over Labour members, or Labour politics, the great financial crisis of that year—perhaps the most serious ever known in Australia, both in itself and in its aftermath—rushing like a cloud across the sky, had swept all other topics from the thoughts of men.

To a certain extent the maritime strike of the previous year, which had brought a feeling of insecurity to industrial affairs generally, was responsible for the panic. It certainly paved the way for it; but there were in reality many causes. An article which appeared in *THE SYDNEY MAIL* of the 3rd September, 1930, and which dealt with the financial crisis of the 'nineties, very accurately and concisely summed up the whole story. We quote from it as follows:

The land boom in Victoria ran during the 'eighties. It was at its height in 1888. A year before, the banks, trying to pull it up, refused further real estate advances. New banks, which were a combination of banking and land, building, and finance societies, were formed. These offered tempting interest to depositors. The gold yield was increasing. Borrowed money was pouring in. Everything was prosperous. Only one thing was wrong, and the boomsters and politicians did not notice it: wool and other commodities were falling in price—the main, life-giving products of the continent were depreciating; yet millionaires were being made on the fictitious values of land.

In the first half of the 'eighties wool had maintained a steady price of 12½d. Then it began to drop. It was 10½d. in 1885, 9½d. in 1886, 9d. in 1888, 8d. in 1891. The signals were unheeded. The economic law was inescapable, for trade and investments from abroad are co-related in such a way that the effects must be linked.

In the decade following 1880 British loans had poured into the treasuries of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland, £100,000,000 being the aggregate, with nearly as much again in the way of private investment. Such an era had never been experienced before. Was it any wonder that those who refrained from plunging into the vortex and getting a share were regarded as reactionaries lacking faith in their country? Sydney tried to start a land boom, but a drought began in 1884, lasting some years. It gave a reminder that prosperity depended upon something beyond the control of man.

Victoria, with its land boom, was the centre of the financial cyclone. The developing Colony was one of splendid outlook and potentialities. Irrigation schemes were promoted to bring new areas of land to production, railways and tramways and other public works were undertaken as though the wealth of the Indies were contained in the Colony. On the wave of this excited optimism came the land banks. . . .

Business methods in the so-called land banks were rash. Money was lent on insufficient margins and doubtful values. Reserves were not prudently maintained. When local money was not forthcoming they had agents in England canvassing for deposits at high interest. Picnic sales became a vogue, the prospective buyers being taken to the land free of charge and given a champagne luncheon. In Melbourne the boom was extraordinary. Areas of suburban land were bought, a deposit paid, and bills or undertakings given for the balance. The land subdivided, it was sold at high prices, but only a deposit paid, promises on paper being given for the remainder. As land values began to go up rapidly, sales and resales, subdivisions and sub-subdivisions, took place—all on deposits and promissory notes. Business in land was tremendous. Everybody was making money. . . .

The most extraordinary tangle was revealed when the crash came. The promissory notes, the time payments, the private buyer, the subdivision buyer, the options, the deposits, the overdrafts, and loans had to be sorted out and traced back and back interminably to find who owed whom, who could pay, whose was the land, what the interest was, and where was there any possibility of getting any money from anybody, as nobody had paid anything. Long chains of financiers came down, the links snapped; each wealthy one was owed his wealth by the next, and so on.

Former millionaires or near-millionaires compounded with their creditors or threw their tangled accounts to the creditors or receivers, and let it go at that. One notorious composition with creditors was that of a man who failed for a huge amount and offered his creditors a farthing in the pound. . . .

At the end of 1889 the Premier Building Association, Melbourne, suspended payment, and it had numerous British depositors. Between July, 1891, and August, 1892, twenty-one land and finance companies toppled in Melbourne, with liabilities of £13,500,000, including 3½ millions of British deposits. The first to suspend payment in Sydney was in August, 1891. From that date scarcely a month passed without the closing of one or more. They continued through 1892 and into 1893. In two years nearly forty land banks suspended payment, and their depositors, who were largely working people, lost the greater portion of their money.

The failure of these mushrooms, however, was not the worst. It had its influence in many ways. In March, 1892, the Mercantile Bank of Victoria followed, and in 1893 came the fall of the Federal Bank of Australia, the first of the associated banking companies. . . .

Banks had suffered by the collapse of the land boom; their lendings on mortgages had been excessive, they were in possession of many unrealisable station properties and city properties. Dead securities were often in a state of decomposition, and the assets were either useless or locked up so that they were nearly so. The country had been over-supplied with banks, and the competition had led them beyond prudence.

In February, 1892, there was a run on the Savings Bank of New South Wales, which was in Barrack Street. The bank kept open during the excitement till ten at night to pay the clamouring depositors their money in sovereigns. Some took it out, hung about, and then went and paid it in again. The people were frantic. On one Wednesday the management had become aware that something unusual was afoot by reason of the excessive withdrawals. In the evening there was a crowd at the Queen's Statue, where a man harangued about the evils of capitalism and the use made of the worker's savings. The rush set in in earnest next day. Barrack Street was filled with a surging crowd. At four in the afternoon Mr. George Thornton, M.L.C., president of the bank; Mr. T. A. Dibbs, chairman of the associated banks; and Inspector-General of Police Fotherby, a Savings Bank vice-president, addressed the crowd from the balcony. It was announced that the bank would keep open late, and that the associated banks would accept Savings Bank receipts as cash and would pay on Savings Bank books. The Government guaranteed the deposits, and by the Friday the business was back to normal.

Ninety-three saw the great crisis—acute, terrifying. The Federal's suspension was in January. One bank after another closed, and the thunder of the slamming doors was heard throughout the land. On April 4 the Commercial Bank of Australia suspended, followed by others at short intervals. . . . On April 12 the E.S. & A. Chartered Bank closed; on April 20 the Australian Joint Stock Bank; April 25, the London Chartered Bank of Australia; April 28, the Standard Bank of Australia; May 1, the National Bank of Australasia; May 15, the Queensland National Bank, the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, and the Bank of North Queensland. With the last-named went the Queensland Building and Investment Society, which did banking business. . . .

There were others, however, which grimly carried on while their competitors were in difficulties. In Melbourne a five-days' bank holiday was proclaimed, but the effect was chaotic, and business was thrown into disorder. The Union Bank, the Bank of New South Wales, and the Bank of Australasia and others refused the five days' moratorium and kept open for business. In New South Wales there remained the Australasia, the Bank of New South Wales, the City Bank, the Union, the New Oriental, and the Bank of New Zealand. But of what use is it to take your money out of one bank and put it in another at such a time? The public realised the position, and the panic ceased. Twenty-two banks had failed between July, 1891, and June, 1893, and nearly forty land banks.

The banks were not closed for long. After some days or weeks they reopened, schemes of reconstruction having been begun as speedily as possible. The Dibbs Government of New South Wales acted promptly when the crisis was on. An Act of Parliament authorised the Treasury to advance Treasury notes to the extent of half the amount of the current accounts locked up. The notes of the Bank of New South Wales, the City Bank, the Union, and the Australasia were made legal tender, and fixed deposits were converted into preference shares, debenture or other stock payable at the option of the bank. Current accounts were cleared as speedily as possible.

The deposits on current account in the suspended banks in New South Wales amounted to £4,790,000. Only £358,000 of Treasury notes were issued, and were all redeemed by the end of 1893.

And what of the people concerned? Money locked up in the banks in some cases left families suddenly without any cash whatever; suspension of payments on capital left others without incomes. The unemployed army had been in existence for some years, and now grew larger. But the land was open, and the land was the salvation of many. The young men took to the bush, where there was work on the recently taken up selections and purchased areas, and many left the cities.

It took long for affairs to return to their normal state; and when at last this happy consummation had been achieved, it was found that many names, once familiar on the mouths of business men as household words, had vanished for ever from the lists of the honoured and solvent traders of the Colony. And even after confidence had come again, it was long enough before some of the "reconstructed" banks repaid to their customers the whole of their deposits. But for the most part the financial institutions of the country had learned their lesson, and learned it well; and, in the end, although that end was long-deferred, the great majority of them grew all the stronger for the rigours of the storm through which they had been forced to pass. The HERALD, in common with the whole of Australia, was malefically affected by the crisis; but faced the trouble with a confident assurance in the return of better days. It critically and somewhat adversely commented on the act to make bank notes legal tender; and only accepted the measure with reservations. On the whole, its leaders throughout the panic were calm and accurate surveys of the real position; and, in a word, it may be said of the paper that it kept its head when the great majority of its readers were losing theirs. The leading article of the 31st December, 1893, took the form of a summary of the events of the preceding twelve months; and we quote that section of it which refers to the financial crisis; first because it places the whole position clearly before the reader, and, secondly, because it aptly exhibits that combination of carefulness and confidence which so strongly characterised the HERALD's attitude throughout this great crisis. A perusal of it will also show that the paper had come to appreciate the efficacy of Sir George Dibbs's "legal tender" measure, or—as it was officially entitled—"The Bank Issue Act." After a general survey of the doings of the year, the article continues thus:

Although the general gloom is relieved by some gleams of brightness, the retrospect of the year 1893 is to the people of this Colony a source of little pride or pleasure. The Colony has passed through a year of adversity, in which the prospects of many have been ruined or blighted, and many more have been made to struggle with privation and hardship. Trade has been depressed, commerce has diminished, enterprise has shrunk into stagnation, a feeling of uncertainty as to future developments has paralysed confidence. Added to these things, there has been a banking panic unexampled in extent, but, fortunately, checked without passing on into a mercantile catastrophe, which would have been probable under other conditions. . . . The year 1893 will be chiefly remembered as the year of the great banking panic. How far the shrinkage of confidence which caused it may be connected with or traceable to the stoppage of building and investment societies and similar institutions in the Colonies during the two preceding years, it is unnecessary here to inquire. In both cases there was an unexpected withdrawal of deposits, whilst in that of the banks there was a run for gold. The panic prevailed amongst depositors in the United Kingdom and people who had funds in banks upon which they could draw here. In the United Kingdom persistent attempts had been made through the press to depreciate the finances of the Colonies, and here the intense desire to secure the gold led to its removal to safe deposits and other places supposed to offer surer custody. It was impossible at the time to tell how far the run would extend. There was no evidence of insolvency in the broader sense of the term, but there was no doubt as to the influence of panic, and the cry, *Sauve qui peut*. In the circumstances the legislation of the day, which made bank notes a first charge upon bank assets, and temporarily a legal tender, was of a character to allay the panic; whilst the later Act, which provided for Treasury advances on the security of certificates of balances on current accounts, served to facilitate the transaction of ordinary business by people whose ordinary means were locked up. The saving of the community from worse disasters was, however, more directly the result of previous legislation, which enabled the banks that suspended payment to make arrangements with their

creditors by reconstruction. In this way, with the consent of depositors on the one side and shareholders on the other, fixed deposits were impounded for terms of years, and new capital was raised, so that business could be resumed, and the catastrophe of liquidation, which would have involved the forced sale and sacrifice of all sorts of securities held by the banks, was staved off. The escape from this was probably the means of saving the Colony from widespread bankruptcy. Although all cause for anxiety may not have been removed, it is encouraging to note indications of returning confidence in the rise of the values of our securities abroad, and in the large anticipation of calls under the reconstruction schemes by payments before their due date.

The year 1893, however, has also to be remembered as that which saw the principle of manhood suffrage established in New South Wales. For this extension of the franchise—and its corollary, “one man, one vote”—Sir George Dibbs, the leader of the Protectionist Party in the Colony, who was then approaching the end of his second Ministry, and, indeed, of his political career, was nominally responsible. But it is probable that it was really the necessity of satisfying the democratic demands of the Labour Party, in order to preserve his Government, that prompted him to father the innovation.

Remembering the *HERALD*'s dislike of the “over-Liberal” franchise provisions of the Constitution Acts of 1843 and 1853, and the comments upon the effects of the latter which it addressed to Wentworth on his return from England in 1861, it is interesting to note its attitude towards the exceedingly comprehensive franchise granted by this measure of forty years later. On the whole it welcomed the Bill, and if it did not actually approve the manhood suffrage provisions in set terms, at least it did not express any opposition to them, while the elimination of the plural vote won its qualified support. The leading article of the 10th April, 1893, written when the Bill was under discussion by Parliament, runs, in part, as follows:

So far as the Bill is concerned, it should not be forgotten that, taken as a whole, it embodies a needful return; it amends the electoral system in several respects, as, for instance, by reducing the number of members, by dividing the country into a number of single electorates, by abolishing hustings nominations, by introducing registration and other precautions against fraud. For the sake of these provisions and improvements it would be a cause for regret if the Bill were lost. It would be a mistake, therefore, to consider the measure solely in the light of the provisions for the abolition of plural voting, as if that were its sum and substance. There are some supporters of the Bill who practically see nothing else in it than that, but they are under the influence of a grave error. And those who are opposed to these provisions, and from their point of view allow their opposition to them to shut all the rest of the Bill out of sight, are guilty of a corresponding mistake. This abolition of the plural vote has been over-estimated on both sides; and to imperil the whole Bill by insisting upon the so-called thrift vote, which is really a property vote of a most partial, ineffective, and shadowy kind, would be to sacrifice substance for shadow, and to do that under conditions that condemn such a procedure as a mere matter of tactics, to say nothing more. The property representation that is provided for in the existing law is deceptive, unfair, and practically valueless, and that is what may be said with equal truth of the so-called thrift vote which has been suggested in its place. But the point to be noticed is that the provision abolishing the plural vote or, in other words, the pretence of property representation contained in the law as it stands, has been approved repeatedly and decisively by the country, and has been placed beyond the range of revelant argument. We have never attached much value either to the existing system or to the special vote that is proposed in its place, or to the determination to get rid of the plural vote; but we have found it impossible to dispute the fact that the country—whether under an illusion or not—has pronounced in favour of this last-named change. What, then, is to be gained by persisting in resistance to the popular will? Let us rather ask, What would not be lost by doing so in these critical times?

Again, on the 26th May following, the Bill having successfully run the gauntlet of both Houses, the paper gave it its final benison in these terms:

It will be a matter for gratification to the country that the Electoral Reform Bill as received by the Assembly from the Council has been accepted by the Lower House, and that nothing now remains to prevent the measure from becoming law.

It provides for the registration of electors, for the purification of the rolls, and, it is to be hoped, for the prevention of the electoral frauds which have been the cause of discreditable incidents in past elections.

The method of single electorates will, it is hoped, bring the representation into closer contact and accord with the represented, and the system of proportionate representation will eliminate the gross inequalities by which the existing method is defaced.

These are substantial gains to the genuineness and perfection of our electoral system, and good results may be hoped from their working, so that on many grounds there is cause of satisfaction in the fact that the labours in the cause of electoral reform, begun about two years ago by Sir Henry Parkes and continued by the present Ministry have, after various mischances, resulted in a successful issue.

This same year (1893) saw the inauguration of one of the most extraordinary social experiments that the modern world has known. This was the "New Australia" movement, started two years before by William Lane, an English journalist who had arrived in Australia in 1883 and, associating himself with the Labour movement in Queensland, had established in Brisbane, in 1890, *The Worker*, the first Labour paper to be published in Australia. He had also been largely concerned with the Labour movement throughout the other States, and in many ways had shown his practical sympathy with the cause of "Socialism in our time." But he became convinced that the brand of socialism he advocated—and there can be no doubt of his sincerity and altruism—could not be established except in a new land untrammelled by the social handicaps of the old. Including Australia in the latter category, and having by his earnestness and indefatigable propaganda obtained a number of followers almost as ardent as himself, he decided to found a virgin settlement in some distant country. He sent three of his disciples, all experienced bushmen, to search for this Utopian site, and eventually, on their advice, his choice fell upon Paraguay. The authorities there were warmly favourable to the project and agreed to make the new settlers a free grant of some 45,000 acres of agricultural and farming land. The movement gained considerable strength, and was organised by Lane under the name of the "New Australia Co-operative Colonization Society." Its principal "planks" were communal ownership, and control of the means of production, exchange and distribution; communal saving of all necessary capital; marriage; the maintenance of children by the community under the guardianship of the parents; equality of the sexes; and non-recognition of any special creed. Some £30,000 was contributed by the members of the organisation, each male member being obliged to pay at least £60, while those with more were expected to give all they had. Lane himself subscribed £1,000, and many others as much as £400. The sailing ship "Royal Tar" was purchased and the expedition sailed for Paraguay with its load of original settlers in July, 1893.

The *HERALD* of the 6th June of that year, thus comments upon the pending departure of the enthusiasts:

However views may differ as to the feasibility of the project involved in the "New Australia" settlement, there will be few in this country who will not feel a generous interest in this strange adventure. It may have been conceived in a spirit of revolt against the existing conditions of our social life, and may be in part the outcome of the embittered feelings engendered in the struggles of labour and capital in Australia. But even those who have most resented the exacting conditions of trades unionism will admit that there is a boldness in this new departure that commands admiration; and there are few, if there are any, who will not sincerely hope that it may belie the fears felt by many as to its development, and that it may answer the sanguine anticipations of the men and women who are embarking upon it.

That the movement has taken a strong hold on the minds of a large section of what may be described as the wages class of the community appears in the fact that 1,500 adults, numbering with children 4,000 persons, have enrolled themselves in the movement, that 200 intend to leave

Sydney within a fortnight for Paraguay as pioneers to prepare the way for those who are coming after them, and that a second detachment, consisting chiefly of married people and single girls, is in preparation to leave in September, with further contingents expected to follow in November, and at subsequent periods, until the full number is made up. We cannot see so large a body of people, and especially of the character of enterprising men and women which these colonies especially want, leaving our shores without a feeling of regret.

The greenness of distant hills is proverbial, and it is to be feared that sentiment has a considerable share in producing the feeling that is now animating the scheme of founding a New Australia in the centre of South America. It is not our desire to throw cold water on anything honestly designed as this is to bring increased happiness to a large number of people. But it would be improper to close our eyes to the serious risks that may be involved in a large body of people, including women and children, leaving the settled and familiar institutions of a British community like ours, and casting in its lot with the volcanic conditions of political and social life such as the whole world has associated with the Spanish-American States.

If this were the only difficulty, an adventurous spirit might brave it and take the chance. But this little community, starting with the utmost devotion to the principle of self-sacrifice and brotherly help in a distant land and among strangers, will have to wage a strife with the disintegrating influences of temperaments that are hard to eliminate from human nature. The differences of wants and tastes, of judgments as to what is necessary and what is superfluous, the differences of tempers and habits, all constitute points of divergence that will severely task the cohesion of the party, as they have tested and wrecked many a similar enterprise before.

The people of this Colony will follow the story of this movement to Paraguay, we believe, with a kindly interest, but at the same time, we venture to say, with a considerable foreboding of disaster.

That this foreboding was justified, events were quickly to prove. It is unnecessary to recount the disappointments, and the struggles which the "New Australians" were forced to encounter. It is sufficient to say that, despite the earnestness and sincerity of Lane and a large number of his followers, the organisation failed in every way to establish the Utopia it had worked for so strenuously. For six years Lane struggled against failure and unfaith; against privation and secession, against internal jealousies and external attack. But in 1899 he gave up the struggle. He sailed for New Zealand and returned to his old profession of journalism, becoming leader writer and, ultimately, editor of *The New Zealand Herald*. Most of his followers returned to Australia, the others remaining in Paraguay and becoming ordinary citizens of that country. Lane undertook the task of repaying to such of his settlers as claimed it, the amount they had originally contributed to the scheme; and when he died in 1917, he was still struggling with this self-imposed task.

It is impossible to leave the year 1893 without making special reference to an event of some importance in the private and particular history of the *HERALD* which occurred during its currency. This event was the reduction of the price of the paper from that 2d. per copy, at which it had been sold for so many years, to one penny. The reduction took place as and from the 26th June of this year; and the leading article of that date, referring to the event, is couched in these terms:

The present issue of *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD* reaches its readers at the price of a penny, and the reduction may be fairly taken as marking a stage in the history of the paper. . . . It is not necessary, we feel assured, to enter into any elaborate explanation by way of justifying this alteration to the large public of our readers and supporters. To them the change will sufficiently commend itself. It has been rendered possible by many material and mechanical improvements, and is, indeed, a part of the great movement in the direction of the cheapening of products which is so conspicuous an aspect of modern times. It may be frankly said that the purpose of the proprietors of this journal in making the change is to facilitate the acquisition of the paper by the public, and to place it in the hands of a portion of the people who may have been prevented from taking it by the higher price. If that end is extensively secured, as we have reason to believe it will be, the proprietors will consider themselves sufficiently rewarded for their venture. They will

at the same time derive satisfaction from the conviction that by widely extending the distribution of the paper something will be done that will redound to the general benefit.

In presenting the paper to the public at 1d. we wish it to be understood that, though the price is changed, the *HERALD* remains the same. There is no intention to reduce the value of the paper. On the contrary, it will be our vigilant endeavour, by every means in our power, to justify the wide acceptance we expect to secure by adopting any improvement which may tend to enhance the value of the journal or increase its attractiveness.

The *HERALD* remained, with two temporary exceptions, a penny paper from that time onwards until August, 1930, when circumstances necessitated an increase in its price to 1½d. The reasons for these variations will be related in their proper place.

On the 26th April, 1896, the death of the veteran statesman, Sir Henry Parkes, drew from the *HERALD* an eloquent leading article. The paper had often had to side against Sir Henry; and it was with regret that it had been forced to do so during the elections of the preceding July, when he had been induced to oppose Reid in the latter's own constituency. Reid had placed Free Trade in front of everything; Parkes, partly urged by personal feeling against the man whom he believed, and not without reason, to have supplanted him in the leadership of the Liberal Party, and partly induced by his burning desire for the early consummation of Federation—of which Reid, if not exactly an opponent, was certainly a most lukewarm supporter—preferred to carry the flag of union, even if it meant, as it did mean on this particular occasion, that he must join up with the Protectionist Party to do so. The *HERALD*, torn between its love for Free Trade and its sympathy with the Federal cause (and also remembering Parkes's great services to the State) was forced in the end to support Reid, with the result that that astute and able politician won the seat, though only by a narrow margin. This apparent inconsistency on the part of the paper will be referred to and explained in that section of this history which is devoted to the story of the Federation of the Colonies. When the result was announced, the paper, in its gratification at the victory for the Free Trade cause, which the elections made certain, could still spare a word of sympathy for the aged statesman who, in his declining years, had met defeat, and to express regret that his presence should be lost to the House. And when, some six months later, Sir Henry died in the shadow of poverty and defeat, it was with genuine emotion that the *HERALD* penned its farewell to the man with whom, and against whom, it had experienced so many stirring contests in the political arena:

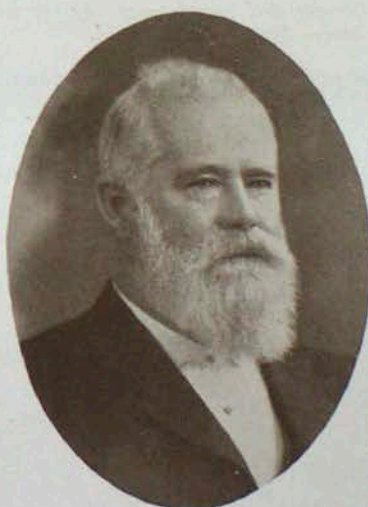
The death of Sir Henry Parkes removes from our political life one who for many years has stood as its most imposing figure. However minds may differ as to the qualities to which the greatness of Sir Henry Parkes was due, there was no difference about the fact of his being the foremost public man in Australia. . . . His part, at any rate in the earlier years of his political life, was before all things that of a tribune of the people. It was one for which he was eminently fitted. His ready oratory, his command of resonant watchwords and felicitous phrases, his sympathetic touch of popular feeling, and, above all, his indomitable courage, all went to fit him for bearing a large share in the world of breaking down the old semi-autocratic system of government as a dependency, and gradually substituting in its place the system of government by the people. In an older, more settled, better provided community, the life-work of Sir Henry Parkes might and probably would have been essentially different. It was the adjustment of his capacity and his power to the circumstances in which he had to work which made him stand to all the world as the representative statesman of Australia. . . . It is now deeply satisfactory to remember that in his later years this object of Australian union in the mind of the deceased statesman wholly transcended all others. The memory that this was the case, and that this object knits the early and the later years of his life in one great consistent work, is one upon which at this moment it is consolatory to dwell. This reflection enables us to overlook much in his career which we do not now desire to recall, and to part with him as one who, with all his faults, deserved well of his country. The work of union to which he supplied much of the initiative and of the momentum is left incomplete. It was not given to him to see its consummation. If ever the time comes when this community turns to consider the question of raising a monument to Sir Henry Parkes,



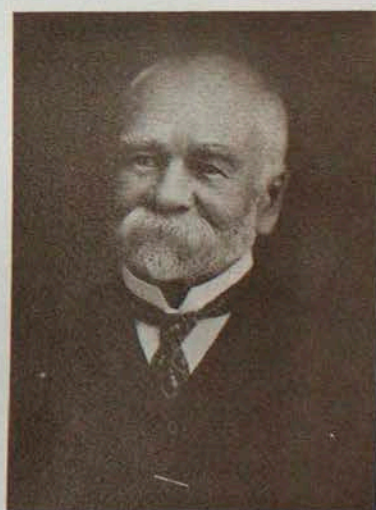
The landing on the first—or Administrative and Editorial—floor of the old "Herald" Office (1856-1926). The rooms seen through the doorway at the far end beyond the staircase were occupied by the late Mr. G. E. Fairfax and the late Sir James O. Fairfax; the doorway near the chairs on the left led to the Editor's Room; and the Administrative Staff occupied the apartments on the right.



W. CURNOW
Editor, 1885-1903.



SAMUEL COOK
General Manager, 1888-1907.



HENRY GULLETT
Associate Editor, 1890-1899.



The great Sydney fire of 1890 broke out in Gibbs, Shallard & Co.'s printing establishment, between Pitt and Castlereagh Streets, and swept practically the whole block. As a result Moore Street was widened.



Eight Hour Day procession in 1883, notable always for the brave display of banners, many of them of elaborate design. It is interesting to observe the dress of the period.



This wonderful picture from the Sydney Mail (1926) illustrates the transport difficulties on the Far Western Plains of New South Wales, after heavy rains have made the routes over the sticky soil almost impassable. It is not often the outback country gets so saturated. Its normal state is dry, and travelling is not unpleasant.



In marked contrast to the top picture is this scene in the pastoral country of the Upper Hunter (N.S.W.) of the carting of wool to the railway for transport to Sydney. There, as in the West and elsewhere, the motor lorry is displacing the horse.



A typical scene at a sheep station, showing the wool bales being placed upon waggons, and both bullock and horse teams waiting to start off for the nearest railway station. Nowadays the motor lorry is gradually displacing both.



Buyers from all parts of the world inspecting, preparatory to the sales, the wool exposed in sample bales in one of the great wool stores in Sydney.

it may be worth reflecting whether any commemorative monument could be erected so suitable to his life and his memory as that which would be comprised in the work of placing the coping-stone on the structure of the unity of Australia.

In June, 1897, the Colony celebrated, in common with the rest of the Empire, the "Diamond Jubilee" of the aged and venerated Queen, who had now occupied the English throne for sixty years. The celebrations in Sydney covered a period of three days—the 20th, 21st, and 22nd June—although the 20th, the actual date of the anniversary, being a Sunday, the more exuberant festivities were naturally associated with the two later days, the Sunday being reserved for religious services and demonstrations of a similar kind by the various churches. The city was splendidly illuminated; there was a fine display of fireworks; military pageants and various sporting events were held, and altogether the occasion was celebrated in a manner worthy of its joyful importance. The *HERALD* published a special "Record Reign Supplement" with the issue of the 19th June, consisting of a six-page review of the events which had made Victoria's reign memorable, and a general resume of the growth of, and present situation of affairs in, Australia. The issues of the 21st, 22nd and 23rd fully chronicled the celebrations, both local and overseas, and the leading articles expressed the loyalty of the Australian people and their love for the occupant of the throne in eloquent terms. Unfortunately the weather on the Monday—the principal day—was anything but propitious, and dampened both the proceedings and those participating in them; but, nevertheless, the spirits of the people were beyond such stifling, and the thronged and excited streets and the many crowded functions witnessed to the general loyalty and enthusiasm of the citizens. One of the most appropriate ceremonies of the occasion was the unveiling near the site of the destroyed Garden Palace, of a fine statue of Captain Arthur Phillip, Australia's founder and first Governor. The statue was the work of M. Achille Simonetti, a French sculptor who had long been resident in Sydney; and, although considerable criticism has been turned upon this particular expression of his genius, there is no more doubt that it is a very fine piece of work than that the man who designed it was a sculptor of distinguished merit.

Notification of the gazettal in 1898 of William James Farrer to the position of "Wheat Experimentalist" to the Department of Agriculture, was duly published in the *HERALD*, and its appearance makes appropriate at this point a brief reference to one who served his adopted country well and was but poorly recompensed in return. Farrer was born in Westmoreland, and educated at Christ's Hospital and Pembroke College, Cambridge. His first intention to enter the medical profession being thwarted by ill-health, which also necessitated his removal from England, he emigrated to Australia in 1870, and, after various vicissitudes, entered the New South Wales Civil Service as a contract surveyor with the Lands Department. In 1886 he resigned and, settling near Queanbeyan, he commenced that series of experiments in the hybridization of wheat, with the object of breeding a variety that would withstand the ravages of "rust," which were to be so brilliantly successful in the end. The value of such a discovery may be gauged from the fact that the loss from rust in Australian wheat had been recently and authoritatively estimated at about £2,500,000 per annum!

We need not detail the course of Farrer's investigations during the next eleven years. It is sufficient to say that, both in a private capacity and, later, as the official experimentalist of the Colony, he never ceased his useful work until he died—it is believed, from overstrain—in April, 1906. As the result of that assiduous labour, Farrer produced a bewildering variety of wheats, suitable for all sorts and conditions of soil and climate, the most valuable of them all being his famous "Federation," which literally

revolutionised the conditions of wheat-farming in many districts of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. The increase in the average acre-yield due to the use of Farrer wheats (the majority of which are not only largely rust-resistant, but also intrinsically more productive than the older varieties) has been officially estimated at two bushels, an increase which represents, roughly, an advance of sixteen per cent. on the total harvest. At the same time, the quality of the grain itself has been greatly improved. The actual value in cash of these results it is, of course, impossible to calculate; but it is certain that it must represent many million pounds a year. Farrer's reputation has become world-wide, and his investigatory work is now being followed up in almost every grain-growing country. Unhappily, as we have already implied, Australia has been as consistent in its failure fitly to recognise his merits since his death as it was during his life. His official salary was a mere pittance, compared with the value of his services; he was denied the facilities and the equipment that should have been eagerly offered him; and, in a word, he, who was at once the prophet and the producer of a new agricultural era, was left to prove the truth of the old proverb concerning prophets and their own country. Some time after his death an effort was made, it is true, to commemorate his services by raising a fund by which the cost of further research might be met. But the response was anything but creditable, although, after a lengthy period of canvassing, sufficient moneys were raised to institute a "Farrer Research Scholarship," which was won, for the first time, in 1921.

The great event of 1899 was, so far as the Empire in general was concerned, the outbreak of the second Boer War, just as its most important event, from the point of view of the *HERALD* and the people it served, was the participation in that war of the Australian contingents. This great activity began soon after it was realised that war was practically inevitable, but some months before the actual date of the outbreak of hostilities; and Queensland holds the honour of being the first of the Australasian Colonies—including New Zealand—to offer the services of a detachment of troops. This offer was made on the 10th July by the then Premier of the Northern Colony, Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Robert Dickson. When war did eventually break out in October, all the Colonies offered to send military contingents to the scene of action. The offers were accepted, and it was finally arranged that the contingents should go as a united body and not as specific units from the various Colonies. Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Lyne—who had now stepped into the shoes of Sir George Dibbs as the leader of the Protectionists—was Premier of New South Wales at the time, and his action in falling into line with the other Premiers in this regard, although it was received with a good deal of hostility from many quarters, was unquestionably popular with the majority of the people. The *HERALD*, too, was finely enthusiastic in the matter, although, as the head of a Protectionist Government and personally a very doubtful supporter of Federation, Lyne was anything but *persona grata* with the paper. The resolution that the Colony should despatch a military force was moved by Lyne in the Assembly on the 17th October, and, despite some considerable opposition, based upon "the doubtful merits of the British cause," was carried after a three days' debate, by what the *HERALD* called the "noble majority" of 78 to 10.

The *HERALD*'s attitude towards the actual merits of the war and the action of Great Britain generally in the matter, can be implied from the extracts already quoted from its columns; but its opinions are so directly expressed in other editorial articles that we deem it advisable to quote shortly from them as well. Thus, in the issue of the 13th October, 1899, the day following the announcement of the actual initiation of hostilities, the leading article runs as follows:

It has to be understood in regard to this South Africa question that it is not only the rights of the Uitlanders, but the broadest issues of Imperial policy which are involved in this dispute with the Transvaal. The main question is one as to whether British rule is to be paramount and unquestioned in South Africa or not, and if the divided counsels of a divided race are to be superseded by a governing force which will not be Uitland, nor colonial, nor Afrikaner, but simply British. The question is whether the map of Africa is to be painted red from Cairo to the Cape, or whether communication is to be interrupted by two independent republics, in alliance with the Afrikaner element admittedly living under British rule. That is the main question which the war has to settle. The necessity which has been forced on Great Britain may be regretted, inasmuch as it must entail disaster to a weaker State. But in so far as a war with the Transvaal must have the effect of consolidating once for all British power in South Africa and on the African continent generally, the opportunity now offered should be regarded as a favourable one to fulfil the aspirations of British policy in that quarter of the globe. . . .

It is clear that the humanitarianism of Mr. Gladstone was misunderstood, and the sympathy of that great Liberal chieftain with peoples struggling to be free was misused by the beneficiaries of his act of grace. The interests of permanent peace in South Africa now urgently require that the Boers shall be taught a decisive lesson, and as matters are now shaping, everything points to the conclusion that a long-outstanding debt will be paid in full.

Again, on the 20th of the same month, referring to the debate in the Assembly upon the question of sending an Australian contingent, the *HERALD* set out its opinions in the following terms:

The House could not do better than accept the evidence before it and deal in a common-sense way with the matter of the resolution and the facts of the situation. These facts are simple enough. There is a state of war in South Africa, and hostilities are actually in progress. The difficulty arose from a dispute between the suzerain power and its vassal state as to the local treatment of Uitlanders, and the Boer Executive obstinately declined to take the steps in redress which the Imperial Government defined as necessary. If Great Britain can submit to be flouted in this fashion by a State with which in any case its relations demand imperatively to be defined; and if the Imperial authority were disposed to submit to such a rebuff in a country where the Afrikaner element presents considerations of peculiar difficulty; and if, again, England can afford to put up with a standing interruption of her African policy, then Mr. Kruger might have been left master of the situation. But if we are prepared to admit that the Government had any title whatever to interfere on behalf of British residents in the Transvaal, or the right to assert the claim to the disputed suzerainty, then the situation which has resulted is a logical outcome of the Boers' defiance. The war is one for British supremacy in South Africa, under circumstances wherein that supremacy must either be asserted or allowed to definitely lapse, and with it all that scheme of Imperial policy which includes within its purview not only South Africa, and not only the eastern side of the continent from Cairo to the Cape, but all that system of colonial domination and naval sway which was meant in old days by the command of the Cape route to India, Australia, and the East.

Though the juncture is not opportune to discuss the causes of the war and hold the balance between Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Kruger, it is time to point out the absurdity of some of the reasons alleged for the war. Some of them are mischievous enough, and some merely puerile; but as an explanation combining both these features in a remarkable degree, that which makes the war appear as an unscrupulous attempt to take over the Transvaal mines by force deserves the palm of merit. It asks us to believe either that Lord Salisbury, with Lord Rosebery, and Ministers and leaders of both parties, are in league with the Chartered Company to take possession of the Rand, or that Mr. Chamberlain has hypnotised his colleagues and entered into a conspiracy with Mr. Rhodes and Sir Alfred Milner for the same purpose. These large demands on popular credulity would also imply incidentally that the moral sense of Britons was dead, and that an intelligent public opinion was either unable to distinguish between right and wrong, or absolutely indifferent on the point.

And, lastly, on the 28th, the day the first contingent departed for South Africa, the leading article thus expressed the paper's feelings:

As the result of the full light which has recently been thrown on the true condition of affairs in the Transvaal; as the result, too, of the exposure of the high-handed manner in which free-born

British citizens have been treated by Mr. Kruger's Government, the number of those who are prepared to uphold the Boer side of the quarrel is, we have reason to believe, getting smaller every day. . . .

It is in support of the rights and liberties of British subjects that Great Britain is taking action in the Transvaal.

The contingent was despatched with the utmost expedition, the decision of the Parliament having been long anticipated by the military authorities. The HERALD's description of the departure of the New South Wales section of the force, appearing in the issue of the 30th October, was appropriately complete, and the leading articles of the same day and of the 28th—the actual date of departure—expressed with sympathy and an eloquent sincerity the true feelings of the vast majority of its readers. Taking these articles in the order of their date, we quote first from that of the 28th:

To-day, for the first time in her history, New South Wales is sending troops away to help the Mother Country. . . . But more important than the physical aid they supply is the moral force represented by the presence of an Australasian contingent in the British Army. With ominous clouds on the European horizon, this is just the psychological moment for the assertion in the face of the world of the unity of the British Empire. The enemies of our race have to reckon not with the little island set in the northern seas, not with the weary Titan struggling along under a burden too heavy for even Atlantean shoulders. But they have to reckon with the members of the worldwide Empire—with men of the same race that produced a Nelson, a Colin Campbell, and a Wellington—with men who changed their climate, but not their disposition, as they wandered forth seeking and creating new spheres of life and work. And when critics point sneeringly at the hesitancy and the dilly-dallying of the Cape Colony, and ask where is this loyalty to the Mother Country of which so much has been said, an eloquent answer is furnished by the mere mention of the Australasian and Canadian contingents.

The short "leader" commenting on the actual departure of the troops, and appearing in the issue of the 30th October, may also well be quoted:

The departure on Saturday of part of our contingent for the Transvaal was marked with all the *empressement* which a strong popular demonstration could convey. Undeterred by weather conditions distinctly unfavourable to sight-seeing, the people of Sydney bid farewell to the troops. As an evidence of the popular approval of the movement, this demonstration was overwhelming. If the weather had been fine, it might have been said that lining the streets and listening to inspiring strains as the soldiers marched by was simply an agreeable way of spending a half-holiday. But it was something more than a desire to witness a pageant that brought people out in such great numbers on Saturday, when the rain was falling in torrents and the weather generally was as disagreeable and as unseasonable as it well could be.

Later contingents were to follow—New South Wales alone sent six—and in every case their departure was accompanied by the same enthusiasm, the same outbursts of patriotic pride as had been exhibited on the historic occasion to which we have referred. Throughout the war the HERALD kept its readers admirably posted on the course of events, paying particular attention, naturally, to the activities of the Australian Forces. For this purpose it enlisted the services of a special war correspondent. Indeed, it enlisted the services of several; but the two writers who are specially remembered in this connection are Donald Macdonald and A. B. Paterson. The latter is, of course, identical with the balladist who, under the *nom de plume* of "Banjo," long ago won his way into the hearts of all Australians as being above all others the typical singer of Australian songs. The letters of these two men from the front were crisp, vivid and accurate, and through them the HERALD's readers were able to follow the progress of affairs with interest and satisfaction. Another writer who acted for the HERALD as an unofficial war correspondent during the campaign was David Stewart, then—and still—a member of the literary staff of the paper, and one of several "on the HERALD" who enlisted for active service against the Boers. Mr. Stewart's articles finely supplemented those of Macdonald

and Paterson, and can still be read with profit as concise and attractive commentaries on the progress of the campaign.

We quote the following extracts taken from Mr. Paterson's despatch, dated at Kimberley, the 17th February, 1900, as a sample of his work:

Lieutenant-General French left Belmont with the New South Wales Lancers and one ambulance corps, under the care of Lieutenant Edwards, and marched to Riet River, east of Jacobsdal. It was a magnificent sight, the convoy being seven miles long, with 3,500 mules in waggons, 4,000 oxen, 15,000 troops of all sorts, marching across the vast plains. At Randon we met the other columns converging there, and the whole force pushed on for the Riet River and camped. It is a fine big river. We had great trouble in getting the waggons over, owing to the bad crossing. It took us all day, with constant work. One ambulance, drawn by Australian horses, went over at a gallop, evoking much applause. We left the Riet River 15,000 strong, all cavalry and artillery, the Lancers being on the extreme right of the column, next to the Scots Greys. The column advanced, cantering and trotting, by forced marches. As Kimberley was being blown to pieces by the Boers' guns, time was all important. . . .

The heat was intense, and horses and men suffered from thirst. The grass was all on fire during the march, and no water was obtainable. Our horses were not much distressed, but the English horses were dropping out of the ranks all along the line of march. We shot them and left them. Our ambulance was right in front all through, and was complimented by the Brigadier. . . .

We arrived at the Modder after an exhausting march and found the enemy on the opposite bank of the river. We shelled them and they fled, leaving their tents, letters, and guns. . . .

The cavalry was sent over the river to see how far the enemy had gone. Lieutenant Osborne's troop went at a rush among the first. They found the enemy's laager with a big gun, and were nearly cut off. They returned and reported where the enemy were. . . .

Our men were very steady under fire. Our fire gradually drove the Boers back, and they retired towards Bloemfontein. We pushed on after the main column. I was standing alongside a horse that was shot through the hips by a Boer bullet. We rejoined the column and marched across for Kimberley. Great excitement prevailed, as a big battle was expected. No news had been received for some days, but the Boers were known to be investing it. We saw, far off, the big city, with a heliograph on a huge tower. Lieutenant-General French sent word that he was coming to relieve Kimberley.

The people, however, thought we were Boers, and would not answer. We advanced patrolling. The Boers fired a few shells from a small gun and fled. We rode among the first into the city amidst great cheering. The people had been eating horseflesh for days. General French rode up the street amongst the cheering thousands. When they knew we were Australians they were very excited. . . .

We are now camped in Kimberley. The blacks hang round the camp all the day long after dead horses. I was asked to dinner, and had horse flesh to eat. Our rations arrived, and there is now plenty of food. Our mounted infantry on the march had a considerable amount of fighting. They were sent up to take a position and took it, and were then ordered back. On arrival here we were ordered out next day and had a running fight with the enemy. They retired into big trenches, which we shelled, and then drove them back for miles. Our troops are very popular here with the regulars. Our hospital arrangements are very good. We usually have meals when other regiments go hungry. We rest in Kimberley as a guard for the present. I am sending this by a despatch runner. We are not allowed to send much, but I may get a letter through. This town was very nearly at its last gasp when we came.

I saw Mr. Rhodes to-day. He is very much older looking than one would imagine from portraits. He is holding business together. The town must have surrendered but for him. This march was a most wonderful performance. We left the convoy and all provisions and pushed on, as if we had been defeated it would have meant annihilation.

In all, over sixteen thousand men (and horses) were sent from Australia; and of these over six thousand were provided by New South Wales. Of the New South Welshmen, about half were regular troops, while the remainder constituted a special force known as the "Bushmen." These were mostly recruited from hitherto untrained sources; and were mainly, as their name implied, men who had that knowledge of bushcraft which would make them specially useful, it was thought—and proved—in the

guerilla-like campaign that lay before them. They were, however, for the most part officered by men who had had previous military experience. Mr. Geoffrey E. Fairfax was especially interested in this section of the Australian force; he devoted an immense amount of time and trouble to its organisation and acted as one of the honorary joint treasurers of the fund which was raised to cover the large cost necessarily incurred by its despatch.

The Australian contingents did not constitute a very large force; but the moral effect of their appearance was out of all proportion to their numbers. It gave a support to the Home Government which, in view of the hostility of many of the European Powers towards the campaign and of the open opposition of the anti-Imperialists and "pro-Boers" in Great Britain itself, was of the greatest value. And the actual physical effect of the force at the front was by no means negligible. It practically doubled the mounted troops at the disposal of the British leaders and "it made possible the wide cavalry flanking movements which were the determining factor in the relief of Kimberley and the subsequent advance upon Bloemfontein and Pretoria." Authoritative evidence is not wanting to show that the Australians were second to none in their efficiency and in their capacity to deal with the conditions to which they were subjected. "All the colonials did extremely well," Lord Roberts is subsequently reported to have said. "They were very intelligent; and they had, what I want our men to have, more individuality. They could find their way about the country far better than the British cavalryman could do." It is impossible to give here any detailed account of the engagements in which the Australians participated, since the various units acted independently of one another and were scattered over a very wide area. It must be sufficient to state that, before the campaign ended, nearly thirteen hundred of them were casualties, of whom at least five hundred were either killed outright in action or died of wounds or disease contracted at the front.

Just as the Boer War gave signs of petering out—although, as a matter of fact, it was to linger on until well into the next year—the Boxer rising in China occurred; and the siege of the legations and the atrocities which accompanied that event brought all the Powers to arms—and, unfortunately, to jealous rivalry as well. However, the pressure of circumstances, in the end, as we know, forced them to join in an alliance against the Chinese and to send a combined force to Peking. The crisis was so acute that the Australian Governments felt compelled, as in the case of the Boer War, to offer assistance. The later campaign was, however, as the *HERALD* pointed out, entirely different from the former, both in its magnitude and in the call it made for colonial assistance. In the South African trouble England stood alone; and at the time the Australian contingents had been offered the need for an expression of Imperial unity and for colonial support had been great. In the Chinese campaign, the very fact that the Powers were joined in their determination to stamp out the Boxers and to restore order, made it clear that they must succeed by sheer weight of military strength, and that without any great delay. In pointing out these facts the *HERALD* was in no way opposing the Imperial sentiment and the popular desire to help the Mother Country—it was mainly concerned to show that the bellicose spirit which was being aroused throughout the country was both unfortunate and unnecessary. That the *HERALD* was as keen in its Imperialism as any of the enthusiasts, it had already sufficiently proved by the support it had given to the despatching of the contingents to South Africa. But this was a different proposition altogether, and the *HERALD* had the courage to say so; and to point out, further, that, in view of the international features of the campaign, these Australian offers might well be an embarrassment to the very Government they were intended to assist. That there

was much in this argument was proved by the fact that the Home Authorities were very long in considering the offers and were evidently in a dilemma as to what they were to do with them. But when at last they did intimate that the offer of the local Naval Brigade, which had been foremost in its eagerness to get to the front, was acceptable, and that it should proceed as soon as possible to Hong-Kong, the HERALD was prompt to admit the alteration this acceptance made in the position and left nothing undone which was within its powers to assist the actions of the Government and to help the detachment to get away. It was nearly the end of July before the notification of acceptance arrived from England; but the Home Authorities having already taken over the steamer "Salamis" as a transport, it did not take long for the final arrangements to be made. The Naval contingent of a little over two hundred and fifty of all ranks, under the command of Captain F. Hixson, left Sydney, together with a Victorian detachment, in the "Salamis," on the 7th August, 1900; and the HERALD of the following day described the scenes at the embarkation with its customary efficiency. In a brief leading article of the same date the paper expressed the general satisfaction of the public, and its own sympathy with the movement, in the following terms:

There is no more popular body of men in the volunteer service under the flag anywhere than the Naval Brigade, and the crowds that witnessed the embarkation of our Naval Contingent for China yesterday made no disguise of their feelings on the subject. Our "handy men" are accustomed to popular applause on occasions of public parade, but the ovation they received yesterday, and in which their comrades of the Third Contingent and Naval Volunteers shared, must have surprised even them. When we remember that it was not until July 27th that Captain Hixson was instructed to proceed with the formation of the force, it says something for the willingness and discipline of the men that a detachment of 252 rank and file should have been ready to march on board the "Salamis" yesterday. Though several Ministers bade them farewell, there was no organised public procession or demonstration such as we witnessed earlier in the year, when our troops were sent on their way to South Africa. There was no public holiday, and, as Commander Connor told the men, there were no flags or flowers. But there was an unmistakeable cordiality of feeling among the thousands of people who congregated at different points of the route, and there were apparent an undisguised eagerness and cheerfulness on the part of the men. Their physique spoke for them, and they are known to be thoroughly drilled and serviceable. They form a small body of men as compared with those we sent to South Africa, or the forces of the Allies beside whom they will fight in China. But they are Australians, and we can trust them to do their duty. Once more Australia has given hostages to the fortunes of the Empire.

The HERALD, in this case, as in that of the Boer War, also gave concrete evidence of its desire to keep its readers well posted in the progress of the campaign by sending a special correspondent with the contingent. This was Mr. J. R. Wallace, a member of the literary staff of the paper, whose despatches were most interestingly compiled and eagerly read.

When the detachment arrived in China it was found that the Allies had already more than sufficient forces to deal with the situation, and the Australians therefore had very little to do. But that fact does not lessen the value of their attempt, nor of the proof which it provided of the loyalty of the country which sent them.

We have now carried on our history to the close of the century. The new one was to open upon an Australia very differently circumstanced from the Australia of the past; upon an Australia united in a Federation towards which it had been slowly progressing for more than half a century. It is to the engrossing story of that progress and of the HERALD's close association with it through the years, that the chronicle now must turn.

SECTION IX.

THE "HERALD" AND FEDERATION

PERHAPS with no other of the great social and political activities which have marked the history of Australia has the HERALD been so closely and so pertinaciously associated as it has with that of Federation. In the first place, as we have seen, it strongly opposed the disseverment of the original Colony. In the second place, from the very inception of the Federal idea, which, paradoxical as it may seem, actually antedated that disseverment by some years, it persistently advocated the union or re-union of the various Colonies of Australasia in some form of Federation. And, in the third place, it has been largely and directly responsible for the effectuation of that federation upon lines which conform with remarkable consistency to its earliest proposals. It inaugurated many, and it has supported all, of the movements that led eventually to the attainment of the desired goal. These are not the assertions of a partisan historian of the paper; they are facts admitted, and stressed by the official chroniclers of the Federation movement in Australia, and as such they stand unchallenged in the records of the Commonwealth.

The idea of uniting the Colonies of Australia in some such bond as that which now exists is much earlier than the general reader imagines. Indeed, it is remarkable how grievously into this error even professed students of Australian history have fallen. So far back as 1849, when the Home Government was considering the Bill to establish Victoria as a separate Colony, it suggested the advisability of instituting at the same time some method of linking up the various Colonies by means of what was termed a "General Assembly for Australia," a suggestion to which additional reference must presently be made. But even seven years before that, a proposal which bore within it the germs of the federal idea had been mooted in the Legislative Council of New South Wales, when an Act was passed by that body authorising the free admission into New South Wales of all Tasmanian and New Zealand products. The Act was opposed, however, on the ground that it would involve a policy of discrimination which might, in turn, involve the commercial treaties and foreign relations of Great Britain. This argument, difficult as it is for the modern reader to follow, was sufficiently powerful to induce Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to veto the Act. But the fiscal irritations continued between the three Colonies mentioned, and became so likely to cause serious trouble that Sir Charles Fitzroy, Governor of New South Wales, was induced to address to the Home Authorities a letter containing what appears to be the first official proposal on record for the formation of some central authority to deal with matters of common concern to the various political divisions of Australasia. The date of this document was the 29th September, 1846; and it appears to have so impressed Earl Grey that, on the 31st July following, that statesman, in outlining in a despatch the new constitution which it was proposed to grant to New South Wales, made considerable reference to an additional proposal to create some form of federal legislature as well.

The HERALD dealt with this famous despatch in a series of articles in December, 1847, and January, 1848; and after criticising with considerable hostility almost every one of Lord Grey's suggestions for the Constitution, was moved to agree that the proposed Federal legislature was, at any rate, "unobjectionable." A general reference to this despatch was made in the leading article of the 27th December, 1847; and the criticism of it to which we have referred appeared in that of the 4th January, 1848. In the former, the writer, after setting out in general terms the effect of the proposed constitution, so far as it affected New South Wales alone, continued as follows:

There is to be a sort of Federal Legislature, for which we know of no more appropriate name than The Congress of Australia. The powers of this body will embrace those extended questions which affect the interests of all the Colonies within the Australian group. "It is necessary," says the despatch, "that while providing for the local management of all such interests, we should not omit to provide for a central management of all such interests that are not local. Thus questions co-extensive in their bearing with the limits of the empire at large, are the appropriate province of Parliament. But there are questions which, though local as it respects the British possessions in Australia collectively, are not merely local as it respects any one of those possessions. Considered as members of the same empire, those colonies have many common interests, the regulation of which in some uniform manner, and by some single authority, may be essential to the welfare of them all. Yet in many cases interests may be more promptly, effectually, and satisfactorily decided by some authority within Australia itself, than by the more remote, the less accessible, and, in truth, the less competent authority of Parliament." In another part of his communication, the noble lord states that "some method will be devised, for enabling the various legislatures of the several Australian colonies to co-operate with each other in the enactment of such laws as may be necessary for regulating the interests common to those possessions collectively—such, for example, are the imposition of duties of import and export, the conveyance of letters, and the formation of roads, railways, or other internal communications traversing any two or more of such colonies."

The HERALD's criticism of this proposal a week later runs in these terms:

There now remains to consider only the third part of our new Constitution—the central legislature which is to represent the whole of the Australian Colonies, and make laws touching their common interests. The erection of such a body as this, which we have called the Australian Congress, appears to us unobjectionable, except that there would be scarcely anything for it to do, and that it would be exceedingly difficult to find gentlemen able and willing to submit to the inconveniences which its duties, though of infrequent recurrence, would unavoidably impose. The place of its meeting would doubtless be Sydney, as the largest and oldest of our seats of government. Now, a periodical voyage to Sydney from the neighbouring colonies, especially from the most distant of them, for legislative purposes, would consume so much time, require so total a suspension of private business, and withal involve so considerable an outlay of money, that we really do not see how a sufficient number of gentlemen, in countries where time is so precious, and where almost everybody is fully employed, could be induced to purchase honour at so high cost.

So far as we have been able to ascertain, these two extracts comprise the first references in the HERALD to that subject of federation which soon afterwards, and thereafter for fifty years, was to occupy so much of its attention and to receive its consistent support.

The matter of the new Constitution dragged along for two years without appreciable result; but in 1849 a committee of the Privy Council which had been appointed to consider the "constitutional" changes which it might be advisable to make in the Government of the Australian Colonies reported in full; and, in so doing, carried the federal proposals a step further. This was the text of its recommendation in this regard:

"One of the Governors of the Australian Colonies should always hold from Your Majesty a commission constituting him the Governor-General of Australia. We think that he should be authorised to convene a body to be called the General Assembly of Australia, at any time and at any place within Your Majesty's Australian dominions which he might see fit to appoint for the

purpose. But we are of opinion that the first convocation of that body should be postponed until the Governor-General should have received from two or more of the Australian legislatures addresses requesting him to exercise that power.

"We recommend that the General Assembly should consist of the Governor-General, and of a single House, to be called the House of Delegates. The House of Delegates should be composed of not less than 20 nor more than 30 members. They should be elected by the legislatures of the different Australian colonies."

Despite this recommendation, however, nothing was done to further it; for, although the Bill which was introduced into the House of Commons to confer the status of a self-governing Colony upon Victoria, also provided for some such Federal arrangement as the Committee had outlined, the provision was abandoned as "premature" and the final Act granting separation contained no reference to it at all. But Earl Grey was still toying with the idea; and in 1851, without any previous notification of his intention, apparently—for the *HERALD* refers to the action as having occasioned "surprise" in English official circles—he sent out five fresh commissions to the Governor of New South Wales, appointing him, in the first four, "Governor" of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania respectively, and, in the fifth, "Governor-General of all Her Majesty's Australian possessions, including the Colony of Western Australia." In a covering despatch, Fitzroy was instructed not to interfere in the local affairs of the other Colonies, but "to foster the completion of measures calculated to promote the common welfare". while the Governors of the other Colonies, thenceforth to be known as Lieutenant-Governors, were instructed to communicate with him "on all matters affecting intercolonial interests."

This despatch, as may well be imagined, was received with mingled feelings. The younger Colonies disapproved of it *in toto*, as a slight upon their status; in New South Wales it was generally approved, as a recognition of that Colony's right, founded on seniority and size alike, to lead the others. The *HERALD* strongly supported the action of Lord Grey, and, on the 13th June, 1851, devoted a leading article to his despatch and the conclusions to be drawn from it. We quote from this article as follows:

When discussing that part of the Australian Colonies Government Bill, as originally introduced by Earl Grey, which provided for the establishment of a General Assembly and the appointment of a Governor-General, we expressed it as our opinion, that this high office would, as a matter of course, devolve upon the Governor of New South Wales—an opinion to which some of our contemporaries in the other Colonies rather angrily demurred. The ceremony of yesterday proves that we were right. "Her Majesty's Government has considered it fitting" that the office should be conferred upon the Governor of this province for the one plain and sufficient reason that New South Wales is "the oldest and largest" of all the Colonies in the Australian group. Had the appointment hinged upon other considerations, such as which of the Colonies was the most intelligent, the most prosperous, and the most conveniently situated for the seat of intercolonial legislation, there might have been room for dispute; the question would have assumed an invidious character, and local jealousies could not fail to have been stirred up and embittered. But resting as it does upon the two simple and incontrovertible facts that we are "the oldest and the largest" of these communities, the appointment ought in reason to give satisfaction to all whom it concerns.

It will have been observed from the letter of our correspondent in yesterday's *HERALD*, that the notification of this appointment had come upon our friends in London as a surprise. The General Assembly having been dispensed with, they were not prepared to hear of a Governor-General, and were quite at a loss to account for the nomination on any better ground than Lord Grey's caprice. We think, however, they would be satisfied when they came to read the despatch that his lordship knew what he was about, and had good reasons for what he was doing. . . .

There is one feature in the Governor-Generalship at which the other Colonies will at first, perhaps, be disposed to take umbrage. Should His Excellency at any time visit one of them, he will assume the Government thereof, and retain it during the whole period of his residence therein.

"During such period," says the despatch, "the functions of the Lieutenant-Governor would be completely superseded." But it should be borne in mind that this supersession for the time being is essential to the very nature of the office, and is the practice in every part of our colonial empire where a Governor-General exists. It should also be understood that Sir Charles Fitzroy is virtually forbidden to visit any of the other Colonies unless there should arise an actual "necessity" for his doing so. He will not be at liberty to roam about for his own amusement, or for purposes of display. And even when called to another Colony by solid considerations of the public good, he is required to "take care that no unnecessary interruption to its ordinary government takes place"; and, moreover, to "take the utmost care, by all his acts and proceedings, to maintain unimpaired the respect and deference which are due to the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor."

But this appointment of the Governor of New South Wales over the heads of his brothers in the other Colonies was hardly ever anything but a dead letter. Only once did "the Governor-General" attempt to interfere in intercolonial affairs, and that was in 1855, when Governor Denison endeavoured to adjust certain tariff anomalies existing between his own Colony and Victoria. The advent of complete responsible Government put an end to any further experiments of a like nature, and the last reason for the existence of the distinction between the governors departed with the loss by them of control over the administration of their respective States. From then onwards, all endeavour to establish any system of federation between the Colonies was to come from within, and not as the result of action on the part of the Colonial Office.

In 1853 a somewhat feeble—and, as it proved, abortive—effort to revive the question was made both in New South Wales and in Victoria. In the Legislative Council of the former State a committee, appointed to report upon a proposed new constitution, declared that "one of the more prominent legislative measures required by this Colony, and the Colonies of the Australian group generally, is the establishment at once of a General Assembly to make laws in relation to the intercolonial questions which have arisen and may hereafter arise among them." The report also gave a list of subjects upon which such federal action might well be taken. These included: (1) Intercolonial tariffs and coasting trade. (2) Railways, roads, etc., running through any two of the Colonies. (3) Beacons and lighthouses. (4) Intercolonial penal settlements. (5) Intercolonial gold regulations. (6) Postage between the Colonies. (7) A general Court of Appeal from the Courts of the Colonies. (8) A power to legislate on all other subjects that might be submitted to them by the Parliaments of the Colonies.

In Victoria a similar committee reported in much the same way, but upon much more general lines. Both these recommendations, as we have said, fell to the ground; and it is significant of the problem provided by the proposal that, whereas the report of the New South Wales Committee recommended that action to institute the "General Assembly" should be taken *at once*, it was not until forty-seven years later that that "General Assembly," in the shape of the Federal Parliament of the Commonwealth, was established and commenced to function.

The year 1854 marks a great era in the history of the HERALD's association with Federation. For in the beginning of that year, the Reverend John West, under the *nom de plume* of "John Adams," began to contribute that series of articles upon the subject of the Union of the Australian Colonies to which reference has already been made. The first of these articles appeared on the 30th January, and the eighteenth, and last, upon the 8th September, 1854; and they dealt so clearly and so completely with all aspects of their great theme that they have ever since been regarded as having very largely assisted in the consummation of the Federal ideal. This is evidenced by a quotation from the "Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth" (a work to which the compilers of this history are greatly indebted), wherein the authors, Sir John Quick

and Sir Robert Garran, who are admittedly the highest authorities upon the subject, in their summary of the story of Australian Federation, say that in 1854 "the movement began to take a more definite shape." "In that year," they add, "a series of thoughtful letters in *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*, over the signature 'John Adams,' dealt convincingly with the need for union, and discussed many of the details. The writer of these letters was the Rev. John West, then residing in Tasmania, but afterwards Editor of the *HERALD*." And the testimony of these writers is supplemented by that of many others almost equally authoritative.

Well versed in the historical, political, economical and social problems of his subject, Mr. West wrote almost as one inspired. It is a revelation to read these articles to-day and to remember when they were written and how strongly time has confirmed their arguments. It is essential that certain extracts from them should be given; and we have therefore selected a few passages which will show both their manner and their matter. The articles are not long individually, but, taken together, they provide a complete exposition of the whole Federal problem. The first was merely introductory; but the second, which appeared in the issue of the 1st February, 1854, discusses several of the functions which the writer deemed to be proper for a federation under the British Crown to exercise. After stating that it would be the first duty of the statesmen charged with the drafting of a Federal Constitution to define the limits of that Constitution, the writer thus continued:

It is true that there are prerogatives and functions which belong to the Imperial Government exclusively, and which must be deposited with the Crown. The terms of intercourse with foreign nations must be settled at Westminster; the array and direction of armaments must be left with the Queen; the declaration of war and the making of peace are by common assent the duties of the Sovereign, and cannot be detached from her person. A colony, or a group of colonies, under whatever form of local government, must attend the movements and obey the orders of the superior body, as planets revolve round the sun. Those who desire to raise the colonies from the condition of dependence to the status of an integral part of the empire must, while they claim an equality in political rights, yield to the public law and imperial superintendence, which bind up, permeate, and overshadow the whole.

The propriety of imposing on the colonies a reasonable share of military expenditure, we presume no one will seriously dispute. The proportions and distribution of the burden is a question of some delicacy, but with whom will England treat? We feel that a federal union of the colonies is an urgent want. No single colony is strong enough to endure the encumbrance; and could that burthen be borne—no one would assume it. To estimate the force required, and provide the commissariat and military chest, will need the joint councils, the consent, and the co-operation of all. The common interest of the colonies in reference to commerce and communication demands not less clearly their collective wisdom. With some slight variations they should all be subject to one tariff, one system of Customs, one postal organisation, should run through all. Their light-houses should be common property, their ports should at least be free to each other. By a federal system, they would obtain a right to establish discriminating duties, which, whether valuable or not, they cannot be trusted individually to impose. The navigation of the Murray lately opened, will place in a strong light the identity of colonial interests. How, when its borders are thronged with a population stretching through a country sufficient to cradle a great nation, will it be possible to prevent customable goods from crossing boundaries which no line has marked, and which it will require an army to survey? By what plan can the tariff of a particular colony be made to embrace its consumption? And when we see that the colonies are of one origin, and language, and subject to one empire, we cannot doubt that one federal body might be well entrusted with all the higher business of legislation. It would be necessary, indeed, to define the limits of its authority, and to restrict it from interference with one stone or lath, or alienating one rood of land. But laws affecting life and liberty, the regulation of courts, the removal of judges, the court of last appeals, would all be naturally confided to the great council of the Australias. Why should six or seven codes flourish within a few hours' distance of each

other, and why should an appeal be carried sixteen thousand miles for hearing? Why should a judge be tied down to the caprice of a Governor, or else be subject to no practical responsibility?

The third article (6th February, 1854) was devoted to the consideration of the location of the seat of government, and we quote from it the following sentences:

The question respecting the seat of a federal government is a difficulty which time will surmount—conflicting claims must be calmly adjusted. We do not desire to embarrass the subject with local considerations; and we admit that no choice could be final, based upon mere partiality. We do not assert or relinquish the demand of the original colony to the inheritance by birth-right. Whatever may be its site, the position of a federal government must be one to overlook, command and succour the whole.

The fourth article is, in a sense, not very pertinent to the subject of Federation, as we had to deal with it in the last years of the nineteenth century; for it is devoted to an attack upon the colonial administration at Downing Street. But it must be remembered that when the articles were written, Downing Street had an infinitely greater power over our destinies than it had in the 'nineties, and that it had been frequently exercising those powers in a way calculated greatly to provoke the citizens of Australia. Thus then (11th March, 1854) "John Adams":

"Downing Street" is the celebrated seat of a colonial empire, upon which, as it has been said, the sun never sets; and Downing Street is the substitute for federation. That great locality is an example to those spots which aspire to imperial dominion. The modesty of its designation, the simplicity of its aspect, and the gentleness of its dialect, create no suspicion of tyranny; none of spoliation. We read of the Sublime Porte of one empire, and the Sacred Congregation of another. There seems in their very titles a claim to reverence; something that bespeaks our awe; something betokening majesty, or inspiring submission. But the homely, familiar, unpretending name, which yet includes the sovereignty of nascent empires, has nothing august, thrilling, or soul subduing; suggests nothing but friendly calls and punctual correspondence. Still we know that it is in Downing Street "the groans of Australia" die away in silence; that it is there despatches, which have run over half the world, are couched in oblivion; while beneath, in cellars of unfathomable depth, long-forgotten petitions that have prayed in vain, and memorials, as a dead man out of mind, lie deep in dust!

But what can Downing Street do? Well: it can turn upside down the policy of years, without moving "the House"; it can dismiss the most faithful servant of the Crown, without a paragraph appearing in *The Times*; it can cripple colonial commerce and kindle colonial resentment; hundreds may be ruined and thousands made disloyal; and not an angry word be heard, not a window be broken in Downing Street itself. It can support with obstinacy the despotism of the governor, and the incompetence of the judge; it can force upon a feeble colony the burdens of pauperism and crime; it can multiply offices, and make them the reward of political subservience; and not until some great event imposes restriction upon its power, has any great party ever been found to question or suppress its abuses.

The next four articles were in the main historical, and although they well displayed the knowledge of the writer there is no necessity to quote from them. The ninth article (25th April, 1854) is historical, also; but it has a brief but eloquent reference to the Canadian constitution, which is of sufficient interest to place on record. It runs as follows:

The union of the Canadas not only terminated a rebellion, but expanded the practice of self-government. It was not a federal but a legislative union; its fortunate results have led the British Ministry to plan its extension now.

Will England be less powerful with her Canadian offspring banded together on the borders of her empire? Will she have reason to dread their strength? Will they not be as polished arrows in the hand of the mighty? Happy is that nation that hath her quiver full of them; she shall not be ashamed to speak with her enemies in the gates.

The tenth article (5th May, 1854) considers the class of men who will be most likely to be attracted to, and be chosen to deal with, the high ministerial offices which

the Federation would make available to them; and we select the following extracts as typical of its style:

An attempt to absorb the whole power of government in a single colonial legislature, and to form that house on narrow and exclusive electoral principles, would be both a wrong and a fault. If such an assembly engross all the details of the municipal government, its character will be reduced to the standard of its business; its parties will be personal, and its debates mean. The higher branches of legislation require a different training, and a sphere more enlarged.

No country will consent to be exclusively governed by a committee, or to entrust their lives and property to a paltry council.

It is thus that a central legislature, having a high but limited duty, would attract the ambition of men conscious of political ability and looking for a wider sphere. Brought face to face with others equally independent, they would be less likely to draw to themselves that pernicious authority which sometimes has degraded the forms of legislation, and left the calm spectator in doubt whether the obsequious obedience of a nominee council was less trustworthy and respectable than the servile deference of partisanship, under the colour of representation.

On the 15th May the writer again turned to a consideration of the proper locality for the seat of government; and in the article of the 26th May—the twelfth of the series—he took for his theme the almost unique possibilities for federation which the unity of blood and tradition had bestowed upon the Australian peoples. It was a fine subject and it warmed the writer's pen to deal with it in this fashion:

The people of Australia are one people; they speak one language, their views are substantially the same, they worship one God, their moral standard is formed by one rule; and beyond this life they hope for one destiny. Their differences are only perceptible to minute investigation. The controversies which rise among them sharpen their intellectual powers, and subside in mutual tolerance. Their provincial prejudices are rather reminiscences than living realities. Their varieties of feature and idiom are blended and intermingled. The dialects of Midlothian, of Limerick, and of London are heard in the same dwellings; and upon the same hearth they lament the slaughter of Clontarf and the massacre of Glencoe.

In the absence of any more important diversities, we are apt to lose sight of the immense advantage we possess in being substantially one people. The States that have been driven to unite by an external pressure have often found these distinctions a source of strife, of weakness, and, ultimately of defeat. The feebler race have been almost invariably oppressed—their peculiarities—a bond of union and sympathy among themselves—have isolated them from their neighbours. The superior race has rarely soothed those prejudices upon which it could trample, and the history of their contiguity, or intercourse, has been an example of pride and resentment. The Hungarian revolutionists slighted the language of the Servians, and though they had a common enemy in Austria, their ultimate interests were sacrificed to their wounded vanity.

The Turkish Empire is seated in a region of unrivalled resources—everything has been granted by Nature, and granted in vain. A jargon of tongues prevents their national literature—commercial dealings, conducted in the same street, require as many languages as were spoken in Babel! The Armenian scowls upon the Jew; the Jew spits at the Greek; and the Turk disdains them all. It is this opposition of race to race, and this confusion of tongues, which dooms the Ottoman Empire. On the American continent all the languages of Europe are spoken. On the banks of the St. Lawrence, communities of Frenchmen preserve entire the sympathies and traditions which were rudely shaken in France itself by successive revolutions. The Spanish-American States retain one-half of the prejudices of Papal Spain, while they frame Republican constitutions upon the principles of Washington.

But more than all these distinctions is the fatal opposition of colour. Three millions of slaves, with a language peculiar to themselves, silently reproach the oppression which consigns them to perpetual degradation, and by their immense number threaten a terrible vengeance. The union of north and south has often been jeopardised by this dire element in the national federation, and by this it is perhaps destined to perish.

Let the Australian statesman, then, cast his eyes over these colonies, and let him felicitate himself that, through their length and breadth, he will discover no aspect incompatible with their unity.

The fourteenth and fifteenth articles are mainly recapitulatory; the sixteenth deals with the constitutions of Switzerland and the United Provinces of Holland; the seventeenth with the Federal Government which had not so long before been granted to New Zealand; and the eighteenth, and last, with a number of difficulties which the framers of every federal constitution had had to meet in the past and which those who were called upon to frame one for Australia would almost certainly be called upon to meet. The value of concession by the constituent members of the Union in respect of individual rights and claims was insisted upon, and the example of the United States, in particular, was very fully cited. In this regard it is of special interest to note that the writer foresaw, and attempted to meet, the two particular problems that were to cause so much trouble to the framers of the Australian constitution forty years later—the problems of the representation of the contracting States in the Upper House and of the jurisdiction of the Federal Court.

After referring to the American efforts to avoid fostering State jealousies, "John Adams" continued thus:

In the structure of the Senate this spirit of concession is remarkable; some of the States contain thousands, some millions, of inhabitants; yet the power of the weakest is equal with the strongest. The pride of numerical authority long resisted a compromise, which seemed to give away the natural force of majorities, and which made a senator chosen in the desert equal to one appointed by the empire State: yet it is not difficult to perceive the immense value of this arrangement as a moderating influence. Under another name it embodies the principle which, in the British constitution, counteracts the force of numbers, and secures a pause in the progress of events. The value of the Senate is increased by the eminence of its members, who are chosen by the most intelligent of their fellow citizens, and who hold their seats for three times the term of a representative. Thus, though they may differ from their constituents, their office continues until their conduct is twice canvassed at a general election of representatives.

Concessions like these were not obtained without an earnest struggle; they were checks on the sovereignty of the people which have answered their end—but their value, and their power, and their durability depend on the manner in which they are employed. Were it possible for the weaker States permanently to thwart the convictions and interests of the stronger, the Senate would be voted a nuisance. But it is not the less useful because its constitutional right is directed and restrained by the law of numbers.

But these are not the only checks which these great statesmen have provided; they have appointed a national court and permanent judges. To these belong the interpretations of the constitution. The independence of their position was therefore necessary to secure them from corruption. Whatever they declare unconstitutional, although the work of all other powers of the States, ceases to be binding on the citizens. Such a tribunal could only be possible where the people are educated in freedom, and where the press is free. But in a country where opinion is more powerful than the sword the authority of such a tribunal will be found the fortress of the citizen.

Still further to prevent the rapid changes which popular violence may produce, they have provided both a barrier and a pathway to those changes which the people may demand and time require. Alteration can only be made upon the consent of two-thirds of the legislature or two-thirds of the States, and will then require to be adopted by a convention. An evil must be clearly defined and strongly felt when a proposed change can obtain, after so much deliberation, a verdict so decisive.

The value of checks and balances has often been questioned. It is seen at once that if accurately weighed they would be found wanting. Some power in the State, indeed, preponderates; but it is not the less true that the elements of a national government modify and correct each other—and the ballast which may be useless in a tornado may, notwithstanding, be alike necessary and sufficient in an ordinary tempest.

Such, then, were the contributions of John West to this great endeavour. The *HERALD* has published in its time many articles from the pens of many prominent writers; but it is doubtful if in all its hundred years it has published any so powerful or so provocative as these.

The Acts of 1855, amending the Constitution in some minor particulars, failed to include any provisions for furthering the cause of federation; and Lord John Russell having, indeed, specifically announced that his Government did not consider the time opportune for any such movement, Mr. Deas Thomson, a few months later declared in the Legislative Council that some federal arrangement should be entered into between the Colonies, if only so far as it might affect the working of the Customs laws. The *HERALD* seized the peg so obligingly offered to it and took up the matter with renewed vigour. To quote again the authors of "The Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth": "It discussed the difficulties and the disadvantages of union and recommended that the Home Government should take action by passing a law enabling the Colonies to establish a Federation." This reference is to the leading article of the issue of the 23rd October, 1856, in which the writer, after referring in brief to the "John Adams" articles, thus continued:

Whenever the question of Federation shall assume a practical shape, it must be determined where shall be the seat of Federal organization, and where the place of meeting for the Legislature. The perambulating system may, perhaps, for a few years meet the difficulty; but ultimately some definite locality must be chosen where we must deposit the staff of Federal power. It is probable that on the threshold the rival claims of different Colonies may create an obstacle not easily overcome.

The necessity for some Federal system has been demonstrated so clearly by recent events that we presume no sensible man will deny it any longer. There are questions superior in moment to all others submitted to the legislative body, which cannot be limited to geographical bounds. . . . The postal arrangements, the establishment of lighthouses, the formation of courts of appeal, the means of common defence, the formation of great trunk lines of railroad, the establishment of electric telegraphs—all these are points where the interests of the Colonies are one. . . .

Were Federal Government established, its land system would be one; its securities would probably be valued at a higher price; its power to borrow in the London market would be augmented by its concurrent action; great works would be simultaneously and unitedly undertaken; the Customs revenue would be apportioned by rules which would approach as near to equality as it is possible to do under a system where the loss and gain of the different Colonies depends upon the vigilance of the police or the expertness of smugglers.

Those who are in any way acquainted with the history of the later years of the Australian Federation movement, will assuredly agree that this article, written over forty years before the consummation of the project it so ardently supported, is almost as interesting for its curiously accurate prophecies, as it is for the evidence which it displays of the writer's mastery of his subject.

In 1857, William Charles Wentworth, who was at this time in England, attended a meeting in London of the General Association for the Australian Colonies; and, as the result of that meeting, presented to the Colonial Office in March, 1857, a memorial, and the draft of a short Federal Enabling Bill, which he had prepared for, and which had been adopted by, the Association. This document, known as "Wentworth's Memorial," referred to the necessity for some form of Federation between the Colonies, and asked the Home Government to pass an Act giving any two or more of the Colonies power to form a union among themselves. The full details were, of course, not set out, but the memorial laid down a few rules as a suggested basis for the federation. At the Colonial Office the proposal received very short shrift; but copies of the memorial were subsequently sent to the Governors of the various States. The *HERALD*, on the 9th July, 1857, made reference to the Memorial, and, on the following day, devoted a leading article to an enthusiastic support of the memorialists in general and of Wentworth in particular. After reciting the particulars of the memorial and the names of those who



A typical droving scene in the Central North-Western area of New South Wales. The picture was taken during a pause in the day's travel, and the sheep, the horse and the dog (who has carefully selected a shady position) are all taking advantage of the momentary respite.



Shearing operations in progress in a woolshed. The shearers are using machines, driven by a belt from the engine in the right background; and the various duties of the sweepers, rollers and classers are all depicted.



"Mountains of wool" aptly describes the picture of these stud merinos at Wanganella Estate, on the Riverina Plains. In the days when the "Herald" was founded our sheep yielded but 3 lb. to 4 lb. of wool per head per annum. Some of the rams here would cut between 30 lb. and 40 lb. of wool



This beautiful group of merino rams typifies the pastoral industry, on which Australia is so dependent. The picture was taken on Boonoke Station, Riverina, and, incidentally, illustrates the infinite patience of the Sydney Mail photographer, who lined the rams up in so symmetrical a row.

were associated with its presentation to the Colonial Secretary, the writer of the article—who, of course, was West—proceeded to set out the *HERALD*'s attitude on the matter:

"The names which appear in this list unquestionably include to a great extent the opinion of the Australians. The members of the deputation belong to all the different parties which have taken an active share in public questions. Mr. Wentworth, the first and most conspicuous champion of Australian liberties, lowered for a time in the estimation of many by a misconception of his real principles and a forgetfulness of his great achievements, is destined to appear before future generations in full and just proportion, and that when many who have kindled their smoke around him shall go out in utter oblivion. . . . We quite agree with a contemporary, that the form of a Federal Union of the Colony should have some better inspiration than leaders in *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*. No one must be surprised if, when the desire for Federation is universally expressed, we are inclined to claim some credit in having sketched a plan which has obtained the approbation of all these London gentlemen. It is a plan which leaves every Colony free as before, which leaves to each Colony the right to stand aloof, and to work out in its own way its own destiny; which secures to the weakest Colony a perfect protection against the self-will and injustice of the strongest; which sets aside for the time most of the practical difficulties in the way of Federation, and which gives the first steps by which we may reach at last the higher objects and advantages of Federal Government. . . . It is our impression that every day we shall not only feel the want of union among the Colonies for material objects which they all contemplate, but that we shall discover an increasing number of subjects which ought to be included in united legislation. We are gratified to see gentlemen of such various parties and opinions so far above a mere national prejudice on the one side—willing to learn from the experience of America, and to copy those portions of her constitution which may be engrafted upon others which are essentially British."

During the next three years the history of Federation is, as has been said, "a record of select committees and resolutions only." In Victoria Gavan Duffy endeavoured to bring the question into prominence and appointed a committee to enquire into the whole matter. The committee reported that, while there could be no question as to the advisability of Federation "ultimately," it believed the present time to be too soon for any practical effort to be made in the direction of establishing it. But it suggested that a conference should be held consisting of three representatives from the legislature of each Colony, "to frame a plan of federation to be afterwards submitted for approval, either to the legislatures or directly to the people, or both; and to receive final legislative sanction." The recommendation was adopted by the Victorian Parliament and was forwarded to the Governments of the other Colonies for consideration. In New South Wales, Deas-Thomson—ever a consistent worker for the cause—obtained a select committee to consider the proposal. This committee endorsed the recommendations of the Victorian body and went so far as to add to its endorsement the details of a proposed scheme. Needless to say, the *HERALD* was also a strong supporter of the recommendation, and stated the case for Federation with its usual clarity. Unfortunately, the Ministry of which Deas-Thomson was a member, went out of office during the course of the deliberations, and the Cowper-Martin Government, which followed, being anything but cordial towards Federation, refused to carry the matter any further. It was all the more strongly confirmed in its opposition by a belief, fairly generally held at the time, that the whole thing was a device on the part of the Victorian Ministry to put Victoria even more brilliantly in the limelight than the recent gold discoveries and the phenomenal increase of publicity and population which followed thereon had already succeeded in doing. This spirit of jealousy had long been working between the two Colonies, and, as we have seen, had coloured the politics of both to a disastrous degree ever since the separation of the Port Phillip district from the parent Colony had been first mooted. And it was to work like a disastrous leaven, in the future, hindering the consummation of the Federal idea for many years. When in December, 1857, the Cowper-Martin

Government was defeated, some hopes were expressed that the Federal proposals would again be considered; but on the reassembling of Parliament in March, 1858, these hopes were doomed to final disappointment. The question was deliberately shelved, the Assembly resolving that the matter "may," and the Council deciding even more emphatically, that it "must," be deferred.

In South Australia, the proposals of the Victorian Committee were even more quickly disposed of, the select committee appointed by the Government to consider them being of the opinion that they were "premature." The recommendation for a conference was adopted, but the committee stipulated that if any delegates were appointed thereto, their activities should be strictly limited to "discussion and report." In 1860 Gavan Duffy again endeavoured to bring the matter up; he suggested a conference, and Tasmania agreed to send representatives thereto; but once more New South Wales, as she was so often to prove in later days, was the difficulty. Forster had succeeded to the Premiership in 1859; but he was no more in favour of union than his predecessors had been; nor than his successors were to prove for many years; and so the great question again dropped out of practical politics. The authors of the "Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth" aptly remark of this period that "in no colony was there any general enthusiasm, or even interest, in the subject; though in all there were a few far-sighted statesmen who recognised the essential unity of Australia." And with these statesmen must be included the *HERALD*. Despite the continued disappointments, the general apathy and the crippling jealousies of the period, the *HERALD* never gave up its Federal ideals and never omitted any opportunity to re-state its advocacy of them. And one of the great arguments of its case was the immense advantage that must accrue from some stable and continent-wide settlement of the vexed tariff question. The dispute between the advocates of free trade and protection was rapidly assuming that prominence which made it for long enough the main political question of the hour. The *HERALD* was a consistent advocate for free trade; but it recognised that whatever might be the fiscal policy of a Federated Australia towards the outside world, nothing but harm could result from the intercolonial differences and tariff restrictions which were then in existence. Unless the tariffs were uniform throughout the continent, it believed—and said with no uncertain voice over and over again—the whole political and social future of the individual States was endangered. Therefore, during the whole of the 'sixties, not only did it urge the Federal ideal upon its readers in general terms in "leader" after "leader," but it harped continuously and forcefully upon the tariff question in particular, setting out the disadvantages, not only of protection as against free trade in respect of the individual Colony of New South Wales, but of the then existing lack of uniformity between the fiscal policies of the Colonies in respect of Australia in general.

Of these articles—which literally run to scores—we must content ourselves with direct reference to two alone. The first, on the subject of the desirability of Federation generally, appeared in the issue of 10th May, 1860; the second, on the subject of the importance of a uniform tariff, in that of the 23rd February, 1869. From the first we cull the following paragraph:

"Federation is not without its difficulties and dangers, but the present tendency of the Colonies is not only to treat their interests as distinct, but also to place them in antagonism to each other. Left almost entirely to their own discretion by the Imperial Government, and able to mark out their own future path, it might indeed be expected they would be far from uniform in their opinions and in their laws. It is, however, quite possible that those distinctions may not only become unfriendly in the operation, but mutually obstructive. The chief reason often given in the Assemblies for a measure is, that it will be offensive and injurious to a neighbour. Such a

course naturally suggests retaliation. The heart of man not only rises against injustice, but too often demands a penalty far in excess of the injury done. . . . Much in this spirit have the Colonies shown themselves disposed to act towards each other. Instead of assimilating their tariffs, and bringing their different border operations into harmony, the foolish idea is entertained of balancing peculiar geographical advantages by the virulent administration of stringent laws. . . . Are there no wise men in the Colonies who have sufficient influence to turn them away from such unprofitable follies? . . . During the recess we hope that this subject will receive careful consideration. The people of these Colonies are not such senseless brutes as to wish to be involved in a needless war with each other. The difficulty and its remedy require only to be stated, and if a beginning be thus made it will result in a saving of expense as well as an avoidance of irritation. Once tried it would be widely extended, and followed by better and more friendly relations between the various Governments of the Australias."

From the article of the 23rd February, 1869, we quote the extract which follows:

"Whatever may be the local and temporary inconveniences of a Customs Union, this general principle may be maintained, that the union would be a benefit and that the Customs Division is an evil. If it were not so—if division were a good thing in itself—there would be an advantage in carrying it still further, unless indeed it could be shown that there is one particular degree of division which is beneficial, and that we have just happily and accidentally arrived at it. But there is no ground for any such assumption as that, and certainly no proof of it. . . . We cannot go back to the absolute unity which existed before separation commenced; but we may come round practically to the same result, though by a circuitous path, if ever we secure a thorough federation. The only road to unity now lies, not in retracing our steps, but in going forward; and just as separation was advocated as a remedy for the evils of unity, so unity will one day come to be the remedy for the evils of diversity."

These articles may be regarded as typical in style and argument of the whole series—the differences being merely of degree or detail, and never of principle. It may be added, as a final proof of the *HERALD's* anxieties for the cause, that in July and August, 1867, it reprinted the majority of the "John Adams" articles and commented upon them editorially.

But although the extracts we have quoted declare the actual sentiments of the paper towards Federation, and its probable reactions at this time, it is necessary, in order fully to understand the position, that we should go a little more fully into the story of the conflict between the Colonies as expressed in terms of tariffs and inter-colonial duties, during the thirty years after the separation of Victoria from New South Wales. The southern Colony, ever since her foundation, had embraced a policy of protection, not only against the outside world, but against her sister Colonies as well. On the other hand, New South Wales, with the exception of duties upon a few articles, such as stimulants, narcotics, tea, coffee, sugar, etc., had remained free from tariff restrictions. This difference between the Colonies naturally necessitated the establishment of customs houses along the Murray and elsewhere; and this, in turn, created constant irritation. In 1855 Deas-Thomson, who had, three years before, been responsible for the simple tariff scheme in New South Wales to which we have referred, believing that uniformity between the Colonies in this regard would never be accomplished unless the Mother Colony led the way, and being, moreover, exceedingly anxious for that uniformity to be accomplished, induced the Governor, Sir William Denison, to submit to the Council a recommendation that the New South Wales tariff be brought into harmony with that of Victoria. Although the Council would not accept the Governor's advice in full and modified the tariff he had suggested, the final result of their combined action was to bring the tariff schemes of the two Colonies very much more into line than they had been before. One of the first results was the adoption of an agreement between the two Colonies named and South Australia, that no duties should be collected on goods carried across the Murray between New South Wales and Vic-

toria, and that duties payable on goods carried up the Murray from South Australia for the other two Colonies should be collected by the South Australian Government, the proceeds to be equally divided by New South Wales and Victoria.

But the agreement soon proved unsatisfactory. New South Wales complained that she was losing revenue by the adoption of the South Australian tariff on river-borne goods, especially tobacco; Victoria complained that the equal distribution between herself and New South Wales of the revenue collected by South Australia was unfair to her, since the greater portion of the river-borne goods were for her consumption and not for that of the older Colony. In 1857 a new arrangement was entered into, by which the New South Wales tariff was adopted as that which should be levied by South Australia; and this method, although by no means satisfactory to all—or, indeed, to any—of the parties, nevertheless remained in force until 1864.

In 1862 South Australia, however, again made an effort to secure a general uniformity of the tariffs, and suggested an intercolonial conference to discuss the matter. The other Colonies agreeing, the conference met at Melbourne in March, 1863, the four south-eastern Colonies—New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia—each sending three delegates. After considerable discussion it was resolved that the Colonies of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia should co-operate in endeavouring to form some “equitable and practicable mode of securing the revenue to which each was entitled.” Unfortunately, this academic declaration was more easily made than it proved possible to put into practice. New South Wales and Victoria failed to agree upon any “equitable and practicable mode” whatever; and although Cowper, for New South Wales, and Mr. (afterwards Sir James) McCulloch, for Victoria, each submitted various schemes, all were rejected in the end, and things remained as involved as ever.

In April, 1865, another conference, held this time at the instance of New South Wales, sat in Sydney; and a new arrangement was entered into, by which the Murray border again became free, subject to a yearly payment by Victoria of a fixed sum to New South Wales, the duties on Murray-borne goods from South Australia being collected by Victoria on the Victorian scale. This agreement was amended in some unimportant details in 1867 and expired by effluxion of time on 1st February, 1872. Another conference next year saw a fresh arrangement made, but as Victoria immediately withdrew from it, owing to the abolition by the Parkes Government of the *ad valorem* duties imposed by the Cowper Government seven years before, it may be said to have died almost ere it was born. From that date up to the day of the accomplishment of Federation, all attempts at agreement on this vexed question of uniformity failed, and as the differences between the tariffs of the various Colonies increased with the years, New South Wales remaining sturdily free trade and Victoria becoming more and more protective, the failure was not remarkable.

From 1860 to 1880, it may be said, therefore, that, although there was an almost continuous series of intercolonial conferences, and several matters of intercolonial interest were discussed and even settled, the tariff question remained as far away from settlement as ever. And although many of the delegates who attended these conferences were desirous of Federation, and even spoke in favour of it, no practical result was attained in this regard, since, a uniform tariff being clearly a necessary antecedent to Federation, it was useless to attempt to deal with the latter problem while the former remained insoluble. But in November, 1880, mainly through the activities of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Graham Berry, the Premier of Victoria, a further conference was held in Melbourne, which did at last bring the cause of Federation once more definitely into

the open. Berry was voted to the chair, and the conference lasted for six days. The main subject for discussion was the usual vexed question of border duties and, as usual, no decision of any importance was come to in respect of it. A number of other questions were threshed out at some length, however; and there can be no doubt that the conference had a more beneficial influence upon intercolonial relations as a whole than any of its predecessors. But its main interest, so far as the story of Federation is concerned, lies in the fact that Sir Henry Parkes submitted to it the "outline of a plan for the construction of a Federal Council which should have authority by local legislation to deal with a limited number of questions."

The conference affirmed the desirability of such a council, and requested the New South Wales Government to frame the necessary measure for creating such a body. Sir Henry accordingly drafted a Bill to that end, and, at a later meeting of the conference, held in the following month (January, 1881), he submitted the measure for approval. But in a division on a motion for the acceptance of the Bill, only the representatives of New South Wales, Tasmania and South Australia voted for it, while those of Victoria, Queensland and New Zealand opposed it, and the Western Australian delegates did not vote at all. The proposal was thereupon abandoned; and once more the effort to bring about the Federation of the Colonies had proved abortive.

The first really effective step was made in 1883, when a Federal Council did actually come into existence, as the result of the pressure of a combination of causes varying from the entirely sentimental to the severely practical. Among the former was the completion of the railway between Sydney and Melbourne—a matter which naturally induced an exchange of felicitations between the Governments of the two Colonies. During the festivities the Premier of Victoria made considerable reference to the desirable ties of Federation, and his sentiments were echoed, with more or less enthusiasm, by the representatives of the other Colonies. Then—a much more potent factor—came what may be called the "foreign annexation scare." Rumours that Germany had her eye on New Guinea and that France intended to annex the New Hebrides became rife; and the possibilities arising from such foreign contiguity were elaborated until a considerable apprehension seized upon the public generally. A union of the Colonies, so that they might speak with one voice to the Home Authorities in defence of their rights and in defiance of any attempt to curtail them, came therefore to be regarded as a very urgent and desirable thing. Queensland having, in the name of Great Britain, annexed the whole of eastern New Guinea, and having had that action disallowed by the Imperial Authorities, as already mentioned, was naturally the first to move on this occasion, and her activity took the form of a resolution of the Executive that the Imperial Parliament should be asked to take the necessary steps towards establishing the Federation. James Service, the then Premier of Victoria, acted in a more direct way. He invited the other Colonies to still another conference, and, after considerable consultation, the gathering met in Sydney on 28th November, 1883, all the Australian Colonies being represented, together with Fiji and New Zealand. Eventually, on the motion of the Premier of Queensland, it was decided to form a Federal Australasian Council; and Griffith, the Queensland Premier, was entrusted with the duty of framing the necessary measure for its creation. This he did, and the Bill was accepted by the whole conference. In the main it followed the lines laid down by all previous measures—and which, it may be added, were themselves, drafted on the basis suggested by the "John Adams" articles of 1854—and in July and August of the following year it was presented to the Parliaments of the various Colonies for ratification. Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia and Fiji carried the necessary addresses calling upon the Home

Authorities to pass the creating Act; but New Zealand, South Australia, and New South Wales refused to do so. The Upper House of the last-named State was agreeable, but the Assembly turned the proposal down by one vote. Robertson and Parkes were both opposed to the formation of the Council on the lines laid down in the proposed Bill, Parkes explaining his change of attitude by stating that his scheme of 1881 had been purely tentative and that Federation having now become a living national question, the proposed Federal Council was totally inadequate to be entrusted with the powers which it was suggested should be given to it. It would not only cause dissatisfaction, but would "impede the way for a sure and solid Federation."

This unexpected opposition turned the scale against the measure. The Home Government, however, was impressed by the fact that four out of the six Australian Colonies had asked for the Bill, and decided to proceed with the matter. Accordingly, on the 14th August, 1885, the "Federal Council of Australasia Act" was passed by the British Parliament. In the later months of the year all the Colonies which had been represented at the conference of 1883, with the exception of New South Wales, New Zealand and South Australia, passed the necessary adopting Acts and the Imperial Act thereupon came into effect in those Colonies. The first meeting of the Council was held at Hobart in January, 1886, all the adopting Colonies being represented and at a subsequent meeting, held in 1888, South Australia, which had so far not ratified the Act, also agreed to join for a period of two years. At the end of that term, however, this Colony withdrew; and the subsequent meetings were attended only by the representatives of the five Colonies which had originally accepted the Act. These meetings continued to be held each alternate year until 1899; but, mainly owing, as its supporters alleged, to the indifference of New South Wales—and, as the *HERALD* maintained, to its own inherent failings—the results of the Council's deliberations were by no means commensurate with the high hopes that had attended its inauguration. Its last session was held in Melbourne in 1899, and the following year the accomplishment of Federation and the passage of the Commonwealth Constitution Act rendered its future existence unnecessary.

The *HERALD*'s reactions to these various proceedings are interesting to study. At first the paper was sympathetic to the formation of a Federal Council; as, indeed, from its previous history, one would expect it to be. But, a little later on, growing doubtful—as Parkes had done—of the powers that were sought for the Council, as revealed by the debates at the "Convention" in Sydney in 1883, its enthusiasm changed to suspicion and finally to a definite opposition. Of the proposition that a properly constituted Federal Parliament, thoroughly representative of the people, should be called into existence for the purpose of speaking for United Australia, the *HERALD* most strongly approved, always had approved—and, for that matter, continued strongly to approve throughout the whole process of Federal construction. But to hand over the fortunes of the Commonwealth to a small and irresponsible body, elected by the State Governments which managed to be in power at the time, from the coterie who happened to support them, a body, moreover, over whom the people would have no direct control and very little that was indirect, was a different proposition altogether. And that was what the Convention, in the opinion of the *HERALD*, appeared to be aiming at. What it wanted was that the Council itself should dictate the policies of the country; what the *HERALD* wanted was merely that it should suggest a basis whereon a Federal Parliament might be erected, which, while being subservient to the will of the people, should yet be clothed with the powers and dignity appropriate to its status.

Four extracts from the *HERALD*'s leading articles of the period will well exhibit the change in its attitude towards the Council. The first was published on the eve of the inaugural meeting of the "Convention" held, on the suggestion of the Premier of Victoria, at Sydney in November, 1883; the second, on the conclusion of the "Convention's" debates; the third, upon the receipt of the news of the passing of the Federal Council of Australasia Act by the Imperial Parliament, in August, 1885; and the last, upon the occasion of the first meeting of the newly-created "Federal Council" in Hobart, in January, 1886.

On the 26th November, 1883, the *HERALD*, after referring to the gathering together in Sydney of the Australasian delegates to the Convention, and to the proceedings of previous conferences of the kind, recognised the superior importance of the one under discussion and the hopes and promises which it represented, in these words:

The one thing which does lift this gathering above all its predecessors is the very great importance of the subjects to be brought under its notice, and the fact that they are not of purely local concern, but affect not only our relations with the mother country, but with other great Powers. Australia will, more distinctly than before, be acting in the sight of the world, and be resolving to speak to the world. More than ever is it desirable that Australian unity should be displayed, and that Australian policy should be expressed with clearness and firmness. . . .

The immediate cause of this conference was the annexation of New Guinea by the Queensland Government, and the disallowance of that act by the Imperial Government. That will naturally be the first subject for consideration, and it will be wise to take it first, because there will probably be more agreement of opinion over it than over any other question raised. There is an unanimity of opinion in every Colony that it would be a great misfortune for any other flag other than the Union Jack to wave over that island. The risk is one that we cannot afford to run. The conference will have to give practical effect to the instinctive feeling of Australia's interest in this matter, and will have to back up any request it may make by offering to the mother country a fair and even liberal amount of pecuniary assistance towards the realisation of that policy.

Next to New Guinea comes the question of French convictism, and here the firmest possible protest consistent with international courtesy must be made against France flooding this part of the world with its criminals. We have the right to speak in this matter, which arises from self-interest, and we have the further claim that we have had a very large experience of transportation policy, and that we have forced upon our mother country the same stoppage of transportation that we desire to force upon France.

Associated with this is the question as to the ownership of the New Hebrides, and after that comes the question of Western Polynesia generally.

If the conference can agree to speak with one voice upon all these questions, it will fairly represent united Australia, and its foreign policy having been so far settled, it may turn to the discussion of domestic questions, and see whether any movement is possible in the direction of Federation, or a Customs Union, or even approximate tariffs; and even if it should fail of success there, it may still discuss many questions in which common and reciprocal action is both needed and practicable. There is a great deal to occupy its time, and if the delegates mean business, the conference ought to be an unusually fruitful one.

The session ended on the 8th December, 1883, and on the 13th of that month the *HERALD* voiced its changed opinion of the Convention and its work in the following terms:

It has been said that "a more modest commencement could scarcely be made in the way of a Federal Council" than that which was made by the Convention lately sitting in Sydney. Modesty is a word that has different shades of meaning. Sometimes it is used as significant of moderation, but not always. There is a modesty arising from unconsciousness or blissful ignorance which enables people to do things they would not venture to do were their eyes opened. The latter rather than the former was the modesty that can be said to have characterised the proceedings of the Convention. . . . The fact is that, day after day, the Convention receded from point to point as its critics gave warning that it was taking up untenable ground. Looking back upon the history of the discussion, it will be seen that, but for timely criticism, the idea first disclosed might

have been carried into effect. Had the Convention kept silence in the fullest sense we might have learned after the separation of its members that they had, professedly in the name of the Colonial Governments, sent a Draft Bill to the English Government to be passed through the Imperial Parliament without consulting the colonial legislatures—a Bill creating a partly nominee legislature, of the dimensions of a town council, and transferring to its hands the power to make laws on subjects now within the jurisdiction of the colonial legislatures—subjects, some of them, of vital importance. . . . If we once asked the Imperial Parliament to pass an Act on the basis of the Convention's Draft Bill, we should be practically committed to such further action as would be necessary to bring that Act into effect. It would be playing fast and loose with the Imperial Authorities, and throwing discredit upon ourselves, to ask them to constitute a Federal Council according to our own fixed pattern, and then refuse to submit ourselves to its jurisdiction. The question must be fought out upon the address.

It is to be observed that the address, when submitted, will not be a mere matter of form; it will not be a mere abstract resolution. It will not be a mere declaration in favour of federal action. . . . It will be a request to the Imperial Authorities to set up once and for all a Federal Legislature according to pattern—the pattern being made not by us, but for us, without our will or advice. . . . This Bill is a matter of no light importance. If carried into law and into operation it will revolutionise the constitutions of all the Colonies. Elastic in the direction of enlargement of jurisdiction, it is rigid in the direction of increasing its capacity and trustworthiness. It contains provisions that would enable the Federal Council to undertake the legislative functions of all the colonial Parliaments, and yet it contains no specific provision like that in our Constitution Act for reconstruction or reform. The scheme comprehends the possibility of all the vast interests of Australasia being placed in the hands of a body of thirteen or fourteen members, with seven or eight as a quorum—a body in which the sway might be vested in one or two strong-willed men. . . . The folly of giving a potentiality of control over the affairs of a continent to a body of the size of a parish vestry, and permanent in form, is apparent on the surface.

The cable messages of the 17th August, 1885, having given a resume of the Queen's Speech on the prorogation of the British Parliament—such resume including a reference to the passage of the Federal Council of Australasia Act—the *HERALD* of the following day dealt editorially with the subject thus:

Among the measures enumerated in the Speech is the Bill "for the promoting of the Federation of the Australian Colonies," and we notice that in a telegram to Mr. Service the new Secretary of State "expresses much satisfaction at the passing of the measure, which, if wisely used, will be of much value to the Australian Colonies and to British interests." Colonel Stanley also trusts "that Sydney and New Zealand will now join fully and fairly in discussing their objections." It is pleasant to find that the Conservative Government is so deeply interested in the Colonies. A year ago the Conservatives flatly refused to facilitate the passing of this Bill through the House of Commons. At the time, this refusal was understood to mean that, in the opinion of the Conservative Party, so important a Bill ought to be fully discussed. So far as we know, however, the Conservatives have shown as little disposition to linger over the Bill this year as the Liberals showed last year. New Zealand and Sydney have never been unwilling to fully and fairly discuss their objections to the Bill. What they complain of is that the Home Government has shown so little disposition to discuss them. Had Colonel Stanley been willing to do what he is so anxious that Sydney and New Zealand should do, the Bill might never have passed, at least in its present form.

Finally—so far as this particular phase of the matter is concerned—the inaugural meeting of the Council in Hobart, on the 25th January, 1886, was referred to in the leading article of the same date, in terms which, as the following extracts show, could leave no doubt at all about the *HERALD*'s attitude:

To-day, at Hobart, if no unforeseen event should interfere, eight gentlemen from Queensland, Victoria, Tasmania, Western Australia and Fiji will meet to constitute, under the authority of an Imperial Statute, what may be lawfully described as "The Federal Council of Australasia." . . . According to *The Times*, "this is an epoch in Australasian history." The truth of the statement cannot be denied. But the significance of the event must be judged in the light of the fact that



THE VALLEY OF THE TWEED.

A typical scene near the Northern border of New South Wales, and a good example of the work of the well-known Australian landscape artist, Elioth Gruner.

[Original in the possession of the Trustees of the National Art Gallery of New South Wales.]

the Colonies of New South Wales, South Australia and New Zealand, containing about one-half of the population of Australasia, are merely looking on at the proceedings, and not taking part in them. . . . It is a curious fact that, whilst the statement of *The Times*, in a leading article on the 9th December, was: "To-day the federation of Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, West Australia, and Tasmania is complete," the Adopting Bill had been discharged from the paper in the Legislative Assembly of South Australia on the 3rd. The circumstance is illustrative of the degree of care that is bestowed upon the treatment of Australian affairs at the other side of the world. Taking the further remark of *The Times*, and harmonising it with the facts, not only New South Wales and New Zealand, but South Australia also, are outside, and "free to enter when they please." But freedom to enter is one thing, and a disposition to enter is another; and, although it has often been assumed, both in England and in the Colonies that have joined the union, that the Colonies now holding aloof will soon fall in, this is rather a random guess, influenced by a wish, than a forecast founded upon trustworthy evidence. New Zealand, which did not join in sending the address to the Crown, has always shown a want of confidence in the fundamental principle of the Bill. In South Australia, where the address was adopted, the very arguments that were urged here against the Bill two years ago have lately been making their force felt. In this Colony there is no sign of any weakening of that radical distrust of the whole system which was shown from the first. On the contrary, it has been strengthened by the progress and teaching of events.

The opinions of the HERALD with regard to the Federal Council remained unchanged throughout the term of that body's existence; but, fortunately, both for the paper's hopes and for the fortunes of the country generally, at the beginning of the next decade an altogether different complexion was placed upon the whole Federal position by the activities of that other Federal Convention of 1891, from whose labours, and those of the conference which followed it, emerged at length the measure that was to confer upon the people of Australia that Federal Constitution under which they exist to-day. The history of the HERALD's association with this Convention of 1891, and with its results, must now claim our attention.

As the main incentive to the creation of the Federal Council of 1886 had been the feeling that possible international complications might make it necessary for Australia to speak with a united voice, so that which led to the drafting of the Commonwealth Bill of 1891 was a similar conviction that combined action was the only way to deal with the serious question of Australian defence. That question had arisen through the decision arrived at by the delegates to the Colonial Conference of 1887 that an Imperial officer should be sent to Australia to advise and report on the matter of defences. In furtherance of this decision, Major-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards had visited Australia, and upon the receipt of his report, Sir Henry Parkes, seeing at once, not only that the particular matter of defence needed unity of action throughout Australasia, but that the question raised a very favourable opportunity to reconsider the whole issue of Federation, proposed to the Premiers of the other Colonies that a general consultation on the matter should be held. The Premier of Victoria, however, naturally suggested that the Federal Council, upon which his State was represented and which had indeed been brought into existence mainly, as we have seen, at the instance of his predecessor, was the rightful body to deal with the question; and to this suggestion Parkes just as naturally demurred. That great statesman had come to the conclusion that the time had arrived for the inauguration of a decisive campaign for complete federation; and he was prepared to accept nothing less than such a consummation. It was in this mood that, on the 24th October, 1889, he delivered a speech at Tenterfield which, in the light of subsequent history, may be regarded as the first skirmish in the final battle for union. In that speech he pointed out the inadvisability of leaving so grave a matter as Australasian defence in the hands of such a "rickety body" as the Council. It could only be

dealt with, he declared, by a Federal Parliament duly elected on the suffrages of the whole of the Australasian people; and he voiced his opinions with such eloquence and strength that he carried conviction, not only to his immediate audience, but to the very boundaries of the continent. The *HERALD* reported the speech at length, and in the same issue commented on its importance and strongly supported the declaration of the Premier. Said the leading article in question:

A complete system of military co-operation is scarcely possible without political federation, and the proposal to establish a Federal Army suggests at once the larger idea of a Federal Australia. If we consider the question of establishing a Federal Army without political federation, we are met with difficulties at every turn; let the Colonies be members of a political confederation, having a general Parliament and a general Executive, and all obstacles would disappear. . . . "In the future government of Australia," Sir Henry Parkes has come to the conclusion, "there should be nothing short of a Dominion Parliament. . . . The Colonies should be erected into a Dominion and one elective Parliament should govern them." There will not be much difference of opinion upon this point. The Victorian Premier considers that in the Federal Council is to be found the machinery for inaugurating a system of federal defence; but even he does not propose that the Federal Council should direct the future of Australia. . . . That duty must be in other hands than those of the small, unrepresentative body known as the Federal Council.

Again, on the 29th October, the paper reiterated its support of Parkes's proposals:

It is extremely doubtful whether united military action could be carried on successfully in the absence of an effective union, under a Federal Government, endowed with the necessary powers for controlling the Federal Forces and controlling the funds raised for their support. . . . Here is this question of united military defence, and even a glance at the difficulties surrounding it is sufficient to show that the Federal Council could not solve the problem, because it is beyond its powers. . . .

In this Colony the Federation of Australia has been steadily kept in view as an end that must be accomplished some day, when the pressure of necessity requires it, or the voice of the people demands it. But the Federation thus looked forward to has been a reality, and not a sham—a union broad in principles, complete in details, and sufficient in its comprehensiveness and authority for the task before it. A Federated Australia would be large in its area, and the federal authority that should preside over its growth and mould its destinies must be worthy of the place it would have to fill, and strong enough for all the work it would have to perform.

It was in this spirit, and with this ideal, that the *HERALD* threw the whole weight of its support behind Sir Henry Parkes; and it was in the same spirit and with the same ideals that it welcomed the great gathering of delegates who assembled in March, 1890, to that "National Australasian Convention" whose labours were to begin the movement that was to carry the Federal project ultimately to consummation. Parkes had obtained the consent of the other premiers to this gathering only after considerable delay and difficulty. But he won them over at a conference in Melbourne in February, 1890, at which all the Colonies were strongly represented; and an agreement was arrived at to hold the Convention in the following month at Sydney. That Melbourne Conference is also notable for the utterance by the "old man eloquent" of New South Wales, at the inevitable banquet held to mark its inauguration, of a phrase that has since become familiar in our mouths as household words: "The crimson thread of kinship runs through us all." But the main accomplishment of Sir Henry at the conference was, as the *HERALD* heartily emphasised at its conclusion, the way in which his over-mastering enthusiasm swung the rest of the delegates into line behind him, and made them forget the petty differences of border-lines and remember only the great cause of a united Australia. The *HERALD*, in its leading article of February 15, 1890, thus rendered to Sir Henry the tribute that was his due:

Most people will agree that, whatever consequences may follow the Conference in Melbourne, the fact that the great purpose for which it was convened has to so large an extent been accomplished, is in the main attributable to the action and the eloquence of Sir Henry Parkes. . . .

When the Conference met on Monday, its members—or rather the majority of them—were not ready to take the bold and definite measures to which they assented on Thursday. It cannot be doubted that the development of their convictions, their confidence, and their courage may be traced chiefly to the masterly way in which the great object in view—the establishment of a complete, effective, and permanent union of the Colonies—was placed before them by our Premier. . . . When the grand idea of a united Australia magnified by the forecast of even a single decade, looms up before us, the difficulties attendant upon the work of effecting union shrink in compass and lose their formidable character. The Premier's advocacy of complete Federation has been so effective because it has been so thoroughly saturated by the feeling that the difficulties in the way, including the sacrifices to be made, are but trifles in comparison with the advantages to be gained, and because, casting all minor considerations aside, he has committed himself with the fullest confidence to the principle that a Federal Government, fairly representing the whole of the Colonies, and entrusted with the powers which its position should command, will protect and promote the interests of each and of all. This strenuous insistence upon the magnitude of the great end to be achieved has had its effect. . . . The Conference has fully served its purpose. It has shown how differences of opinion may be softened down and give place to unanimity when men feel the influence of a great common cause. It has educated itself, and by the publicity of its proceedings helped to educate the people in a matter imperfectly understood. It has pointed the way to action, and given the signal for an advance. It was not constituted to do anything more. Let us hope that the Convention, whenever it may be appointed, will do its work as well.

The delegates who met in Sydney on the 2nd March, 1891, in pursuance of the agreement arrived at by the Melbourne Conference, constituted a body that for proven capacity has seldom been equalled, and never been surpassed, in our history. Each of the six Colonies was represented by seven delegates and New Zealand by three, the actual representation being as follows:

New South Wales.—Sir Henry Parkes (Premier), Mr. W. McMillan (Treasurer), Sir J. P. Abbott (Speaker), Mr. G. R. Dibbs (Leader of the Opposition), Mr. W. H. Suttor (Vice-President of the Executive Council), Mr. Edmund Barton, and Sir Patrick Jennings.

Victoria.—Mr. Alfred Deakin (ex-Chief Secretary), Mr. James Munro (Premier), Lieutenant-Colonel W. Collard Smith, Mr H. J. Wrixson (ex-Attorney-General), Mr. Duncan Gillies (ex-Premier), Mr. H. Cuthbert (ex-Minister of Justice), and Mr. Nicholas Fitzgerald.

Queensland.—Mr. J. M. Macrossan (ex-Colonial Secretary), Mr. John Donaldson (ex-Colonial Treasurer), Sir S. W. Griffith (Premier), Sir Thomas McIlwraith (Treasurer), Mr. A. Rutledge (Attorney-General), Mr. A. J. Thynne (ex-Minister for Justice), and Mr. Thomas Macdonald-Paterson.

South Australia.—Mr. Richard Chaffey Baker, Mr. John H. Gordon (ex-Minister of Education), Sir John C. Bray (Chief Secretary), Dr. John A. Cockburn (ex-Premier), Sir John W. Downer, Mr. Charles C. Kingston, and Mr. Thomas Playford (Premier).

Tasmania.—Mr. William Moore (President of Legislative Council), Mr. Adye Douglas (ex-Premier), Mr. A. Inglis Clark (Attorney-General), Mr. W. H. Burgess, Mr. Nicholas J. Brown (Speaker), Mr. Bolton S. Bird (Treasurer), and Mr. Philip O. Fysh (Premier).

Western Australia.—Mr. John Forrest (Premier), Mr. W. E. Marmion (Commissioner of Crown Lands), Sir James G. Lee Steere (Speaker), Mr. John A. Wright, Mr. John W. Hackett, Mr. Alexander Forrest, and Mr. W. T. Loton.

New Zealand.—Sir George Grey, Captain W. R. Russell, and Sir Harry A. Atkinson (Premier).

In each Colony the delegates had been chosen from both sides of political life; so that, although in three Colonies (Victoria, Queensland and South Australia) there had been a change of Ministry since the appointment of the delegates, yet the Premier of each Colony was among its representatives. Of the other delegates, nine were ex-Premiers, whilst nearly all either were, or had been, Ministers of the Crown.

Of this great gathering, Sir Henry Parkes was at once elected President, and the *HERALD* devoted an enormous amount of space to its proceedings. On the Saturday preceding the opening of the Convention the paper printed a two-page summary of the history of the movement to that date; and the speeches at the inaugural banquet and at each daily session were reported in the very fullest way. Almost every day, too, while the Convention was sitting, one of the paper's leading articles was devoted either to the general subject of Federation, or to some specific detail which the delegates had been discussing the previous day.

We give one of the opening paragraphs of the preliminary and introductory leader of the 2nd March, 1891:

As the Conference at Melbourne last year was the first conference held exclusively for the purpose of dealing with the question of Federation in a consultative way, so is this Convention the first constituted for the express and sole purpose of carrying the Federation movement through its first formal stage by considering and reporting upon "an adequate scheme for a Federal Constitution." By the action of the legislatures, the Colonies have concurred in the expression of the opinion that their best interests and their present and future prosperity "will be promoted by an early union under the Crown," and that they have arrived at a stage of progress and development which justifies them in entering into union "under one legislative and executive government, on principles just" to themselves.

At first the *HERALD* was apprehensive that, although the delegates were one and all definitely instructed to formulate the constitutional means whereby the proposed Federation might be accomplished, and to draft a constitution for the subsequent consideration of their respective Parliaments, some of them might still be obstinate in their support of the claims of the Federal Council to perform that work. But as the days went by and it became evident that, whatever might be the opinions of delegates upon the claims of the Council, not one of them was prepared to press that opinion upon the Convention, the paper became more and more assured, and more and more enthusiastic in its commendation of the Convention's work. After fourteen sittings, covering a period of a month, the various committees appointed to draw up the several sections of the proposed Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Bill presented their combined draft; and on the 1st April the *HERALD* published the draft in full, together with the following editorial comment:

We must repeat our belief that the bill in its terse, lucid brevity is a masterpiece of draftsmanship, and that it is a most valuable contribution to the work of which it is designed to lay the foundation.

A week later the Convention, having considered the Bill in full session and made certain amendments thereon, completed its labours. Whereupon the *HERALD*, in its issues of the 9th and 10th of April, summarised the whole proceedings and devoted its leading articles to eulogistic comment upon the final measure and of the man who, more than any other, had been responsible for its completion:

. . . One of the most salient characteristics of the work of the Convention which impressed itself upon everyone who closely listened to its debates was the admirable tone and temper of the discussions. It cannot be said that these were wanting in force or animation. One strenuous struggle ran through the whole work of the Convention, and it was fought in a resolute and unsparing way till its determination was reached. But the bounds of courteous debate were hardly ever exceeded. . . . There was nothing in the nature of obstruction attempted, and when the

decision was taken, even on the most strongly contested point, it was frankly and loyally accepted by the minority, and no endeavour was made on any occasion to challenge or disparage the determination reached. All this implied a great elevation and purification of our ordinary Parliamentary life, and if it was in any degree brought about by the sense of the dignity and importance of the work in hand and the necessity of keeping it unsullied by violence or faction, the result is a most promising first fruit of the beneficial influence of the work of giving unity to our national life. . . .

It is needless to attempt to specify the share in the business taken by the President of the Convention, Sir Henry Parkes. His chief work was the Convention itself, and the movement for union of which the Convention was an outcome. He did not take an active part in the proceedings, except as President; but it is only fair to say that, whenever his influence made itself felt, it was always in the direction of union, for the general interest of Australia, and never on behalf of the interests of any particular Colony. . . .

The work done by the Convention of 1891 may be taken as having laid the foundation for all the later activities in the cause of Federation. And although nearly nine years were to pass before the work was consummated in the Constitution Act, whereby the Federation became *un fait accompli*, the Draft Bill of 1891 established the form and the principles upon which that final Act was based.

In these circumstances it will, therefore, be advisable to consider in some detail the main problems which beset the framers of so far-reaching a measure and the methods they adopted in solving, or attempting to solve, them. For this consideration the work of the Convention might be divided into three parts: first, the preliminary general resolutions of the Convention as a whole on which the Bill was subsequently based; second, the finalisation of these basic general resolutions by several sub-committees into a definite and detailed document; and, third, the debate upon the report of these sub-committees by the Convention as a whole.

Of these three divisions of the Convention, the second was by far the most involved and the most important; the first and third—and especially the third—being more or less formal, since, so far as the first was concerned, the desire for an enabling Federal Act was general among the delegates, and the basic resolutions merely stated that desire in wide terms; and the third amounted to little more than an adoption by the whole Convention of a number of decisions arrived at by its constituted parts. These, then, were the original resolutions as submitted by Sir Henry Parkes:

That in order to establish and secure an enduring foundation for the structure of a Federal Government, the principles embodied in the resolutions following be agreed to:

1. That the powers and privileges and territorial rights of the several existing Colonies shall remain intact, except in respect to such surrenders as may be agreed upon as necessary and incidental to the power and authority of the National Federal Government.
2. That the trade and intercourse between the Federated Colonies, whether by means of land carriage or coastal navigation, shall be absolutely free.
3. That the power and authority to impose Customs duties shall be exclusively lodged in the Federal Government and Parliament, subject to such disposal of the revenues thence derived as shall be agreed upon.
4. That the military and naval defence of Australia shall be entrusted to Federal Forces, under one command.

Subject to these and other necessary provisions, this Convention approves of the framing of a Federal Constitution, which shall establish:

1. A Parliament, to consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives, the former consisting of an equal number of members from each province, to be elected by a system which shall provide for the retirement of one-third of the members every . . . years, so securing to the body itself a perpetual existence combined with definite responsibility to the electors, the latter to be elected by districts formed on a population basis, and to possess the sole power of originating and amending all Bills appropriating revenue or imposing taxation.

2. A judiciary, consisting of a Federal Supreme Court, which shall constitute a High Court of Appeal for Australia, under the direct authority of the Sovereign, whose decisions, as such, shall be final.

3. An Executive, consisting of a Governor-General and such persons as may from time to time be appointed as his advisers, such persons sitting in Parliament, and whose term of office shall depend upon their possessing the confidence of the House of Representatives, expressed by the support of the majority.

The discussion which followed upon these resolutions showed that there was general unanimity as to their general nature and effect. But it was not until the 13th March that the Convention went into committee of the whole to consider them in detail. The main debate then centred upon the power of the Senate with regard to Money Bills. The smaller States claimed co-equal powers in the Senate, with the single exception of the right to initiate Money Bills, a power which they agreed should be limited to the House of Representatives. They asked for full powers of amendment and rejection. No compromise that was suggested proved acceptable, and finally it was decided not to place the matter to a vote at that stage, but to allow it to stand over for further discussion.

The committee as a whole having devoted five days to these debates, then divided itself into three committees; one, consisting of two members from each delegation, to consider constitutional machinery; the second, consisting of one member from each delegation, to consider finance, taxation, and trade relations; and the third, consisting of one member from each delegation, to deal with the judiciary. The two latter committees were to report to the constitutional committee, whose final duty it was then to draft and submit to the whole Convention a Federal Constitution Bill.

The three committees set to work, then, on the 19th March, and in the course of the next twelve days framed the Bill. Their deliberations were private, and the very last stage in drafting the Bill was completed on board the S.S. "Lucinda" on the Hawkesbury River on the 27th, 28th and 29th March, by a sub-committee consisting of Sir Samuel Griffith, Mr. Kingston, Mr. Barton, and Mr. Inglis Clark. On the 31st of the month Sir Samuel Griffith, who had been appointed Chairman of the Constitutional Committee, and who had been the principal agent in the actual framing of the Bill, brought up the report of that final sub-committee, together with the Draft Bill. The reports of the finance and judiciary committees were also appended. The Bill, as we have said, was very largely on the lines which were subsequently adopted in the measure which is now the Constitution Act of the Commonwealth.

The main difficulties in the path of its framers had been, as in the previous discussions, the questions of State rights and tariff. As regards the former question, the necessity of equal representation of each Colony in the Senate was conceded from the outset, subject to the definite condition that the House of Representatives should have the predominating voice, both in finance and in the control of the executive. Some of the delegates from the smaller Colonies had, however, again claimed, not only equal representation in the Senate, but equal rights for it. The Bill embodied a compromise. The Senate was given equal power with the House of Representatives, except that Appropriation Bills and Taxation Bills were to originate in the House of Representatives alone, and that the Senate was forbidden to amend such Bills, or any Bill "in such a manner as to increase any proposed charge or burden on the people." On the other hand, as a set-off to these restrictions, the Senate was given the power to suggest amendments to such measures; and, as a further compensation, Taxation Bills were to deal with taxation only, and with only one kind of taxation, while no extraordinary appropriations were to be "tacked" on to the ordinary Appropriation Bill.

The vexed question of the tariff was also met by a compromise. The Federal Parliament was given full powers of raising money, not only by Customs and Excise, but by every other mode of taxation, subject only to the condition that special taxation must be uniform in all the Colonies, and that, on the adoption of a uniform tariff, inter-colonial trade should be free. Until then the colonial tariffs were to remain, and subsequently the power to impose Customs and Excise was to be vested exclusively in the Federal Parliament, the individual States retaining their powers of raising money by any other means of taxation they chose to adopt.

With regard to finance, the Constitutional Committee recommended that the Federal revenue, both before and after the adoption of a uniform tariff, should be applied in the first instance to paying the Federal expenditure, and the surplus should be returned to the several States "in proportion to the amount of revenue raised therein respectively." The original sub-committee had suggested that the Federal expenditure should be charged, and the surplus revenue returned, to each State on a population basis, but the final draft eliminated the population basis of calculation, and changed it to a basis of contribution. As the authors of the "Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth" appropriately say, the work of these committees, and in particular the Constitutional Committee, had produced a Draft Bill which stands to-day "as a convincing monument of the wisdom, the statesmanlike ability, and the patriotism of its framers. In those few days they wrote down the main lines from which the movement has never since wavered. On the 2nd March, 1891, Australian Federation was a misty abstraction; on the 31st March it had the definite outlines of a practical policy."

The Bill as drafted had now to be discussed by the Convention sitting as a committee of the whole, a debate which occupied a little over a week. It is unnecessary to go into the details of this discussion, however, since the amendments carried were few, and, with one exception, immaterial. After considerable debate the original suggestion of the Finance Committee that revenue and expenditure should be apportioned by "population" and not "contribution," was re-affirmed, and the Bill amended accordingly. Eventually, after the Draft Bill had run the gauntlet of all these discussions, the final stage was reached, when Sir Samuel Griffith moved that the Bill, as reported from the Committee as a whole, be adopted by the Convention. Most of the speakers showed that they thought the work had been well done. Sir Henry Parkes declared it to be a wise, temperate and successful compromise, and prophesied all the Colonies would accept it, despite the bitter opposition of the anti-Federalists. Some of the representatives of the smaller States were a little more critical of the result of their labours, particularly with regard to the vexed question of the powers of the Senate. But there was no definite opposition to the motion, which was carried on the voices and amid general demonstrations of congratulation and goodwill.

It is interesting to note, in the issues of the *HERALD* which appeared during the course of the Convention's discussions, the attitude of the paper towards the questions upon which those discussions turned. For the most part the *HERALD* was prepared to accept the viewpoints of the various delegates with tolerance, declaring that, however greatly feelings might be aroused and opinions differ at the time, once Federation were established, the passage of the years would bring a peaceful and practical solution of the problems. Even in the very vexed matters of "State rights" and equal State representation in the Senate, the paper was prepared at first to rely upon a spirit of compromise, and trust to the future. The leading article of the 9th March, 1891, may be quoted as evidence of this. Says the writer:

All recognise that it is only by the full and adequate guarantee of State rights and State securities that the at present weaker Colonies can be expected to enter the Federation. So much is admitted in a general way on all sides. But when it comes to apply this recognition in detail, it is already evident that a considerable difference of opinion will be found to exist. This difference may be so far minimized by discussion as to make the subsequent settlement by compromise easy, or at least possible. But let us suppose the opposite, and assume that when concurrent compromise has said its last word an irreducible residuum of difference remains which can only be disposed of by an absolute surrender on one side or the other. The question would then arise which side would feel called upon to make this surrender, assuming, of course, that it is not too much to make, and that making it would be compatible with a safe and strong Federation. What is wanted here is the light of a general principle applicable to the case. And such a principle is supplied in the general historical fact that in all successful federations the power of the Federal Government has grown from the first, the federation has consolidated into a nation, the federal element has steadily progressed, while the separatist element has dwindled. The instances of the Swiss Confederation, the United Provinces of Holland, and the United States of America will occur, and supply demonstrative proof to, the recollection of every reader. It is only reasonable to believe that what has occurred in every analogous case will occur again. If this is so, it is apparent that in our Federation the central Government will grow in power relatively to the Governments of the States, and that the most liberal concessions to the State rights at the outset would only somewhat set back the starting-point on this inevitable course. And the practical inference is that if a final surrender has to be made, the side of popular and national powers and rights is the one which can best afford to make it, and which should feel itself, within, of course, the due limits, called upon to do so.

But as the debates went on and it became evident that the representatives of the smaller Colonies were endeavouring to establish a right in the Senate to amend—and even originate—money bills, the *HERALD* not only appreciated the danger and inequity of such a course, but saw also that, if the claims were conceded by the representatives of the larger States, their citizens would certainly refuse to confirm that concession, and would repudiate the Bill. The leading article of the 10th March, after pointing out the anomaly that the two larger States, with a population of two million and a quarter between them, would be outnumbered in the proposed Senate by two to one by the four smaller States, whose combined population was less than a million, went on to point the moral in these terms:

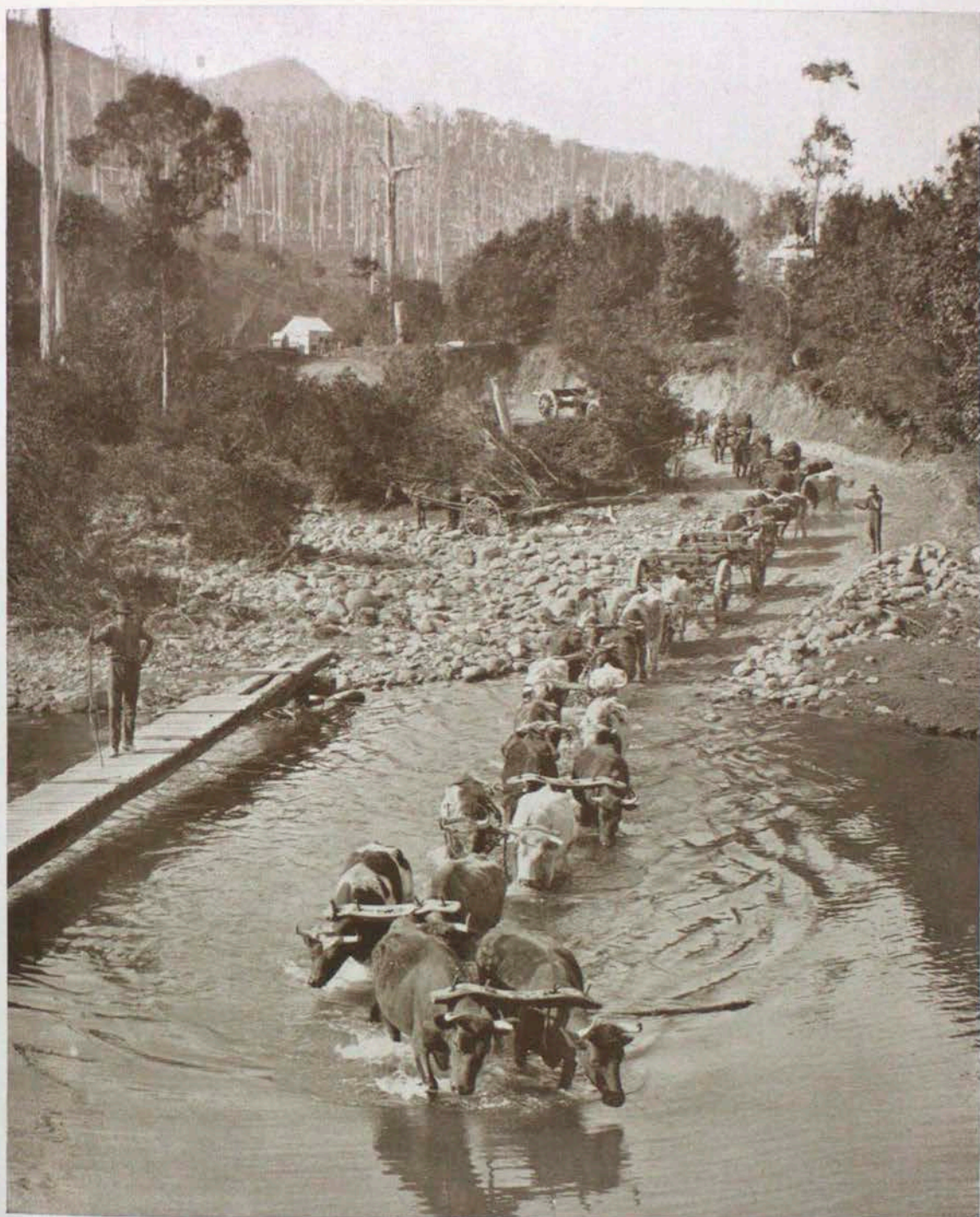
How flatly this condition is opposed to the old and ruling principle of "no taxation without representation" is apparent to everyone. Representation, to be effective, must be proportionate representation, and how far this is from being the case in the proposed Senate is shown by the fact that in that body the smaller Colonies will have, in proportion to their population, a representation five times in excess of the larger ones. . . .

In the Senate, therefore, the larger and more important Colonies, meaning more than two-thirds of the people of Australia, will always be in a minority, and the smaller States in a majority of more than two to one. In this view of the proposals it seems strange to find orators so carried away by their generosity as to plead against "a form of Government being established which might place the weaker States at the mercy of the stronger States." As a safeguard against this peril, what is suggested is to deliver over the stronger States bound hand and foot to the mercy of the weaker ones. . . .

Possibly the delegates, remembering that they have not the final decision, and that their work will have to come under the review of the different Parliaments and peoples, may shrink from the rashness of attempting to give actual effect to their demands. It will be well for them to reflect that between giving every just security and safeguard to the smaller States, and investing them with the absolute control of the Federation given by a permanent majority in an impregnable House, there is a very wide gap.

On the 16th March the paper spoke its mind even more directly on the same point:

But there is a limit to the price which we are willing to pay, even for the federal union of Australia. Federation has to us been a means to an end, the end being the fuller and completer self-government of the Colonies. If we are told that to secure the means we must be ready to give up



This picture, from the Sydney Mail, was taken at Reynolds' Crossing, on the southern arm of the Tweed River, in northern New South Wales. The timber has to be hauled to the mills over very rough country, and bullock teams still survive there.



A view of some of the beautiful orchard country around Orange (N.S.W.), whence come most of the cherries marketed in Sydney. The cherry season opens toward the end of November and continues till the end of the year.



Australia's forests contain some of the finest commercial timbers in the world, and, although he does not occupy the place in song and story of the American backwoodsman, the Australian timber-getter is among the greatest of the axemen. The tree being cut is a Queensland walnut.

the end, to purchase federation by abandoning the self-governing rights we at present possess, we shall at the same moment feel ourselves called upon to reconsider the situation. . . .

We shall enter into no arrangement that would leave us worse off than we are. Regretfully as we should abandon the hope of Australian union, we should make that surrender rather than accept a condition of injustice which could only issue in disagreement and rupture.

Again, on the 18th March, when, at the discussion in committee, the delegates of the smaller Colonies once more insisted on the right of the Senate to amend money bills, the HERALD spoke in the same strain:

We must recognise that whatever may be the ultimate issue, there is no symptom of any disposition on the part of the majority of the delegates of the smaller Colonies to forego their claim to vesting the financial and governmental control of the Federation in the hands of less than a third of its people. . . .

This is the view still put forward by the provincialists, and its practical application is that the Senate must be able to amend money bills. . . .

And so far as more than two-thirds of the people are concerned, it is hopeless to expect that they will ever consent to surrender their self-governing rights in the manner so blandly demanded.

However, when the various sub-committees to whom the Convention had delegated the work of drawing up the Bill were on the verge of reporting the result of their labours, the HERALD, evidently writing with "inside information," was able to speak much more hopefully. On the 25th March it wrote as follows:

We have no reason to anticipate that the elaborate plan of ruling the Federation by a perpetual minority, and of using the States as a machinery for defeating or obstructing the will of the people, will be embodied in the Bill as it emanates from the Committee. It is hardly likely that we shall be asked to repudiate by legislation the working of that Constitution which, with all its imperfections, is the greatest outcome of the political activity of the freest, most thoroughly self-governing race in the world. These were the dreams of reactionaries and academicians, but it is scarcely probable that we shall have to deal with them as practical proposals. What we see is that they receive very little support, in the Colonies on behalf of which they are made, from public opinion as represented in the press. It is not probable that they will receive much from public opinion as represented in the colonial Parliaments.

And on the 27th of the same month the leading article was still more confident:

With regard to the compromise understood to be embodied in the Draft Constitution of the Federation respecting the powers of the Senate in dealing with money bills, most persons desirous of adhering to the principles of the English Constitution will, we think, be disposed to accept it as a reasonable one. It does not desert the principles and practice with which we are all familiar and in which we find safety, and at the same time it makes all concession to the demands of the State right party that can fairly be made. If the Appropriation Bill and Bills imposing taxation are dealt with upon Sir Henry Parkes's lines—giving the Senate power of rejection, but not of amendment—and if, at the same time, the Senate is allowed a power of suggesting amendments to the Lower House in Bills involving expenditure, a compromise is offered which may fairly be accepted by both sides as a conciliatory and a reasonable one. Concession is made in details for the sake of a harmonious settlement, but at the same time all fundamental principles are conserved.

Finally, as we have seen, when the Bill did emerge from the hands of the Drafting Committee, the HERALD was happily able to approve of it in full; and the last shred of doubt that the Convention as a whole would upset the wholesome compromise of the Drafting Committee being dissipated a few days later, the paper published the commendation of the 9th and 10th April which we have already quoted.

The Bill having been thus approved by the Convention, it became necessary to submit it to the legislatures of the various Colonies for approval. This is a page in the story of Federation which reflects but little credit upon Australian politicians in general, and upon those of New South Wales in particular. It is sufficient to say that delay followed delay; that the other Colonies waited to see what the Mother Colony would do, and

the Mother Colony failed to give the lead she should have given to her daughters. Parkes, as ever, did what he could; as soon as Parliament met after the close of the Convention, he gave notice of his intention to move a resolution in favour of the Bill; but before the stipulated date arrived the Assembly was dissolved. The next Parliament, which met in July, 1891, saw the advent of a new and disturbing force in local politics, *viz.*, the Labour Party. It was represented by thirty-six members in a House of 141, and was numerous enough, therefore, to be reckoned with. In general it supported the Parkes Government, but the question of Federation had little attraction for it. What it wanted was attention to the planks of its particular platform, and the union of the Colonies was a matter much too academic for its practical soul. Parkes had therefore to leave the question for the moment, and, before he could revive it, his Ministry was defeated. This was in October, and the Government of Mr. (afterwards Sir) G. R. Dibbs, which succeeded to office, was distinctly unfriendly towards the Bill. Two of his Ministers, however, were its strong advocates, and only accepted office on the understanding that they should be allowed to press its claims. These two were Edmund Barton—on whose shoulders the Federation mantle so long and ably worn by Sir Henry Parkes was presently to fall—and R. E. O'Connor, Q.C., one of the leaders of the New South Wales bar and a man whose passionate devotion to the cause of Federation was to lead him to distinction in the closing stages of the campaign. In November, 1892, and May, 1893, resolutions were moved in the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council respectively in favour of the main principles of the Bill, with the proviso, however, that certain amendments made in it by the various colonial legislatures which had so far considered it, together with any others that might be proposed, should be referred to a second convention. Barton was the sponsor of the resolution in the Assembly and O'Connor in the Council; and both resolutions were carried. But there, once again, the cause was stayed; since, for reasons altogether outside the Federal ambit, both Barton and O'Connor resigned their portfolios, and the Parliament, no longer led by the enthusiasm of these two men, allowed the whole affair to drop. In the meantime, although the Parliaments of Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania had considered the Bill, and had approved of it informally, subject to a number of minor amendments; and though Queensland had, through its Premier, announced its readiness to follow the lead of New South Wales, no definite step had been taken in any Colony towards furthering the actual advent of Federation. Western Australia took at this time little interest in the matter at all, believing that the distance which separated its settled areas from the other Colonies would prove a fatal bar to union of any beneficial kind; and New Zealand, after considerable discussion, eventually decided not to be a party to the Federation. Once again, then, the whole continent was waiting for New South Wales, and once again New South Wales had disappointed the hopes of the Federalists of every Colony.

Needless to say, this disappointment was shared by the *HERALD*, which time and time again expressed its regret at the delays and defections which seemed to be inseparable from the movement. But in 1892 a new movement began, to which the paper at once gave its enthusiastic support. This may be described—to distinguish it from the previous activities, which had been almost altogether confined to the politicians—as the “popular” movement. Public interest was aroused in the question, mainly by the action of the Australian Natives Association of Victoria, and one of the first effects of this interest was the decision to form Federal Leagues throughout the various Colonies. After several of these bodies had been created in various country centres, a deputation from them urged upon Barton the advisability of forming a Central League in Sydney.

Barton at once saw and seized the opportunity, and at a public meeting held in the Sydney Town Hall on the 3rd July, 1893, this Central League was formed, though not without considerable opposition from a section which desired to form Australia into an independent Republic rather than into a Confederation under the Imperial Crown.

The new movement spread like a bush-fire. League after League was formed; and on 1st August, 1893, a conference of representatives from all of them met at Corowa, in New South Wales. There a resolution—which was destined to initiate the final movement in the Federal campaign—was moved by Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Quick, a leader of the Victorian bar, and subsequently destined to play an important part in the annals of Federation, to the effect that “the Legislatures of each Colony should pass an Act providing for the election of representatives to attend a Statutory Convention or Congress to consider and adopt a Bill to establish a Federal Constitution for Australia, and upon the adoption of such Bill to submit it by some process of referendum to the verdict of each Colony.” At first glance such a method seems little different from the many that had already failed to bring about the long-desired end; but there was in reality this great difference between them, that Dr. Quick’s resolution removed the duty of election of delegates and the approving of such constitutional measure as they might draw up, from the Parliaments to the people. The difference was not only great in substance and in form; it put the whole matter at once upon a popular plane, and made it impossible for any Australian citizen to remain indifferent to its fortunes. The motion was carried by the conference; and was a little later on adopted, with some alteration, by the Central League. With the carriage of that resolution, Federation entered upon the last and victorious phase of the long struggle; although a further five years were needed to bring the victory to completion.

In view of the importance of this resolution, it may be as well to set down here the terms of the suggested reference to the people, both in their original form and as amended by the Central League. The original procedure, then, as laid down by Dr. Quick, provided: (1) That each Colony should elect on its Parliamentary franchise ten representatives to a Federal Congress. (2) That the Congress should then frame a Federal Constitution. (3) That, on a day to be arranged between the Governments, the Federal Constitution should be referred to the electors of each Colony for acceptance or rejection. (4) That if the Constitution should be accepted by majorities in two or more Colonies, it should be forwarded to the Imperial Government to be passed into law.

This, we say, was the effect of the original reference. The Central League approved of it, subject to the modification that each Colony should first elect, on its Parliamentary suffrage, a provincial convention to formulate its own ideas or scheme of Federation, and that these schemes should then be submitted to a Federal Convention elected by the Parliaments, which should frame a Federal Constitution in which the views of the several Colonies should, as far as practicable, be harmonised.

As a matter of fact, neither the original resolution nor its amended form was actually followed, but, as we shall see, a Convention was elected directly by the electors of each Colony as the outcome of a Premiers’ Conference held at the instance of Reid, Premier of New South Wales, in Hobart in January and February, 1895.

Dibbs being still Premier of New South Wales, and still opposed to the Federal idea (although he propounded in May, 1894, and strongly pressed the adoption of a scheme for the “Unification of New South Wales and Victoria, as a preliminary to complete Australian Union”) nothing could be done until, in August, 1894, his defeat cleared the way for the Ministry of Sir George Reid. The latter immediately got to work and, at the conference of Premiers referred to above, he moved a series of resolu-

tions which resulted, after the usual misunderstandings and delays, in the meeting of the great Convention of 1897. It was Reid's activity in this respect, coupled with his enthusiasm for Free Trade—which Parkes at this time had made subservient to the Federation issue—that induced the *HERALD* to transfer its support to Reid, in his clash with Parkes, during the elections of 1896.

At the Convention of 1897 five Colonies were represented by ten delegates each, who had been duly elected by a popular vote taken at various times in the different Colonies during the month of March. The sixth Colony—Queensland—owing to a dispute between the two houses of legislature, had not been able to deal with the proposals. The Convention met on the 22nd March at Adelaide, under the presidency of Charles Kingston, the Premier of South Australia; and after a series of meetings in the various capitals which lasted for nearly twelve months, it completed its labours at Melbourne in March, 1898, and produced a bill which, although specifically stated not to be founded on that of the Convention of 1891, yet followed it so closely in its main provisions that it is evident that the earlier measure must be regarded as the actual progenitor of the final Act.

We have already remarked upon the great personalities who composed the Convention of 1891. Almost the same complimentary comment might be passed upon those of its successor of 1897-8. But there were two figures missing from the latter whose presence at the gathering six years before had lent to it an incomparable lustre. Sir Henry Parkes had passed away, the greatest man of his generation; and Sir George Grey, who had in 1891 so ably represented New Zealand, was now in England, where he too was to die, full of years and honour, within a few months. Owing to the abstention of Queensland, Sir Samuel Griffith, too, who had now become Chief Justice of the northern Colony, was a third figure who, conspicuous in the deliberations of the Convention of 1891, was now an absentee. None of those who gathered together in Adelaide in 1897 could vie with these three, either in name or deed; but yet there were not lacking among them a number of eminent men. Barton and O'Connor, from New South Wales; Turner and Quick and Deakin, from Victoria; Kingston and Symon, of South Australia; Forrest, of Western Australia; and Braddon, of Tasmania, are names that must for ever be remembered in the great story of the attainment of Australian nationhood.

The *HERALD*, as it had done six years before, followed the proceedings of the Convention with the greatest care. It published daily reports of the proceedings, and almost daily editorial comments upon the different phases of the proposed Bill appeared in its leading columns. When the Bill was finally drafted and approved, its provisions were set out in full by the paper; and, finally, while the Convention was in the last few days of its final session in March, 1898, it devoted two summarising articles to commenting upon the Bill and its prospects. The following two extracts will give a fair idea of their general tenor. From the article of the 14th March, 1898:

Within a few days the labours of the Federal Convention that has been sitting during the last few weeks at Melbourne will be at an end, and before long it will be for the peoples of the various Colonies concerned to say whether the result of this last Federal campaign shall be made, not only a matter of history, but history itself. . . . As a matter of fact, it is remarkable how little, in essential elements, the revised Constitution will depart from the principle of Federation as it was outlined in the Commonwealth Bill of 1891. And it is with the principle that the voters will have chiefly to concern themselves. The ablest brains among Australian public men have been busy improving, revising or discarding the clauses of the '91 Bill; but it is not to be expected that the mass of voters will be able to care or grasp the subtleties of the differences that have been made. . . . The great matter for the electors to decide is whether they want Federation or not.

The necessity for Federation has certainly not become less, but more urgent, since the Convention met at Adelaide last year, for foreign complications and the rapid march of events the world over bring us daily more into the sphere of unexpected dangers.

From the article of the 16th March:

It does not appear that the critics of Federation, or its opponents, if there are any left, take any real objection to the Constitution as it is now about to be placed before the public. The differences are mainly about details, and no final settlement of these could ever reasonably have been hoped for until they come to be regarded from the entirely new standpoint that Federation alone can give. The Constitution stands or falls by itself, and it is difficult to see, if the sincere desire for Federation is once admitted, what fault the most democratic voter can find with it. . . . It has been prepared by delegates chosen by a free vote of the whole people, and even if the Constitution were rejected in its present form a new election would probably return almost the same delegates, with the same result. The exception was taken to the Commonwealth Bill framed by the first Convention in Sydney in 1891 that the delegates had received no direct authorisation from the people. The provisions of the Enabling Act removed this reproach, and the acts and conclusions of the recent sittings of the Convention in Adelaide, Sydney, and Melbourne embody the popular will as completely as an assembly elected under representative institutions ever can express and embody it. That is to say, the main work for which the Convention was called into being has been accomplished, and accomplished satisfactorily; and it remains for the people to ratify the Federal Constitution or to reject it.

It will now, therefore, be necessary to set out the general features of the differences between the Bill of 1897-8 and that which had been drafted by the Convention of 1891.

Generally, in drafting the new Bill, its framers, in their own words, "endeavoured to treat the Bill of 1891 as reverently as possible," and upon being submitted to the Convention for consideration in committee, the discussion mainly revolved round the "money-bill" clauses, the finance clauses, and the question of arriving at some method of solving the problem of deadlocks that might possibly be caused by the Senate refusing to pass legislation insisted on by the House of Representatives. As the representatives of the smaller States would have a majority in the Senate, and the larger ones a majority in the Lower House, this danger was a very real one, and, indeed, created, not only at the Convention, but right up to the day of the final acceptance of the Constitution Bill by the electors of Australia, one of the most serious points of divergence and debate.

To take these three matters in order: The money bill clause problem was settled, after a very momentous debate, by the carriage of an amendment by Reid, to insert a prohibition against the Senate amending laws imposing taxation. He was prepared, he said, "to give the Senate, not as an antiquated power never to be used, but as a real, living power, the right of rejection, but the power of moulding finance must be with the House of Representatives"; in other words, he desired to revert to the compromise agreed upon by the Convention of 1891. The representatives of the smaller States opposed this reversion to the older Bill very strongly; but in the end, as it was evident that on no other basis would the larger States go into the Union, enough representatives of the smaller States swung over to enable the amendment to be carried, subject to a proviso giving the Senate power to originate Bills "involving incidentally the appropriation of fines or fees."

With regard to the finance clauses, after a long and sometimes acrimonious debate, which was only ended at the final session in Melbourne, it was decided to return almost altogether to the original plan of 1891, ensuring each State a return from the surplus Federal revenue collected, calculated on the basis of its contribution for five years, and leaving the ultimate mode of distribution to be determined by the Federal Parliament, after five years' experience of the new conditions. A proviso, however, was inserted

excepting Western Australia (which was unable to raise much revenue except from the Customs House) from the operations of this clause and allowing her during a period of five years to impose gradually diminishing duties on intercolonial imports.

But the most important amendment regarding finance came from Sir Edward Braddon, of Tasmania. On his motion the Convention decided to insert the famous clause—afterwards to be known very generally as the “Braddon Blot”—whereby, in order to ensure that the States should get a proportionate return of the Federal surplus, it was agreed that the Commonwealth should not spend more than one-quarter of its nett revenue, the remaining three-quarters to be returned to the States.

The question of the insertion of a clause for the solution of deadlocks created some lively discussion, but, after several suggested methods of dealing with the problem had been moved, debated and defeated, it was decided that in the event of such a deadlock occurring, a simultaneous dissolution of both Houses (a “double dissolution,” as it came to be called) should take place, to be followed after the election of a new Parliament and a further continuance of the deadlock, by a joint sitting of the two Houses, to which the Bill which had created the trouble should be submitted, and if then carried by a *three-fifths majority* should become law.

Thus, then, the Convention of 1897-8 completed its labours. It had worked hard and it had accomplished much. The Bill which it had produced was, if not as democratically faultless as the *HERALD* implied, at least a worthy monument to the skill and carefulness of the delegates. The *HERALD* had discussed each particular problem that arose with the same care and particularity that had been conspicuous in its editorial dealings with the Convention of 1891. But there was this difference between the two gatherings. The Convention of 1891 had held one session, and that lasting only for a month; the Convention of 1897-8 had held three—one in each of the principal capitals—and the discussions thereat, or precedent and subsequent thereto, had run more or less continuously for a year. As a necessary result of this prolongation of the debates, the *HERALD* articles had been very more numerous; and not only was this so, but owing to the increased number of the problems that evoked the discussion of the Convention of 1897-8, the paper was called upon to express its views over a very much larger ambit than had been the case in 1891. As we have seen, practically all the problems that had worried the *HERALD* in 1891 had been those represented by “States’ rights” and “Senate representation”; but by 1897 many other questions had arisen. On several of these, important as they were, we need not touch. It is sufficient to say that they were handled by the paper with the care that befitted them. Such were the questions of Railways, State Debts, Referendum, High Court and Privy Council Appeals, Payment of Members of the Federal Parliament, and Divorce and Bankruptcy. But these matters, though they required and received considerable attention, were not the great problems on which the whole issue turned. These problems were, in order of magnitude: (1) The powers of the Senate and the representation of the various States therein. (2) Finance. (3) “Deadlocks” between the two Houses.

As the *HERALD*’s opinions on the first of these problems have already been set out at length in connection with its references to the Convention of 1891, and as in the end these opinions largely found expression in the final draft of the Constitution Act, it will not be necessary to deal further with this subject; but we propose now briefly to show how the paper dealt with the other two great problems of finance and “deadlocks.” So far as the first of these issues centred upon the provisions and effect of the “Braddon Blot,” it is necessary to remember that as this famous clause was inserted in the Bill towards the last days of the Convention’s last (Melbourne) session, the paper

could not discuss this particular factor of the finance problem until after the close of the Convention's labours. But there were other fiscal and financial difficulties that the paper could, and did, deal with very effectively during the actual course of the Convention's three sessions. A few days after the commencement of the sittings at Adelaide, for instance, the leading article of the 7th April, 1897, thus dealt with the attitude of the Free Trade Party towards the whole question of Federation.

The position taken up by Free Traders who are at the same time Australian Unionists with respect to the fiscal policy of the Federation is simple and straightforward. They are quite content, inasmuch as they know what they stand to win in any event. The achievement of Federation would almost immediately give us Free Trade throughout Australia, and would lay flat the fiscal barriers between the Colonies which Protectionists now consider essential to the success of their system. Therefore, the Free Trader would start off with a great victory for his policy in the emancipation of the trade of Australia. But it is in the tariff of the Commonwealth that the Protectionists tell us their victory is to be gained. However, as five of the six Colonies are Protectionist already, the only possible gain to that policy would be in the imposition of a restrictionist tariff on New South Wales. But is it so certain that this would be imposed? To begin with, New South Wales would herself have something to say in the matter. She would be reinforced by the Free Traders of all the Colonies and also by those Protectionists, as in Victoria, whom the growing prosperity of the Colony must have led to reconsider their opinions in the light of experience. The important farming vote, which in this Colony has been the main support of what Protection force we have had, would cease to be a factor when the products of the Colonies would circulate free through all the Federation. Having lost all hope of any benefit from Protection, the farmer would be hardly likely to desire to assume its burdens for the profit of the town monopolists. Finally, from the point of view of a federation compelled by the necessity of circumstance to rely for its financial existence on a revenue tariff, the whole question would present itself in so different a light that it is impossible to predict with any genuine confidence what would be the fiscal outcome of the situation. This has been the view of the Federal Free Trader all through the movement.

The HERALD's confidence in the ability of the Federal Parliament to settle the financial problems which were so vexing to the Convention is well expressed in the following article, which appeared on the 7th September, 1897, when the Convention was sitting in Sydney:

It has been said that the difficulty of the financial question is an intrinsic one, but this is only made true by the nature of the demands that are put forward. If the Convention could only bring itself to trust the whole matter to the justice of the Federal Parliament, the difficulty would vanish, possibly never to appear again. The Federal Parliament would have such superior means for dealing equitably and comprehensively with this problem that its solution would be much easier, and might become simple and almost self-evident. In the first place, the Federal Parliament would have before it the Federal tariff and the results of its operation upon trade and revenue. The present estimates and proposals are founded upon data which are all doomed to disappear when the Commonwealth Parliament gets to work. As to those which will then come into existence we have no guide but conjecture. To the Federal Parliament they will be actual facts.

And, again, when, in its final session at Melbourne, the Convention, sitting as a committee, came to its decision on the financial proposals which were afterwards (subject only to the proviso of the Braddon clause) incorporated in the final draft of the Bill, the HERALD (11th February, 1898) reviewed that decision with the hopeful conclusion that "the final practical difficulty of settling the business will still remain; but it will remain as a task for the ability and the competency of the Federal Parliament."

With regard to the question of "deadlocks," it is only necessary to quote one extract to show the paper's unequivocal approval of the arrangement finally decided upon by the Convention as a solution of the problem. The extract is taken from the leading article of the 22nd September, 1897, and runs as follows:

The result of the keen and prolonged struggle in the Convention over the question of a remedy for deadlocks in the Federal Constitution is eminently satisfactory. . . .

As our readers know, we have always opposed the principle of the referendum as inevitably damaging to the authority of Parliament and the responsibility of Ministers. . . .

The repeated, deliberate, and emphatic refusal of the statesmen of Australia, assembled in convention, to introduce the referendum as a part of our constitutional machinery, is therefore of great value and importance, not only as respects the work of federation, but also as affecting possible developments in the colonial Parliaments. . . .

The Convention having decided that some provision against deadlocks was indispensable, and having with equal decision rejected the referendum in either of its proposed forms, the adoption of some expedient became necessary. This is furnished by a provision, the joint production of Mr. Wise, Mr. Reid, and Mr. Carruthers, that, where the two Houses fail to agree, there may be a simultaneous dissolution of both, after which, if they still disagree, there may be a joint sitting of the Chambers, at which the question may be decided by a vote of three-fifths of the members present. . . .

The Convention is to be congratulated on the practical good sense which has adopted a decision which will provide an effective practical remedy against deadlocks, while leaving the authority of Parliament and the responsibility of Ministers as they stand at present.

The Bill, as finalised by the Convention, had now to be submitted to the electors of Australia for their approval; and for this purpose referenda were arranged to be held throughout the various Colonies.

In New South Wales a bitter campaign of opposition to the Bill was at once inaugurated under the leadership, in the main, of Mr. J. H. Want, the Attorney-General, who resigned his portfolio in order to fight the proposed measure. The Premier, Sir George Reid, had raised many objections to the Bill while in attendance at the Convention, and his attitude towards the completed measure was doubtful from the start. It was made still more incomprehensible by his famous speech at the Sydney Town Hall on the 28th March, 1898, wherein, after strongly criticising the Bill, he stated that, while he himself would vote for it, he would not advise his hearers one way or the other on the matter. This curious declaration was subsequently claimed by both sides as a contribution to their cause and gained for him that nickname of "Yes-No" Reid which he was never afterwards entirely able to shake off. At least one of the leading papers of Sydney was strongly against the Bill; but the attitude of the *HERALD* was never in doubt for a moment. Through thick and thin it supported the Federal ideal, and through thick and thin it supported the Bill which it believed would bring that ideal to realisation. Its columns of the period are full of articles encouraging the advocates of Federation, or answering the arguments of opponents, and its reports of the multitudinous meetings which were held throughout the country are amazingly complete. Its references to Sir George Reid's "Facing-both-Ways" speech show that it accepted the speech as a declaration that he would not only vote for the Bill, but work for it.

In June, 1897, during an interval in the sittings of the Convention, the New South Wales Parliament had passed a short Act declaring that if, and when, the referendum on the Federal Constitution Bill was held, it should not be deemed to have been approved by the electors of New South Wales unless a minimum total of 80,000 votes were recorded in its favour in that Colony. The *HERALD* had opposed this condition at the time; and now again expressed the fear that, even at the last moment, its operation might snatch from the Federalists the victory that was almost in their grasp. Nor were those fears unfounded. The referendum was held in New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania, on the 3rd June, 1898, and in South Australia on the following day. In each case there was a majority for the acceptance of the Bill; but, unfortunately, the total affirmative votes in New South Wales being some 8,000 odd below the required

80,000, the Bill had to be regarded as rejected. New South Wales had once again failed her sister Colonies.

In view of the proven fact that so large a majority of electors were in favour of the Bill, it is interesting to note the main grounds of opposition to it. From the point of view of finance these were mainly: (1) That the operation of the "Braddon Blot," which made it necessary to return three-fourths of the nett Federal revenue to the States, would also, by the same operation, make it necessary for the Federal Government to raise four times the amount of revenue it really required, and thereby add enormously to the cost of Federation generally. (2) That, even apart from this, Federation would mean added burdens and no savings. (3) That, to meet the new expenditure and the remission of intercolonial duties, there would have to be a great increase of duties on oversea imports. And (4) That, as in Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania there was practically no reserve power of taxation, New South Wales would have to pay the whole cost, would have to adopt a fiscal policy of which she disapproved, and would have to submit to additional taxation to a very excessive extent.

The States right question, however, provided the main plank of the opposition platform. The Anti-Bill Party argued that the smaller States, through their majority in the Senate, would be able to dictate to the larger ones, or indefinitely to hold up legislation desired by them; and they pointed out that the scheme for avoiding such a deadlock was certainly dilatory and very doubtfully effective. Finally, the New South Wales opponents of the Bill urged that Sydney had undoubtedly first claim to be the Federal Capital, and would almost certainly have that claim successfully resisted if the Bill were carried.

To such extreme lengths did the members of the "Anti-Bill" Party in New South Wales carry their opposition; and, in particular, so absurd were some of their arguments and claims in respect of the "States Rights" question, that the writer of a causerie which appeared weekly in the *HERALD* under the title of "Fugitive Notes," was constrained to make the following ironical reference to them in the issue of the 23rd April, 1898:

There has been a great deal of secrecy about that Anti-Bill Manifesto, and some people profess to be in doubt as to what the other side want and what it really means to do. However, I can assure the public that very active agitation is going on to put the proper view before the voters; indeed, a revised and thoroughly enlightened Constitution has been drafted, and through the courtesy of a confidential butter merchant, I am enabled to give a few of the more vital clauses of the great document. After the usual preamble, the first important clause defines the legislative powers of the Commonwealth as follows:

"The legislative powers of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a Federal Parliament, which shall consist of the Queen, a Senate, and a House of Representatives and New South Wales."

The only important alteration here is the addition of the words "and New South Wales," but it is hoped by the authors that this small addition will do much towards reconciling those electors who are determined that the interests of this Colony shall not suffer under Federation. The composition of the new Senate is very interesting:

"The Senate shall be composed of six Senators from each State, and as many Senators, equal to the total number, to represent New South Wales, who shall have as many votes as they like."

This provision has been inserted in order to prevent deadlocks, and it is considered by its authors that it settles that nonsense once and for all. Many of the other clauses are highly interesting, but it would occupy too much space to mention them. A brief reference may only be permitted. For instance, the much-vexed fiscal and financial aspects are settled in a few telling sentences. For the purposes of revenue all the Colonies are to contribute on a per capita basis—that is, unless New South Wales decides that she cannot afford the money, in which case she will pay what she can spare and send her blessing. The fiscal policy of the Commonwealth is to be protective, as it applies to imports from the other Colonies into New South Wales; but there are

to be no barriers in the other Colonies against exports from this Colony. The Federal Capital is to be in Sydney. The remainder of the new Constitution is chiefly silence.

In its leading articles, the *HERALD* put the blame on Reid, whose actions and utterances, after his Town Hall speech had convinced it—and the great majority of the public—that he was rather an enemy to the Bill than its friend; and an enemy the more dangerous because of his lack of candour. But it also recognised that, with a majority verdict for the Bill in the four principal Colonies, no such artificial barrier as that sought to be established by the “80,000 minimum” provision could possibly prevail for long. The people had given their verdict, and the politicians, it was sure, would be quick to find a conversion that would bring them into agreement with that verdict. Its leading article of the day after the referendum had been held in New South Wales thus sets out its faith in this regard:

The people of New South Wales are to be congratulated this morning on having given a vote carrying a substantial majority for the Commonwealth Bill and the Federal cause. A larger poll on the great national question might have been desired, and the friends of Federation might have preferred to see a more emphatic approval of the terms on which the Convention proposed to carry it into effect, but the result as it stands must still be regarded as eminently satisfactory. . . . It has been admitted that the number of Federal votes polled falls short of the 80,000 required by a later Act, but this consideration involves a duty which need not be referred to further just now. In regard to this, it is sufficient now to say that, although there are some difficulties yet to be overcome, yesterday's vote ensured Federation for New South Wales and for Australia. . . . We accept the Federal vote in this Colony, Victoria, and Tasmania, which together will certainly determine that to be recorded in South Australia to-day, as a decisive victory for Federation. . . . Up to yesterday the Commonwealth Bill was on its trial. To-day it stands endorsed by a majority vote of the people. They have clearly declared their intentions, and decided between those who hesitated between one form of Federation and another. . . .

Upon the subject of Reid and his activities the *HERALD* was equally clear. He had done much harm; but he had now the opportunity of undoing it. Let him repeal the Act necessitating the 80,000 minimum vote in favour of the Bill, and recognise the verdict of the people, and all would be well. Otherwise he would deserve the fate that would undoubtedly befall him. Said the leading article of the 6th June:

It is in the power of Mr. Reid even yet, in spite of his late unfederal attitude and his anti-federal associates in the Ministry, to render a service to the cause equal to that involved in the submission of the Bill to the people. He can render this service and even assume the position of leadership of the movement by undertaking to secure the repeal of the Enabling Act and the consequential validation of the adoption of the Constitution. . . . The deep distrust which cannot but be felt in the light of twofold experience with respect to Mr. Reid's relations to the most important issue of our public life could only be met by his giving ample and satisfactory hostages. He would have either to carry the repealing Bill in the present Parliament or to exhaust all his power to do so, and then to go with the Bill in his hand to the country. No talk such as has been mooted in some quarters of throwing the Commonwealth Bill aside and replacing it by another one would serve the purpose. This would be viewed only as another attempt to bury Federation for a term of years. Unless the official Government can before the general election satisfy the people of its intention to secure that the will of the majority shall prevail—and it must be admitted that it will be difficult to supply any such satisfactory assurance—then the people must look, as they have had for some time to look, for guidance and leadership to the unofficial Ministry which has been conducting the destinies of New South Wales in this important crisis of its history. It is well to be able to trust that that leadership will not be wanting, and that it will receive, as Friday's vote shows that it is receiving, the full confidence of the country.

Reid acted at once, and although not exactly on the lines suggested by the *HERALD*, sufficiently near to them to show that he had profited by the paper's advice. He suggested to the Premiers of the other Colonies an immediate conference on the subject of certain amendments which would make the Bill more palatable to its opponents in

New South Wales; but the suggestion was declined on the ground that, a general election in New South Wales being due, it would be better to wait and take the verdict of the country. The election was duly held and, though Reid was certainly returned to power, his majority was so slender a one that it became clear that only by pressing on the completion of Federation could the Government retain the confidence of the country. The offer to the other Premiers was renewed, and this time it was accepted. The conference met at Melbourne on 29th January, 1899, and, to the satisfaction of every Federalist, Queensland was on this occasion again represented. A number of amendments to the Bill were proposed and seven were accepted; six at the instance of New South Wales.

The most important of these were: First, that the operation of the Braddon clause should be limited to a period of ten years after the establishment of the Commonwealth, and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provided; second, that the Federal Capital should be in New South Wales territory, provided that it should not be within a hundred miles of Sydney, and that the Parliament should sit at Melbourne until it met at the new seat of government; and, thirdly, that the proviso in the "deadlocks" clause, by which, after the double dissolution, a *three-fifths* majority of the two new houses sitting jointly was required to pass the measure in dispute, should be amended by the deletion of the latter portion of the clause, and in substitution thereof, the following words should be inserted: "And if at that joint sitting an *absolute majority* of the total number of the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives combined shall be in favour of the proposed law, it shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses."

Reid having been generally responsible for this satisfactory result—particularly satisfactory, as regards this last concession, to the larger States, since it ensured that in the last event their wishes would almost certainly prevail over the combined opposition of the smaller ones—now announced that he would support the amended Bill in every possible way; and, as an earnest of his sincerity, immediately upon the re-opening of Parliament after his return from Melbourne, he introduced and piloted through both Chambers (though not without difficulty in the Upper House) a new Enabling Bill providing for a referendum on the Constitution Bill as amended by the Conference in Melbourne, and making a simple majority of votes sufficient to carry it. In anticipation of this referendum the *HERALD* published, on Tuesday, the 6th June, 1899, a special Federation Supplement, bringing the issue of that day up to sixteen pages; and of this number no less than 273,000 copies were printed and sold. Referring to this incident, *THE SYDNEY MAIL* of 17th June, 1899, remarks: "Owing to the largeness of the edition, the presses were started at three o'clock on the morning of Tuesday and had to be kept running all day. As from time to time fresh reels of paper were brought up to the room groups of people crowded round the doorway, fascinated by the operation and velocity of some of the most rapid and perfect machinery yet produced."

The referendum was taken in New South Wales on June 20th. It resulted in a majority of over 24,000 in favour of the Bill; while similar referenda taken in all the other Colonies (with the exception of Western Australia, which was still reluctant to enter the Federation) gave similarly happy results. The Bill was therefore carried in five Colonies and Federation was practically accomplished. The *HERALD* of the 20th June—the morning of the referendum—printed a leading article that reads like a trumpet call. Said the writer:

. . . If the people of New South Wales vote "No" by a majority to-day, it means that their action will put a check to the progress by which Australia is to evolve into a nation. They will

say that they prefer provincialism to Federal Union, that they choose to perpetuate the war of hostile tariffs and border duties, that they will continue to look upon their fellow-Australians of the other Colonies as foreigners, that they prefer to save the 3/6 of extra taxation which Federation by possibility may involve, and for the sake of that pitiful economy forego all the material advantages which Federation will bring in its train. . . . Those who vote "Yes" to-day will help to break down those barriers of provincialism which at present set the Colonies as competitive rivals against each other, and may one day make them even more dangerous enemies if this state of disunion be allowed to grow with increase of interests and of population. They will by their vote place a stone in the edifice of the Australian Commonwealth, and tell their children in years to come that the historic act of its acceptance by the will of the people was accomplished by their personal aid, and could not have been accomplished without it. It is the unit of votes that makes up majorities, and for that reason it may be once more solemnly urged on the electors of New South Wales that not one of them should refrain from discharging his public duty to-day. Federalists who vote "Yes" on this great occasion will know that they are protecting the country from attack from abroad, broadening its political life and developing its possibilities at home, strengthening the Empire, and working out the inevitable result which has been demonstrated wherever the race-instinct of the Anglo-Saxon has won the occasion to assert itself. Finally, and this includes everything else, those who vote "Yes" to-day will vote to make Australia a nation.

Matters ran rapidly now to their conclusion. The various Parliaments of the Colonies having passed addresses to the Queen asking that the Constitution Bill as finally drafted should be passed into law, the Secretary of State for the Colonies invited the Federating States to send delegates to England to assist the Home Authorities when the proposed Bill was before the Imperial Parliament. A deputation was accordingly sent, consisting of Edmund Barton—who was now the all-acknowledged leader of the Federation movement and was shortly to become the first Prime Minister of a united Australia—Deakin, of Victoria, Dickson, of Queensland, and Kingston, of South Australia. They arrived in London in March, 1900, and were joined by Fysh, who was already there as the representative of Tasmania. On 14th May, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain introduced the Enabling Bill to the Commons, after considerable discussion over the clause restricting the right of appeal to the Privy Council and to which the British authorities objected, had ended in both sides accepting a slight amendment. The measure was then passed through both Houses, and on the 9th July it received the Royal Assent. In the meantime, Western Australia had been urged by Chamberlain to join in with the rest of the Colonies; and he had received a reply that the Enabling Bill would be introduced at once and a referendum taken in July. The result of that referendum, held on the 31st July, 1900, was a majority for the acceptance of the Constitution Bill; and the Home Government being notified of the fact, the Queen issued a proclamation on the 17th September, 1900, to the following effect, omitting the preliminary recitals:

"We, therefore, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, have thought fit to issue this our Royal Proclamation and we do hereby declare that on and after the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and one, the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia shall be united in a Federal Commonwealth under the name of the Commonwealth of Australia."

Thus, then, after a struggle lasting nearly half a century, was the great consummation achieved. Australia, from the first of January, 1901, was to be a Federation; and the old days of intercolonial jealousies and independencies were to be swept away. Thus thought—and doubtless thus believed—the Australian people, and thus thought and said the *HERALD*. Whether those beliefs have been altogether justified is not for this chronicle to consider; it is sufficient to point to what Australia has done, and what Australia has become, since that first day of Union, and to leave the matter to the individual

opinion of the reader. But the enthusiasm of the HERALD was as strong as its hopes; it could remember with justifiable pride its unique association with the Federal movement, which it had supported ever since its inception.

On the 1st January, 1901—the first day of the twentieth century—the Commonwealth was inaugurated by a series of celebrations in Sydney which, for enthusiasm and sheer magnificence of spectacle, have never been approached, before or since, within the borders of the continent. A complete contingent of Imperial troops, including representatives of some of the most famous regiments of the British and Indian armies, was sent out by the Home Authorities to participate in the ceremonies; and the city was splendidly dressed for the occasion. Sydney was *en fete* for a week; and the whole inauguration ceremonial was impressively and successfully conducted in beautiful weather and without a hitch or accident of any kind. The HERALD rose finely to the occasion. The issue of the 1st January contained a supplement giving the whole history of the Federal movement, together with a concise review of Australian resources and Australian industries. It also contained a facsimile of the Queen's proclamation of the Commonwealth, and a number of poems specially written for the occasion. The leading article was naturally written in a jubilant strain, as the following extract will show:

To-day we begin the new year and the new century, and the dual epoch is signalled for Australia by our entry on a new and broader nationhood. It is not often in history that we meet with coincidences so striking, for it is not often that a nation or a continent takes so momentous a departure, and seldom indeed in the world's history have a people entered into full possession of their heritage under circumstances so auspicious and with an outlook so full of dazzling promise. The year that begins to-day will witness the laying of the base-course of that political structure which is to rank in future in the world's annals as the Commonwealth of Australia. But who will venture to predict or forecast for us what the century has in reverse of national destiny and brilliant achievement? We begin with a dower of peace. Far removed from the clashing interest of the old world, our people are equipped by a more than usually high average of education, a broader measure of political privilege, and a more generous share of individual freedom and public liberty than those who have preceded us in the race. We inherit to the full those proud traditions which have made the statesmanship and the policy of Britain the admiration of philosophic historians and the models of constitution-makers. We share the national life and thought of an Empire of which the peer has yet to make itself known. We are guarded in our isolation by the iron wall of a navy which is admittedly incomparable, and by a military prestige built up on a record which has never known complete defeat. We have within our borders, in our but partly discovered and exploited resources, all the material guarantees for prosperity and greatness. We enter on the new year and the new century a united Australian nation. . . . Australians will enter on the new year and the new century in no vain-glorious mood of self-sufficiency, and not ignoring the gravity of this momentous occasion. They face the future in a spirit of finely tempered courage, with a calm confidence inspired by the proved possibilities of men of their race who have wrought wisely as well as gallantly in the past; and not unmindful also of their fathers' ancient trust that "underneath are the everlasting arms."

The issue of the 2nd January was also a special number, and contained a detailed description of the inaugural ceremonies, illustrated with diagrams of the various triumphal arches and decorative emblems with which the city had been lavishly ornamented. The issue was so popular that a miniature edition of it was printed and sold by thousands. The leading article referred fittingly to the magnificent spectacles and rejoicings of the preceding day; and congratulated both the responsible authorities and the general public on the enthusiasm and organisation displayed. Said the writer:

Sydney has reason to be proud of its Commonwealth inauguration. The scenes in the city yesterday, when the procession passed through the streets, at the Centennial Park, when the Governor-General was sworn in and the Commonwealth proclaimed, and in the evening, when a blaze of illuminations transformed night into day, will not lightly pass from the memories of those who witnessed them. It will not be often in the history even of the Commonwealth that

an occasion so important will be so brilliantly celebrated, and the citizens of this metropolis have cause to congratulate themselves on the manner in which they have represented the States of the Commonwealth, and demonstrated loyalty to the Federation on behalf of the whole continent. Considered simply as a series of spectacles, the demonstration left nothing to be desired.

It is pleasant to note that, at the banquet referred to in the above extract, Edmund Barton, the man who, above all others there present, had been responsible for the consummation achieved that day, in responding for "The Commonwealth"—the principal toast of the evening—concluded his speech with an appropriate reference to Sir Henry Parkes. In the *HERALD*'s report of that speech the reference runs as follows:

The father of the Constitution of New South Wales was Wentworth, whose name is honoured with others in the Australian Colonies who founded the various constitutions which exist in the other States to-day. But it was Sir Henry Parkes who, from the very beginning, recognised the potentialities of this great union. The work in which he was engaged, and the accomplishment of which we are celebrating by the ceremonies of to-day, was only interrupted by his death. It was a work in which I was content to serve with him as my leader and as one of the rank and file. To Sir Henry Parkes is due the fruition of the struggle to unite the Colonies which has been to-day so happily brought about; and it was to me a great privilege to be enabled to continue that great man's work. I ask you to drink in solemn silence to the memory of Sir Henry Parkes.

It was a worthy tribute, and one which the *HERALD* gladly and eloquently endorsed.

For a week the columns of the *HERALD* were filled with the records of the various ceremonies and pageantries which marked the unique occasion in Australian history; and then the paper and the public settled down to mark with interest the political and constitutional steps which the initiation of the Commonwealth demanded. After Lyne (who had, as Premier of New South Wales, been given the opportunity) had failed to form a Cabinet, Barton was entrusted by the Earl of Hopetoun, who had been appointed the first Governor-General of the Commonwealth, with the task. He fulfilled the happy but responsible duty by choosing the following Cabinet: Edmund Barton, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs; Sir George Turner, Treasurer; Sir William Lyne, Minister for Home Affairs; Charles C. Kingston, Minister for Trade and Customs; Sir John Forrest, Postmaster-General; Alfred Deakin, Attorney-General; Sir Jas. Dickson, Minister for Defence; Richard E. O'Connor, Vice-President of the Executive Council; and Neil E. Lewis, Minister without portfolio.

Each States—they were now no longer "Colonies"—was fitly represented in this team by the men who had associated themselves most closely with the later stages of the Federal movement. Barton, O'Connor and Lyne represented New South Wales; Deakin and Turner were Victorians; Kingston was a South Australian; Dickson, a Queenslander; Forrest hailed from Western Australia, and Lewis from Tasmania. Unhappily, before the Ministry could enter upon its duties, Sir James Dickson died, and his place was filled by J. C. Drake, who, like his predecessor, was a Queenslander. Three months later, Lewis having resigned and returned to his old love the Tasmanian Parliament, Sir P. O. Fysh, another representative of the island State, was chosen by Barton to fill the vacancy in the Cabinet. The *HERALD* hailed the team with cordial anticipation and marked its steps with interesting comment.

There is little now to add to the story of Federation, so far as this particular section of the record is concerned with it. It need only be mentioned that, when a few months later, the then Duke and Duchess of York—our present King and Queen—came out from England to open the first Federal Parliament in Melbourne—that city having been selected as the "temporary seat of Government" until the Federal Capital should be built—the *HERALD* responded appropriately to the interests and needs of the occasion, and supplied the public with a record which well conformed to its reputation. The

same may be said of the visit of the present Duke and Duchess of York in 1927, to open the first Federal Parliament to be held at Canberra. But these events belong to the general history of the paper, rather than to this particular section of it, and for that reason are referred to elsewhere.

The journalists, both local and visiting, had been faced with a strenuous task during the inaugural festivities in Sydney; and had come through it with admitted honours. The final ceremony of the week was a banquet, held in special honour of the pressmen, and the Premier of New South Wales, in his capacity of Chairman, made eulogistic comment on their activities. Mr. Geoffrey Fairfax, as the representative of the oldest of Australian journals, responded and on the following morning, the 9th January, 1901, the *HERALD* published a leading article referring to the function. From this we quote as follows:

It was a good idea on the part of those who arranged the Commonwealth festivities to close the week with an entertainment to the members of the press—visiting or local. During the previous days of this memorable week, the programme had consisted of pageant or banquet, at which the function of the journalist was far less to enjoy himself than to record the enjoyment of others. His duty was to secure a report of every part of the inaugural celebrations, neglecting no salient detail, and omitting no sentence from the lips of a representative man, so that for absentees and for future generations this historic period might possess a complete contemporary picture. This was no light or perfunctory task, and all who know the circumstances in which such records of the day's events are secured for the next day's perusal are well aware that the reporter's part in the inaugural festival has been one of heavy and steady work. . . . If it was some spirit of recognition for the hard work of the reporter, both special to this occasion and general, in which the dinner of last night was planned, it deserves on the part of the press a cordial acknowledgment. The week has been an exacting one for all concerned in journalism, and if the result of their labours has been gratifying to the community, and not unworthy of the beautiful and historic spectacles presented, the men of the press are repaid for their work by public approbation. . . . In the sweep of a long programme, where event treads hard upon event, it is difficult to keep record of all which has been justly and fitly spoken; and it may be that, as is not unusual, at the end of a feast or in the closing hours of the inauguration, something ungrudged, spontaneous, and generous has been said of the aid which journalism has contributed to Federation. But that it is so hard to fix upon anything of this character is in itself an argument.

And yet it is the simple truth that when politicians turned their backs, when Parliament ignored or thwarted the Federal cause, when sections of the community derided Federation as visionary, or condemned it as mischievous, when Federation was in some quarters viewed as disguised separation from the mother country, and when the Federal leaders themselves were all but hopeless and could hardly get a hearing for their ideas, it was the Australian press which never faltered nor turned cold. In the columns of a hundred journals, from the metropolitan dailies to the country weeklies, the hope of a Federated Australia was nourished and kept before the people. . . . Perhaps it may be said that in this long advocacy of an unpopular cause the press builded better than it knew. But the journalist will remember with pride, however the currents of political gratulation may flow, that this, too, is one of those causes which, adopted in the days of their unpromising beginnings, the press has helped to nourish and stimulate into their triumphant maturity. . . . In the darkest hours, when Sir Henry Parkes's Government went out, when Mr. Barton could do nothing, when commercial reverses befell us, when Federation stood still in Parliament and Cabinet from Perth to Sydney, whatever encouragement the leaders had rested upon the press, and we may add the pulpit, upon some who in this country or in England and America were watching us with interest, upon the yet unspoken instincts of the people. Well are they justified in this season of world-wide congratulation who in the past committed themselves and their journals to an unknown cause, and strove through dark years with tireless courage and resource to arouse the public to the issues set before them for acceptance.

And with this extract, whose words, though generously general, are peculiarly appropriate to the record of the *HERALD* itself, we may aptly end the story of the paper's long and honourable association with the fight for Federation.

SECTION X.

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

1901-1914

THE first year of the Federation opened in shadow, for on the evening of the 21st January, the "Great White Queen," whose reign had marked an era which will be ever memorable in history, not only for its length but for its greatness, died in the sixty-fourth year of her occupation of the throne and in the eighty-second of her age. The *HERALD* published the cable announcing the news in the issue of the 23rd, and on the 24th it not only devoted its leading article to an eloquent and sympathetic comment upon the event, but also gave its readers a comprehensive summary of the life that had just closed. The issues of these two dates were bordered in black, and of the later one a miniature edition was published, which had an enormous sale throughout the State as a memento of a sad and momentous occasion. The leading article of the 24th is worthy of quotation, as showing how finely the writer rose to the demands of a great theme. He thus expressed the feelings that filled the hearts of the immense majority of the people of the British Empire upon that day:

The nation mourns to-day the death of Queen Victoria—that august and venerable lady who for sixty-three years has borne the honourable burden of the Crown of this Empire, and, who, more than any other monarch who has held the sceptre in England, has won the personal affection of her people while ever commanding their unswerving loyalty.

Men and women of our own race and kin, the great majority of whom have grown into manhood and womanhood during the long and glorious term of Queen Victoria's reign, will hear the news with a pained sense of personal loss. To them the Queen has been the synonym of the State, the personification of their patriotic and loyal sentiment, and the symbol of their pride and race. The Sovereign has represented for them something as fixed and immutable as the constitution itself, and from childhood they have been accustomed to regard her as an unchanging element in human life, like the familiar and unvarying scenes in which their lives have for the greater part been passed.

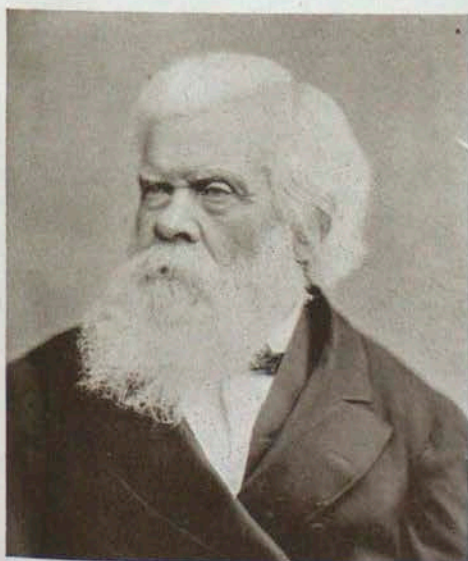
Of the personal claims of Queen Victoria to the often-proved affection of her subjects, it is perhaps untimely to comment at length. It is only three years since the united British race presented to the Sovereign such an expression of respect and devotion as history is unable to parallel. Words cannot add to the significance of that demonstration, but the nation can point to it now as the expression of its sentiment and of its loyalty. The reasons why the late Queen was beloved by her subjects are known to all. She was a good woman, a good wife, and a good mother. In her life and person she held up to the imitation of the millions of her countrywomen the true type of the womanly woman, which has made the life of the English home what it is, kept British domesticity sweet, and held society in all grades together. Queen Victoria purified the court and redeemed it from the reputation of some of her predecessors. She set an example which left an influence right down and throughout the framework and fabric of the domestic life of the country, for she never forgot the woman in the Queen. The incurable ailment of old age leaves little for human remedy or skill to do at the age of eighty-two, and her late Majesty's subjects, in every portion of this vast Empire who mourn her decease to-day, do so with a consoling consciousness of the circumstances that Queen Victoria has laid down the burden of her tremendous responsibility after a life well spent, and full of years and honour.



THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE FIRST COMMONWEALTH MINISTRY.

*Front Row (seated): Sir Edmund Barton, Earl Hopetoun (Governor-General), Sir Wm. Lyne.
Back Row: Sir John Forrest, Sir Geo. Turner, Mr. R. E. O'Connor, Sir Neil Elliott Lewis,* Sir James R. Dickson,*
Mr. Deakin, Mr. A. C. Budge (Clerk of the Executive Council of New South Wales, but not a member of the
Ministry, of course), and Mr. C. C. Kingston.*

** Sir James Dickson and Sir Neil Lewis, Premiers of Queensland and Tasmania respectively, acted in the first formally-declared Ministry, constituted before the elections; but did not hold seats in the ensuing Parliament.*



SIR HENRY PARKES

Who presided at the Convention in Sydney in 1891 to discuss Federation, and is generally regarded as the "Father of Federation," though the movement stretches back over earlier years.



SIR GEORGE REID

One of the central figures in pre-Federation struggles. He only supported the Bill after the amendments of 1899 regarding the Capital site and other matters had been agreed to.



Arrival in Sydney (January, 1910) of Lord Kitchener, who came to Australia, at the invitation of the Government, to advise as to the best system of military defence. The car in which he is seated was one of the most up-to-date in Sydney at the time.



The visit to Sydney (August, 1908) of the United States Fleet of sixteen battleships, under Rear Admiral Sperry's command. A week of festivities marked the occasion.



SOME MEMBERS OF THE HERALD LITERARY STAFF IN 1912.

Top Row: W. Farmer Whyte, G. Steed, Mrs. Le Patourel, Mrs. Harrison, B. F. Toy, A. Johnston. Second: R. Lowry, P. Hull, G. Marr Thompson, A. Mason, F. M. Gellatly, T. Power, W. Duncan, W. Stanley Hall. Third: W. Holmes, C. Reynolds, C. Brunsdon Fletcher, T. W. Heney (Editor), W. G. Pye, A. Whyte, N. Hey. Fourth: P. S. Allen, R. J. D. McCallum, H. Rogers, G. J. Reeve, C. Theakstone, W. Briggs. A. W. Wilkie, J. E. Davenport. Fifth: A. Cook, —, Kavanagh, J. Davis, Bert Mudge, L. Gaunische, H. K. Williams, H. Harpur. Bottom Row: J. T. Bull, Oliver Hogue, L. Beaton, G. Barrow, S. W. Mackay, A. P. Cooper, C. A. Z. King and Roy Evans.

A break in the submarine cable, which occurred just after the death of the Queen, caused an irritating delay in the receipt of the news from England, at a moment when such an interruption was particularly unfortunate. After three days, however, the break was remedied and the paper was then enabled to publish the news of King Edward's succession, together with the full details of the ceremonies accompanying that event.

It was with the beginning of the new century that the motor car first made its appearance on the roads of Australia. Motor vehicles of a sort had, indeed, been known here in the late 'nineties, the earliest of them all being probably a motor cycle which was imported about 1896 by Mr. H. Knight Eaton, of Sydney. Several motor tricycles were also imported from France a little later on, and on one of them Mr. A. E. O'Brien, one of the best known racing cyclists of the time, rode from the General Post Office, Sydney, to Parramatta—a distance of about fifteen miles—in 35 minutes. The claim for the first motor car to have appeared in Australia is contested, but it is almost certain that the honour is held by a steam car which was entirely constructed by Mr. H. Thompson, an engineer residing at Armadale, in Victoria. This car was shown at the Royal Agricultural Show in Sydney in Easter week, 1900, and was subsequently driven to Bathurst, and from there back to Victoria, *via* Albury. But the very first petrol-driven motor car to be imported to Australia was a Benz, brought out from Germany by a Melbourne company and landed in that city in March, 1900. This was quickly followed by a $3\frac{1}{2}$ -h.p. De Dion, imported from France by Mr. W. J. C. Elliott, of Sydney, in May. Mr. Elliott's car received a varied welcome—hostile, humorous, or hearty according to the point of view of the observer—but on the whole no very great enthusiasm was created by its arrival, and it was some years before the motor really took hold of the Australian public.

Sir James Oswald Fairfax, however, was an ardent motorist, almost from the date of the car's first appearance in the Commonwealth. On the 28th March, 1928—only a few months before his death—he contributed to *THE SYDNEY MAIL* an interesting article descriptive of his experiences in that line, and from this it would seem that he purchased his first car—a 6 h.p. De Dion—in or about the year 1903. We quote from his article the following amusing account of his very first adventures as a motorist:

Figure to yourself a moderately young and immoderately excited couple receiving in their stable-yard a very large packing case—it seemed large then, but we have seen larger since—and proceeding to dismantle the case and disclose to view a bright green two-seater de Dion Bouton single-cylinder car. It was packed mostly in vaseline or some kindred substance, quantities of which were transferred to our hands and clothing in our haste to be ready for the road. Petrol, water and lubricating oil were poured into what seemed to be the most appropriate places—there was no great certainty about this operation—and then the real excitement began.

Could we start the engine? The "mixture" was controlled by hand—none of your so-called "automatic" carburetters—and to the novice it was rather a fluke to get a mixture that would fire at all. However, by dint of some experiment and work at the starting handle, to our great joy off she went. There are few sweeter sounds to the ardent motorist than the first bursts of rapid fire from the exhaust of his first car. . . . The start was by no means a matter of course, especially as it had to be made up a rather steep and winding drive, and out on to a main road with an amount of traffic that inspired some apprehension. However, the brake was released—this had been discovered readily enough—and the first gear was engaged rather delicately by pushing forward the horizontal gear level under the steering wheel. With what seemed to be an amazing bound, rivalling Borotra the Basque, the car leapt forth from the yard, and, by good luck and a modicum of management, emerged unscathed on the main road. I do not know to this day what was on the road. There could not have been trams, because there were none there then; nor motor cars, because there were very few besides our own. But every form of horsed vehicle seemed to have chosen that bit of road to drive on at that moment. Fortunately most horses at that time hated cars, and jumped away from them. By choosing a circular route the necessity



of turning round was avoided. The reverse, though popular in the waltz at that time, was less fancied by motorists; so we got home without it. That half-hour was probably the most perilous in the motoring life of the owner and his wife, though they have been through the usual vicissitudes of the game in a good many lands since then.

That Sir James's knowledge of a motor car was by no means vicarious was proved often enough when, through some accident, his "bus" needed overhauling. On such occasion Sir James showed himself quite competent to diagnose its ailments and to treat them with success.

By 1905 the motor car had well started upon that stupendous march along the road of popularity which has made its history one of the marvels of the industrial and social worlds. In 1909 taxi-cabs began to take their place in the streets of Sydney, and by 1910 the number of motor vehicles had so increased throughout the State that the Legislature was compelled to pass an Act for their registration and for the regulation of their traffic. In that year, 2,500 motor vehicles, exclusive of motor cycles, were registered in New South Wales; by 1914 the number had grown to 10,650; by the end of the year to 22,000; and by 1920 to nearly 30,000. During the next decade the advance became even more rapid, and the 1930 figures for Australia show that, roughly, 460,000 cars and 110,000 other motor vehicles, together with 100,000 motor cycles (a grand total of 670,000) now traverse the roads of the Commonwealth.

The Royal Automobile Club of Australia was founded in Sydney in 1903, and has since grown to be one of the most influential institutions of its kind in the Southern Hemisphere. Its activities have been extended to provide almost every imaginable service that the motorist can require, and its present Club House, which was completed in 1929 at a cost of approximately £157,000, is complete with every comfort and convenience. The membership of the Club is now in the vicinity of 2,500.

Such, then, are the direct effects of the introduction of the motor-driven vehicle into Australia. But the indirect effects have been even more important. As an inevitable consequence of the motor's appearance, the roads of the Commonwealth—not only in the interior, but in the vicinity of the capitals as well—have had to be made worthy of, and fitted for, the new means of transport. It is no exaggeration to say that, prior to the beginning of this century, the very great percentage of the roads of Australia—highways and byways alike—were a disgrace. The advent of the motor has changed all that. Already the number of thoroughfares which it is not only possible but proper to refer to with pride is exceedingly large; and it is rapidly increasing. The Main Roads Board, the Shire Councils and other similar authorities, have accomplished fine work, and the beneficent effect of that work is becoming every day more freely acknowledged. Not perhaps, in words; for the Australian is never a good praise-monger; but by that more worthy form of commendation which takes the form of practical utilisation. Every day and in every way—to adopt the formula of the late Dr. Coué—our roadways are better and better; and every day that improvement is being put more strongly to the proof. And this not only in areas wherein, before the coming of the car, there was no other means of transport save the buggy, or the slowly moving horse- or bullock-waggon, and where, consequently, the motor vehicle has revolutionised affairs and added enormously to the comfort and convenience of the residents; but actually in those where it has entered into competition with the railway itself. From nearly every station of any size or importance throughout the whole network of our railways, motor services now radiate effectively to the lesser and more scattered centres; and although these services may run alongside branch railway lines and serve with them the same districts, the motor vehicles not only hold their own, but have in many cases proved themselves the more popular and effective of the two.

Indeed, the very solution of the transport problem which the motor vehicle has effected in districts not served by the railways has created a new problem in those which are so served. For the competition of the car with the railway has proved so keen and has so often resulted in favour of the former, that the Government—in New South Wales at any rate—which owns the railways and which is additionally handicapped in its endeavours to run them at a profit by the intolerable burden of the industrial laws, is now faced with an almost insuperable difficulty. The State Government in New South Wales also owns the tramways that run through Sydney and its suburbs; and there again the competition of the motor 'bus has become a menace to the solvency of the State-owned service. The solution to these problems is far to seek. It is being sought for very strenuously even as we write; but, unless and until the State Railway Commissioners are disembarrassed of the shackling labour conditions under which they are now compelled to work, it is difficult to see how the present disastrous effect of the competition is to be remedied. It is, of course, possible—and the possibility is now being considered—to successfully attack the motor services by prohibitory legislation. But whether the public will stand quietly by and see the services which have given so much satisfaction unduly and unfairly hampered—and in many cases driven out of existence—by such methods is a very doubtful question. Certainly the Government which attempts them will run a grievous risk.

It was feared that the death of Queen Victoria would prevent the promised visit of the Duke of York—the present King George—to open the first Federal Parliament from being carried out. But King Edward, with that sympathetic appreciation of the wishes and feelings of others which was so great a factor in his character, recognised how great would be the disappointment throughout the new Commonwealth were the visit to be cancelled, and announced his decision almost at once that the Duke and Duchess would go to Australia as originally arranged. They arrived at Melbourne by the Orient mail liner "Ophir"—which had been temporarily taken off her usual commission and transformed into a Royal yacht—on the 5th May and a series of brilliant functions were immediately entered upon. The Commonwealth Constitution Act, while stipulating that the Federal Capital should be within the boundaries of New South Wales, also declared that until that Federal Capital was chosen and ready for occupation, the "Seat of Federal Government" should be in Melbourne—a provision which was to keep that honour in the southern capital for over a quarter of a century. The State Parliament House at Melbourne was handed over to the Federal Government for occupation by the Parliament of the Commonwealth; but the inaugural ceremony was held in the Exhibition Building, as being more suitable for the accommodation of the vast crowd of distinguished guests who had been invited to witness the proceedings. The function took place on Thursday, the 9th May, and was a brilliant success in every way. As Sydney had been given her great opportunity to demonstrate in celebration and pageantry during the first of the preceding January at the inauguration of the Commonwealth, so now Melbourne was given hers. And splendidly she rose to it. The *HERALD*, with all the old-time jealousies between the sister capitals forgotten, paid full and generous applause to the efforts of the southern city to entertain the Heir to the British Throne, and described the ceremonies there with almost as much gusto as if they had occurred in Sydney. The paper sent its own correspondents to Melbourne for the purpose and many columns of the issues of that week are filled with a story of the brilliant doings in the Victorian capital, while the leading articles comment upon them with sympathy and enthusiasm. Thus the "leader" of the 7th May, describing the great

function of the first day of the celebrations—the state entry into Melbourne—is couched in these terms:

Familiar as their Royal Highnesses may be with demonstrations of personal and loyal affection, and though in the progress to Australia they have received the tribute of several British Colonies, yesterday's reception in Melbourne must have possessed characteristics that marked it apart in their Imperial itinerary. Just as their coming stands for much that is new and epoch-making in the history of the Empire as of these young States and this younger Commonwealth of ours, so we may think without arrogance that the welcome we have given them will convey a meaning and significance to our Royal guests, and through them to the throne, the Government, and the people of the three kindoms. The toiling and strenuous city of Melbourne did not suspend its countless tasks and devote itself to every lavishness of welcome, Victoria did not pour its thousands into the city to swell the acclamations of the town, the other States and cities of Australasia did not add amply of their foremost citizens and their population to make the occasion national, without a high and common sentiment and motive. It was the Imperial note dominating, as since the beginning of the Boer War it has dominated our local and even our federal issues.

The descriptive matter, giving an account of the day's proceedings, runs into over three pages, and is illustrated by a number of blocks depicting the varied decorations of the Melbourne streets and buildings. These, of course, were line drawings; the modern methods of illustration by process blocks not having at that time been adopted by the *HERALD*. On the 10th May, the *HERALD* described the great ceremony of the opening of the Parliament at full length, and we quote, both for its historic importance and for the intrinsic interest of the language in which it was clothed, the Duke's speech at the ceremony:

"My beloved and deeply lamented grandmother, Queen Victoria, had desired to mark the importance of the opening of this, the first Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, and to manifest her special interest in all that concerns the welfare of her loyal subjects in Australia, by granting to me a special commission to open the first session. The commission had been duly signed before the sad event which has plunged the whole Empire into mourning, and the King, my dear father, fully sharing her late Majesty's wishes, decided to give effect to them, although his Majesty stated on the occasion of his opening his first Parliament that a separation from his son at such a time could not be otherwise than deeply painful to him. His Majesty has been pleased to consent to this separation, being moved by his sense of the loyalty and the devotion which prompted the generous aid afforded by all the Colonies in the South African War, both in its earlier and more recent stages, and of the splendid bravery of the colonial troops. It is also his Majesty's wish to acknowledge the readiness with which the ships of the Special Australasian Squadron were placed at his disposal for service in China, and the valuable assistance rendered there by the naval contingents of the several colonies. His Majesty further desired in this way to testify to his heartfelt gratitude for the warm sympathy extended by every part of his dominions to himself and his family in the irreparable loss they have sustained by the death of his beloved mother. His Majesty watched with deepest interest the social and material progress made by his people in Australia, and has seen with thankfulness and heartfelt satisfaction the completion of that political union of which this Parliament is the embodiment. The King is satisfied that the wisdom and patriotism which have characterised the exercise of the wide powers of self-government hitherto enjoyed by the Colonies will continue to be displayed in the exercise of the still wider powers with which the United Commonwealth has been endowed. His Majesty feels assured that the enjoyment of these powers will, if possible, enhance that loyalty and devotion to his throne and Empire of which the people of Australia have already given such signal proofs. It is his Majesty's earnest prayer that this union, so happily achieved, may, under God's blessing, prove an instrument for still further promoting the welfare and advancement of his subjects in Australia, and for the strengthening and consolidation of his Empire.

"Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives: It affords me much pleasure to convey to you this message from his Majesty. I now, in his name and on his behalf, declare this Parliament open."

After completing their visit to Victoria the Duke and Duchess proceeded to Queensland, by train, and thence returned to the Mother State, arriving in Sydney by the

"Ophir" on the afternoon of Monday, the 27th of May. The day was beautifully fine and the harbour and the city alike had dressed in their best for the occasion. The HERALD described the arrival and the celebrations and functions which followed with even more carefulness than it had bestowed upon the ceremonies in Melbourne, the leading article being naturally devoted to an enthusiastic welcome to the Royal pair.

Four pages were fully occupied with the account of the welcome tendered by the citizens to their Royal visitors, and each day thereafter until the Duke and Duchess left—on the 7th June—the same meticulous attention was paid by the paper to the various functions which had been arranged. On that same seventh of June, by the way, which saw the departure of our future King and Queen from these shores, the HERALD paid, too, its last farewell to one who had rendered it yeoman service in the past—the venerable Dr. Garran, who had died the previous day. Said the leading article in a tribute to his memory:

Dr. Garran's decease snaps another of the links between the present and the past. As we point out in an obituary in another column, his Australian career touches the introduction of responsible government at one point and federation of these States at the other. It would not be possible to assess with any degree of even approximate exactness the influence which Dr. Garran exercised as a journalist on the development of Australian history, but it is one of the cherished recollections of all who knew him intimately that his influence was always exercised for good.

He took his high ideals and his earnest energies into politics with him, and Australian politics, like Australian journalism, are the richer for the tradition of his services.

Two years later the "fell Sergeant" laid his arresting hand upon another of the HERALD's prominent men. Mr. Curnow died on the 14th October, 1903, and his place as Editor was filled by the appointment of Mr. T. W. Heney, who had been associated with the HERALD for many years, both as a youth in the 'seventies, and again, when, as a journalist of standing he became again associated with the HERALD proprietary as a member of THE ECHO staff in 1889. On that paper ceasing publication he came to the HERALD as a general contributor. He was subsequently literary critic, Parliamentary gallery man, leader writer, and Associate Editor. To this latter position he was appointed in 1899, upon the retirement of Mr. Henry Gullett, who had himself occupied the associate's chair since 1890, and of whom more will be said later. Mr. Heney remained Editor of the HERALD for fifteen years, retiring in 1918. He subsequently occupied the editorial chairs of *The Telegraph* (Brisbane) and the Sydney journal of the same name, and, retiring from the latter position on account of ill-health, died after a lengthy illness at his country residence at Springwood, on the Blue Mountains, on the 19th August, 1928.

Of a gentle and retiring disposition, Mr. Heney, as the result of his fine scholarship and genuine ability, was not only a successful and impressive leader writer, but as Editor well maintained the traditions of the HERALD. Mr. Heney was born in 1862, in Sydney, the son of an old employee of the HERALD, who subsequently became the proprietor of the *Monaro Mercury*—a well-known country journal—and the grandson of that John Finch Heney, who had been associated with the HERALD for sixty years, and, from whose interesting reminiscences of the paper's early days and struggles we have already had reason to quote. The new Editor's association with the HERALD was therefore as hereditary as that bent for journalism which carried him in the end to the highest positions in that profession available in Australia. He first joined up with the HERALD staff in 1878 as a junior assistant reader and remained on the reading staff until 1884, when he left to take up a position as reporter on the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*. Two years later he was offered and accepted the post of editor of the *Wilcannia Times*, and while

occupying that chair he published two novels of Australian life and a volume of poems, all of which—and particularly the latter—were rightly acclaimed by the critics as works of merit and charm. From Wilcannia Mr. Heney went to Melbourne, but returned to Sydney in 1899 and became a member of *THE ECHO* staff. His subsequent career we have already reviewed.

It was about this time that the sport of surfing first began to assert that ascendancy upon Australians generally, and the residents of Sydney and its suburbs in particular, that has led to the enormous popularity which it enjoys to-day. Although the skilful surfer is as much a "specialist" as the skilful cricketer or tennis-player, there is nothing "special" about surfing itself. It is, indeed, the most "general" sport imaginable. The attraction of other outdoor recreations is limited to a certain section, both by the considerations of personal fitness and of expense. This section is in each case numerous, doubtless; but it is limited, all the same. On the other hand, practically every section and every class of the community can, and do, enjoy the pleasures of surfing, while both sexes can enjoy it equally and together. Nowhere in the world has the sport become so generally popular as with us; and the reasons are not far to seek. For nowhere in the world are the conditions for its general enjoyment so perfect. And again this applies in particular to Sydney. The Sydney climate and the Sydney beaches are peculiarly well adapted to the practice of surfing, and in combination they prove irresistible. Those beaches are numerous and admittedly the best in the world; and they are all within easy reach. Above all, surfing has three qualities which would certainly establish it as a favourite with Australians were all its other advantages absent. It is at once invigorating and (since it makes the knowledge of swimming essential) beneficial to the community in general; it is democratic in the extreme, since duke's son and cook's son, Judy O'Grady and the colonel's lady can—and very often and very literally do—derive equal enjoyment from it; and its cost is practically negligible. Wealth gives no monopoly over its health-giving charm; "position" cannot exploit its pleasures unduly, nor poverty prevent their enjoyment. It is extraordinary, when one considers these things, and regards surfing from the point of view of the crowded beaches of to-day and the widespread happiness which they represent, to remember how young is the life of this national sport and how strenuously ignorance, prejudice and prudery combined to fight against its institution.

Less than thirty years ago, the various councils of those marine suburbs whose greatest asset is to-day the sea-beach which Nature has laid at their door, imposed severe regulations and penalties against bathing in public except during certain very limited—and mostly very awkward—hours, and under certain stringent conditions as to apparel and so forth. There were no dressing enclosures, no facilities at all, in fact; and one bathed (if the term can be applied to an exercise which really amounted to little more than a glorified paddle in a cumbrous and incongruous attire calculated to bring a gratified smile to the face of Mrs. Grundy and a wild despair to the heart of the would-be wooer of the waves) as best one could. One dressed and undressed, if the resort was particularly "up-to-date," in the modest but somewhat cramped interior of an early-Victorian bathing machine; otherwise, behind the nearest rock. Nobody knew anything of surfing, then, or dreamt of its glories; but quite a number of enthusiasts for freedom and salt water, in their determination to enjoy sea-bathing during reasonable hours and in a reasonably comfortable and sane costume, took steps during the first few years of the new century to realise that desire, even if they had to play the martyr to do it. So they bathed during prohibited hours at Manly, Bondi, Coogee, and elsewhere—and were promptly haled before the police courts and fined. They at once

defied the law again and were assisted in their defiance by a large number of new disciples of the gospel of "surfers rather than serfs." Again prosecutions were instituted, and again the noble army of martyrs were fined. And so the contest went on; and the constantly increasing crowd of swimmers would probably, in the scriptural phrase, have done it even unto seventy times seven, had it not been that the pressure upon His Majesty's officers of the law, to say nothing of the Courts, grew too great, and the whole proceedings too farcical to be tolerated any longer. The Councils were not only defied, but were fast becoming the laughing-stocks of the State; for it is impossible with impunity from sarcasm to hale several hundred perfectly respectable citizens continuously to the lock-up to answer for a deed which the whole community has come to regard rather as a virtue than an offence. The arrests were growing in arithmetical progression—and the Councils owned defeat. They "permitted" sea-bathing at all hours under conditions which were drawn-up by mutual agreement between themselves and the representatives of the swimmers; and from that day to this the prosperity of the seaside suburbs has grown almost in arithmetical progression, too. Land values have soared; accommodation of all kinds is at a premium during the season, which runs from October to April, with occasional extensions at both ends; the beaches are thronged with a gaily dressed—and undressed—crowd from dawn to dark; and, in a word, the new dispensation has spelt advance in every way. Moreover, the benefit to the public at large has been incalculable. The magnificent sport of surfing has been introduced and so finely mastered that the surfers of the Sydney beaches—both with surf-boards and without—can hold their own with any swimmers in the world, not even excepting the South Sea Islanders from whom they learnt the art; while the life-saving clubs which each beach has brought into existence as a corollary of the sport, have attained an efficiency which is at once an advertisement for the physique of their members and for the invigorating effects of the sport itself. It would be difficult to find anywhere a finer spectacle of clean and sturdy young manhood, trained to the minute and expert at its job, than is to be seen at the regular displays and carnivals of these clubs—displays which are unique in the history of sport, are almost unknown outside Australia, and are a revelation of organised athletic skill.

The HERALD, despite the poor look-out for Freetrade under the Commonwealth Government—for the majority of the Barton Ministry were protectionists—had yet hoped against hope that at the worst the tariff to be introduced for Australia would be a "revenue tariff" only, and not a definitely protectionist one. These hopes were strengthened by the fact that, strangely enough, although the Ministry was protectionist, the majority of the Government supporters who had been returned were freetraders. The Labour members, of whom there were quite a number, represented the unknown quantity of the problem; and it was not long before Sir William Lyne, the Protectionist ex-Premier of New South Wales, and the Minister in the new Cabinet to whom the control of the Customs had been assigned in the re-shuffle of portfolios occasioned by the resignation of Kingston in 1903, managed to gain their support for his policy. With this aid a high protective tariff was established—"high," that is, from the point of view of the Freetraders, but "low" indeed to what it gradually became—and from thence forward the question of Freetrade *versus* Protection as a policy practically disappeared from Commonwealth politics. To-day it is simply a matter of degree and not of principle—not whether it shall be protection at all, but how much protection the country will stand. And as a protective tariff, like jealousy, seems to grow with what it feeds on, the present duties imposed upon the Australian public would, like the debt with which that public is now loaded, have probably appalled even the so-called "High

tariffists" of the Lyne regime. Whether Liberal, Nationalist or Labour has had control of the Government benches, the tariff policy of Federated Australia has ever been, and ever-increasingly been, one of high protection; and, indeed, Labour, which in the Colonies had often been in favour of free-trade, has proved itself to be even more uncompromisingly protectionist in the Commonwealth arena than the Liberal or National Governments which it has from time to time supplanted. The *HERALD* long mourned the passing of Free Trade, and even so recently as the 27th March, 1911, could not refrain from once more expressing its objections to the rival policy. The leading article of that date thus sets out the paper's views:

The manufacturers of the Commonwealth are now turning out goods to the value of over 100 millions sterling per annum. . . . That the tariff, plus inter-State freetrade, has been largely responsible for this growth, no one would be foolish enough to deny, but that these have been the sole factors cannot for one moment be maintained. During the last few years the Commonwealth has enjoyed a period of unexampled prosperity, and it would have been strange indeed had manufacturers not shared that all-round prosperity. Still, they are not satisfied; they want still more protection. At the conference held at Launceston last week they made the old-time excuse for their demands, that they have to pay higher wages to their employees than their competitors abroad, and have to grant them better conditions of labour. . . . The manufacturers further base their demands for more protection on the fact that the tariff as at present constructed has failed to reduce imports. It is true that imports are much more voluminous than they were prior to the establishment of the new regime. In 1900 there were imported into Australia goods to the value of £34,329,000; while in the last year the corresponding figures had swollen to £59,456,000. Our friends the manufacturers look at these figures with horror. They see in these huge imports goods that they themselves might have produced, and so they come to the conclusion that something must be wrong with the tariff. It does not seem possible to persuade them that no such tariff as they desire could be devised short of prohibition itself, and that prohibition would involve a gradual cessation of exports, for how would other countries otherwise pay for our produce? Not surely with gold, of which we already have more than sufficient for our own requirements; and, this being so, each year we ship many millions of sovereigns abroad. Great exports necessarily mean great imports, as the trend of trade, even in protectionist countries such as the United States and Germany, affords conclusive proof. Looking at our tariff from a purely business, and not from a political, point of view, its greatest fault lies in the fact that it attempts to be too all-embracing. It sets out to protect "man-and-a-boy" industries that are not worth protecting, and which merely place a heavy burden upon the people without anything like commensurate result. Had a dozen or so important industries been picked out for special treatment, and when these had been established others had been added, then our fiscal arrangements would at least have had the redeeming feature of being scientific in their incidence, while at the same time doing as little injury as possible to the body politic. This would not suit the politicians, however, who have to look for every vote, no matter what the price to be paid may be.

But gradually the paper became reconciled to a policy which, as it had realised, was almost certain to be adopted under Federation, and which it had seen grow more and more into favour with the Commonwealth Government.

During the last fifty years, and especially since the entry of the Labour Party into Australian politics, the number of industrial measures intended for the amelioration of the wage-earners, has been legion. And of all the Colonies—or States as they have been since Federation—New South Wales has led the way in the scope and number of those measures. The Truck Act, the Coal Mines Regulation Acts, the Factories and Shop Act, the Miners' Accident Relief Act, the Children's Protection Act, the Apprentices Act, the Attachment of Wages Limitation Act, the Coal-Lumpers' Baskets Act, the Scaffolding and Lifts Act, the Early Closing Acts, the Saturday Half Holiday Act, the Contractors' Debts Acts, the Shearers' Accommodation Act—these are but a few of the Acts typical of this ameliorative legislation that have been placed upon the Statute Book

of the Mother Colony during the period referred to. Most of them have been conceived with the idea of relieving the burden of the worker's life; and some of them have succeeded in doing so. But there is one species of legislation which, because it has had so vital an effect upon the industrial and political life of the Commonwealth, and because the HERALD has been compelled to pay so much attention to that effect, must claim at our hands a close and comprehensive attention. That legislation may be summed up in the words "Industrial Arbitration"—although some of the statutes which come within its ambit have borne titles seemingly unassociated either with industry or arbitration. And it was in the first year of the century, the first year of that Federation whose consummation we have just recorded, that the first of these Acts became law.

It is true that many years before 1901, Industrial Arbitration, in some form or another, had been mooted and even experimented with, in Australia. But these experiments were usually but tentative and empirical; neither definite in form nor permanent in effect. Both Victoria and South Australia in the late 'nineties, however, included in certain measures, dealing with the control of factories and shops, provision for the creation of special boards for the fixation of prices and wages in a number of industries; and in Victoria these boards have developed into the system which is at present in vogue there. But it was not until the New South Wales Act of 1901—commonly known as "Wise's Act," from the fact that it was Mr. B. R. Wise, the Attorney-General in the See Ministry of that year, who was responsible for it—had reached the haven of the Statute Book, that the principle of Industrial Arbitration may be said to have been really instituted. This Act—"The Industrial Arbitration Act of 1901"—created a court, consisting of a judge and assessors, which was given the power to take evidence as to the conditions of any industry and to make awards as to the wages to be paid and the conditions to be preserved therein. An award could be made in any industry in which a dispute on these matters had arisen between any particular employer and his employees; and the award, once made, could then, by a fresh application by either party, be made a "Common rule" applicable to the whole industry. The Act also provided for the registration and regulation of Trade Unions and organisations of employers, and for the penalisation of strikes and lock-outs. The attitude of the HERALD towards this measure may be gathered from the following extract from the leading article of the 3rd October, 1901, when the Bill, which had already been before the Parliament on several occasions, was introduced by Mr. Wise for what was to prove the last time:

Neither friend nor foe of this principle will refuse admiration to Mr. Wise for his advocacy. He has now had to move on three occasions the second reading of his measure—once in the Assembly in an address of quite remarkable power, and twice in the Council, where he again presented the measure last night.

We are still of those who believe that the State enters upon a dangerous path when it would extend the scope of statute and legal machinery to the relations of employer and employed, and it is just because Mr. Wise's measure is drawn with great skill and firmness, to create a strong system, that its operation must remain a subject for anxiety.

When, in the first week in December, the measure had finally passed the criticism of both Houses, and needed only the Royal Assent to make it law, the HERALD wrote:

At last Mr. Wise's Industrial Arbitration Bill is safe. . . . Now, after eighteen months of public discussion, this scheme of securing industrial peace by judicial methods is to be applied to the State. The Legislative Council has secured that the life of the Bill shall be limited, and during the six years that it has to run it should be the object of those who wish its permanence to see that it is moderately and considerably applied. But whether it is made a weapon of industrial warfare in every trade or a lawful means of remedying grievances, it has now passed into the stage of experiment, and we have to watch without power of modifying its effect upon the industrial enterprise of the State.

The doubt expressed in the last sentence as to the manner in which the Act might be applied shows a prevision on the part of the *HERALD* that time has abundantly justified. There must be few who can sincerely believe that it and its successors have not been generally used, rather as "weapons of industrial strife," than as "lawful means of remedying grievances." The whole story of industrial arbitration in Australia, indeed, has too often been one of class warring against class, and every chapter of it is punctuated with the bitternesses that such a war inevitably produces.

As was only to be expected, the provisions of Wise's Act were so quickly and widely utilised that in a very short time the new Industrial Court was congested with applications. So congested, indeed, that Wise was under the necessity of suggesting the appointment of additional courts to dispose of the business. In 1908, however, the Act expired by effluxion of time, and was succeeded by an "Industrial Disputes Act," which removed some of the defects of its predecessor. In particular, the congestion was remedied by a provision creating a number of boards which had power to hear any industrial dispute and make awards binding throughout the particular industry over which they had jurisdiction, such awards being subject to appeal to an Industrial Court. The boards, indeed, were miniature courts themselves, presided over by a neutral chairman—usually a barrister—who was assisted by two or more lay assessors, representing the employers and the employees respectively. Their awards were "Common rules" for the industry involved, and were made effective for a certain stated period—as a rule, three years.

The *HERALD* received the new Act—known as "Wade's Act"—Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Wade, who was then Premier of New South Wales, being responsible for it—without much enthusiasm, but with a certain amount of hope. The leading article of the 31st March, 1908, written a few days before the measure actually became law, makes the following comment:

The New Zealand experiment showed that the Appeal Court there was never given fair play. The parties, when before the lower tribunals, simply tried to find each other's strength, in order to fight to advantage later on; and if the Wages Boards in the new order in New South Wales are not to be used exhaustively, the whole machinery will simply break down again. In Victoria every chance is given them, and as much must be done here. The Industrial Court, therefore, can only have its place as it fits in and does not supplant. It must be a genuine Court of Appeal, and the freer the judge is left the better will it be for all parties. This does not forget that the new legislation to be successful must have the whole-hearted support of all classes in the community. Employees must be as ready to trust it and work under it as employers; and to this end the Government has sought to meet a manifest difficulty by compromise. It may be said that the present Act was largely a Labour measure. The See Government passed it with Labour support, and for several years the unions have tried hard to make it go. Now a Liberal and Reform Government has tackled the problem of settling industrial disputes by inquiry and arbitration; but it would be a great mistake to assume that the experiment of solving it is to be again a purely party one. The Premier has shown himself anxious to rise above party. He does not want to legislate on class lines or to prejudice the chances of the new proposals by forgetting the other side. He has practically accepted the Opposition as working in co-operation with him; and while he will not make the Industrial Disputes Bill in any sense a Labour measure, he has tried to embody sound Labour suggestions in it. Thus the appearance of an Industrial Court makes a substantial connecting link between the two political parties; and the Bill become in fact a pronouncement that industry is above party politics. In so far as it aims at reconciling Capital and Labour, and is being discussed with a real desire to effect a workable compromise, the public will have confidence in it.

This Act was several times amended, and the indirect result of one of those amendments—that of 1909—was to infuse a quality of bitterness into Australian industrial affairs, whose repercussions were felt for many a long day; if, indeed, they are not even felt to-day. This amending Act was passed with the intent of making the law against strikes and lock-outs more effective; but, unhappily, some over-zealous constables, hav-

ing under arrest a number of union officials charged with inciting a strike, were foolish enough to put leg-irons on their prisoners when escorting them to the lock-up. This action inflamed the industrial classes throughout the State, the amending statute immediately received the title of "The Leg-Iron Act," and the affair materially assisted the Labour Party to win to power at the next election of 1910.

Wade's Act was repealed by the McGowen (Labour) Government in 1912, and a new measure, officially entitled "The Industrial Arbitration Act of 1912," replaced it. As had been the case with its predecessors, this Act was usually referred to by the name of its sponsor in the Parliament. This was Mr. G. S. (now Judge) Beeby, then Minister for Labour and Industry, and his Act still remains upon the Statute Book as the "Principal Act," although the amendments to it have been so many that their combined result has been to alter it almost out of recognition. "Beeby's Act" preserved the Industrial Boards, but arranged them in groups of assimilated industries, such as the building trades, the iron trades, the transport industry, and so on, each under the control of a single chairman. In all, about 24 groups of boards were constituted, and the number of awards in force at one time often exceeded 200. The Act also modified the penalty for organising or participating in strikes or lock-outs by making such offences finable merely, and not, as before, punishable in certain circumstances with imprisonment. But awards could be rescinded, or industrial organisations de-registered if, in the opinion of the Court, such action was deemed necessary by the recalcitrance of the offending party. The Act also made provision for the activities of conciliation committees; provisions which, while they were not altogether neglected, cannot be said to have proved either very popular in application or very effective in result. But it would be unfair to say that their operations have been negligible. A number of "awards by consent of the parties" have been registered as the result of these provisions, together with many "industrial agreements," made without the interference of the Boards at all, but which, when duly registered, are regarded by the Act as, and have generally proved to be, quite as efficacious as, and perhaps even more so than, if they had been pronounced by the Board after hearing the parties.

But the provision in the Beeby Act upon which the fiercest controversy turned, the one that the Government regarded as the very key and essence of the measure, and the one to which the *HERALD* most strongly objected, was that which insisted upon preference being given to unionists in all industries. The previous Act had given the Court power to proclaim that preference when it thought fit; but the Beeby Act made it not optional, but compulsory, and the fight over the clause was very bitter. Eventually, when the Council followed the example of the Assembly and allowed the clause to stand, the *HERALD*, in its leader of the 27th March, 1912, spoke out to this effect:

It may be perfectly true that the present law provides for preference to unionists, without any limitation; and if the Industrial Arbitration Court saw fit it could by a word almost prevent non-unionists everywhere from obtaining employment. The Court, however, has declined to be a party to any such limitations of the liberties of the citizen who has to work with his hands for a living. It has granted preference to unionists, no doubt; but only when convinced that the members of any union represented the majority of those employed in the industry. In effect, the provision of preference to unionists was only allowed to operate if the non-unionist was not penalised to any serious extent. Nevertheless, we have always seriously contended that, even under such conditions, preference was unfair. As the strong unions have been able to secure recognition without help from the Court, it has not really mattered that the law has permitted discrimination, and, as a matter of fact, the Government has not been concerned over the strong unions and their majority of workers in any given number of industries. The amendment of the law has been sought because preference has not been secured for all unionists; and it is nonsense for Mr. Ashton to say that the new measure over which a compromise has just been reached is better

than the old one. The individual who can give a sound reason for not joining a union is entitled to live, at any rate; and those who would deny this self-evident proposition must explain how they are able to place the unionist above natural law.

The Legislative Council has undoubtedly amended the Arbitration Bill to some purpose. It has cut out many objectionable features, and otherwise made it more workable, but it has failed on the issue which overshadows everything else. The Government practically admitted, by its acceptance of amendment after amendment, that it was not troubling about details. It wanted the weapon which is to make unionism the greatest tyranny in the land, and the surrender of the provisions about striking is no compensation. The strong unions will still strike and continue to defy the law, and Mr. Flowers, though representing the Government, has declared that he can see no wrong in striking. The Minister says that compulsion has failed anyhow; and it matters very little, therefore, that unions are not to get out of legal pains and penalties for striking by simply "giving notice." The point is that the unions which are strong will defy the law, and cannot be coerced; while the weaker unions, which are to get preference by threatening to make trouble, will become strong by the very development of a trade tyranny.

The complaint by the paper as to the defiance of the law by the strong unions was but too well founded; and it was this very defiance which constituted, and still constitutes, the principal objection to the principle of industrial arbitration as exercised in Australia. Very strongly has the doubt expressed in the *HERALD* article of the 5th December, 1901, been justified; for the whole system has been regularly and wilfully exploited to their own advantage by the unions. That exploitation has been made possible by the fact that the penal clauses of the Act and of its successors, both State and Federal, are capable of enforcement in any practical form against only one section of the community—the employers.

Over and over again, when a dispute has been referred to the Boards or the Court and the decision has gone against the union, that union has refused to abide by the decision and has either ordered a strike for the enforcement of a claim which has been refused by the statutory tribunal, or has induced, or silently permitted its members to practise, some equivalent method (euphemistically termed "direct action") in order to frustrate the terms of the award which has been given against it. If the employer fails or refuses to carry out the terms of an award to the very last letter, he can be, and is, punished by the Court; but a similarly defaulting union, being a corporation which has "no body to be kicked or soul to be damned," cannot be penalised for its breach. Occasionally a union official, more careless or daring than his fellows, is caught within the provisions of the Act against inciting to a strike; but the difficulty of proving this misdemeanour, and the fact that, even when proved, the fine, being distributed among the members of the union, becomes almost negligible and is easily paid, still renders the penal clauses so unfair as to be almost useless. Not once, but twenty times at least, has the *HERALD* pointed out this unfairness; but little has been done—since little *can* be done while the system remains—to remedy it.

This unequal incidence of the law was bad enough when the industries of the State were subject to State legislation alone; it became much worse when the Federal Government also entered the field of Industrial Arbitration. This it did in 1904, when the first of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Acts was passed under that provision of the Australian Constitution Act which gives the Commonwealth Parliament power to make laws "for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of any one State." In theory, this power was a good and a necessary thing; in practice it has not only made confusion worse confounded by adding a series of involved enactments to an already involved field of legislative interference in industry; but it has also opened another avenue of unfair discrimination between employer and employed of which the Unions have not been slow to take advantage. The

main source of the trouble has been interpretation of the words "beyond the limits of any one State." There are many industries which come undoubtedly within the ambit of this phrase—the shearing industry, for instance, and the maritime workers. But there are also many others which, though apparently confined to one State, can yet, by a little ingenuity in the matter of stirring up trouble in another State, be so extended as to enable a union to claim that the dispute has passed beyond the limits of its own State and thereby bring the matter within the jurisdiction of the Federal Court. By a careful manipulation of this possibility, many of the unions have been able to use the local State tribunal or the Federal tribunal at their pleasure; in other words, to obtain two awards, to use either or neither at their pleasure, or even the most favourable clauses of both. Moreover, by this overlapping a confusion is created which adds greatly to the running costs of the industry affected—to say nothing of the cost to the general community involved in the upkeep of the various offices and officials of the State and Federal Departments. It was the extraordinary injustice resulting from this overlapping—or, rather, the desire to escape from it—which eventually caused the downfall of a post-war Australian Government which had been in power for many years.

But there is still another feature of the Industrial Arbitration legislation which, from its inception almost, has been conducive to injustice and unrest; and one, moreover, which, by the very difficulties it itself created, has added enormously to the expense and dilatoriness of the system. This is the necessity which any attempt to fix wages and working conditions must create, of first ascertaining the "cost of living" and its corollary, a "living" or "basic" wage. It was argued by the Labour leaders, and not without logic, that if a tribunal is to say what the labourers in any industry are to be paid and under what conditions they are to work, that tribunal must first make itself acquainted with what it costs those workers to carry on a life of normal comfort. It was useless to fix a wage that would not give the recipient enough for this purpose and therefore the whole matter must be enquired into and the wage fixed accordingly. But this enquiry involved another. Should the "sufficient" wage be sufficient only to enable a single man to live in reasonable comfort, it would clearly not be enough to enable him to marry and provide his wife with reasonable comfort too; and many employers, it was argued, being forced to pay a statutory wage, would never pay any more than that wage. Unless, therefore, that wage were enough for him to marry on, an employee would be denied a natural right and the State its natural expectancy of an increase in population. And, further, if the wage were fixed at what would just support a man and his wife in reasonable comfort, it was clear that every increase in the family of that couple would involve them in debt, a hardship which would militate against the fortunes of the whole body politic. On the other hand, it was argued with equal logic, if the wage were fixed at a sum sufficient to enable a man to marry and have a family, every bachelor (having still to be paid the "living wage") would actually be paid a long way above it. He would, in fact, be paid for the maintenance of a purely hypothetical wife and family.

The problem was therefore to fix the standard, and the various solutions of it that were suggested, and the extraordinary ramifications of the enquiries necessitated by their adoption, while they may not be lacking in a certain element of humour to the disinterested outsider, have had certainly a very painful and disturbing effect upon the social, political and industrial life of Australia. And as one standard has commended itself to one State and some other to its fellows, and has in each State been varied from time to time, the total result of all this highly theoretical—and at times sentimental—legislation has been to mystify and dissatisfy everybody and to work an injustice whose irritation has grown with the years.

Nor is it only the injustice which has thus increased. The very attempt to fix the cost of living and to adjust the wage rate to it, has, as the *HERALD* was not slow to prophesy, increased the cost on commodities by increasing the rate of wages paid to those who produce them. The cost of living thus being increased, that wage-rate has to be increased to meet the new conditions, and this increase, in turn, sends up again the cost of production—and the cost of the commodities produced. And so the vicious circle is completed. The standard of living has become the determinant of the basic wage, and a purely theoretical arrangement, ignoring the industrial conditions of the rest of the world, with which, however, in practice, it must compete, has made itself dominant in our industries. And this, quite irrespective of the burden each industry can bear. Sentiment has quarrelled with economics, and Australia has had to bear the cost of the struggle.

On the other hand, if, by any advance in the methods of production or some other cause, the cost of any essential article is reduced, the operation of the "basic" or "living" wage system prevents the wage earner from reaping the benefit of this decrease. For the decrease reduces the cost of living and, this being brought to the notice of the tribunal entrusted with the duty of inquiring into these matters, the basic wage is reduced to meet the new conditions.

It was in the year 1907 that the first "basic wage" decision was given by an Australian Court. This decision was made by Mr. Justice Higgins, President of the Federal Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, and is usually known as "The Harvester Judgment," on account of its having been declared in connection with Mr. H. V. McKay's Sunshine Harvester Works. The basic wage was fixed by this decision as 7/- per diem or £2/2/- per week for Melbourne, the amount being considered reasonable "for a family of about five." In 1921, a sum of three shillings per week was added to the "Harvester" wage for reasons which have never been made clear. It is needless to say that this basic rate has been varied from time to time in accordance with the fluctuations in the proved cost of commodities and of living generally; and as those fluctuations have almost invariably been on the side of increase, the "basic wage" has increased accordingly, until in 1929 the average weekly wage for all the States was £4/10/6. But the States have also fixed their own "basic wage" standards, in some cases higher, in others lower, than that set by the Commonwealth, and varying from the latter also in respect of the constitution of the "family unit" whose needs they purport to supply. They have, since 1919, also become associated with State and Federal schemes of Child Endowment, and these have added their involutions to the general tangle.

Much of the trouble thus summarised has only reached its maximum since the war, and does not therefore come within the purview of this section of our history; but it has been thought better, for the sake of clarity and cohesion, to speak of it here. And that the period now under review was by no means lacking in exhibitions of the industrial tangle we have referred to, a strike which started in November, 1908, and ran for many months, may well be cited to show. The owners of the northern collieries, situated in the Newcastle and Maitland districts, had only accepted the Act of 1908 ("Wade's Act") with the very greatest reluctance, and in November of the following year events were to show that their reluctance was well justified. The miners complained of a number of grievances, but, instead of applying for their remedy through the proper channels provided by the Act, they were persuaded by a number of hotheads who had the previous year organised a strike amongst the miners of Broken Hill, and another in the tramway service, that they could not gain their ends by the aid of the law. Accordingly they "downed tools" and declared that they would not resume until complete

mastery of the industry was placed in the hands of their unions. By persuasive eloquence and the fear of being termed "scabs"—a fear which has been responsible for more trouble in Australian industry, perhaps, than all other operating causes put together—the miners of the southern and western collieries were prevailed upon to declare a "sympathetic" strike. This action of the southern and western men was the more illogical since the grievances complained of in the north had actually been remedied elsewhere; and it is at least probable that if the proper methods had been adopted they would have been remedied in the north also. A general strike having been thus engineered, the men demanded an open conference to deal with all their troubles, with an appeal to the Federal Court in the event of an agreement not being arrived at. On the other hand, the employers insisted upon the matters in dispute being referred to the State Court, under whose awards the industry had been working. On the 3rd December the State Industrial Court, under the statutory power which it possessed, ordered the matter to be referred to a "Compulsory Conciliation Board"—a tribunal the paradox of whose title has not prevented it at times from effecting the very marvel that title connotes. In the end, which did not arrive until the middle of March, 1910, this Board decided all the questions at issue; but not before several arrests had been made of inflammatory strike leaders (and the famous "leg-irons" incident enacted), nor until a general sympathy strike of all the affiliated unions in the State had been narrowly averted.

The HERALD's comments upon this strike were continuous and consistent. They showed considerable sympathy for the men, whom they adjudged to have been misled and ill-advised. But their main sympathy was for the law which the strikers had so contemptuously abused. We quote the following extracts from the leading articles of the latter half of November, 1909, as expressing the opinion of the paper, not only upon this particular strike, but upon the whole subject of strikes and the arbitration laws generally:

9th November, 1909.—Yesterday saw the coal strike begin in grim earnest, and ten or twelve thousand miners, with thrice that number of women and children, are dependent on nothing for their daily bread. . . . It is precisely because of the futility of the strike as a means of redressing grievances that arbitration methods have been advocated and set in force by democrats. New South Wales experience suggests that those democrats have been before their time. Our machinery for settling industrial disputes may not be perfect, but it is eminently workable. With one proviso it would do all required of it. That proviso is that the parties should treat it fairly, and remember it has a certain breaking strain. . . .

10th November, 1909.—We do not take sides between the masters and the men. A good deal could be said both ways, and perhaps a dispassionate inquiry might show that the mine-owners, as well as their employees, have failed to do what is fair. That now is beside the question. The essential point is that the Newcastle miners have practically taken the community by the throat, and defiance of the law is ironically accompanied by appeals to all and sundry to assist the police in maintaining order. We have thus come to one of the most serious crises in the history of New South Wales, and no exception can be taken if the mine-owners declare that the only course for them now is to take their stand on the law of the country, and abide by that, and that alone. . . .

11th November, 1909.—The statement made in the Legislative Assembly yesterday afternoon by the Premier makes quite clear what is the attitude of the Government towards the coal strike. The present crisis is in direct contravention of the Industrial Disputes Act, and unless a settlement is speedily come to there must be action of some sort by those responsible for its administration. Certain penal clauses exist which were not made law for nothing. . . . There is still time for a return to work and for a settlement of the matters in dispute. If a conference between the masters and the men can be secured, the Premier is prepared to hold his hand. But the position of the miners in the southern and western collieries is a peculiar one. They have no grievance which cannot be adjusted by means that have been efficacious, or which are not in the direct process of settlement. For them to make common cause with the Newcastle miners is quite unnecessarily to complicate a difficult problem, and they will be well advised in their own interests to return to work at once. As much may be said to the Newcastle miners, but it would be idle not to recog-

nise a special element of unrest in their case. They have never been disposed to give the present Industrial Disputes Act fair play. The Premier now declares to the men of Maitland and Newcastle, and to all otherwise concerned, that the law must be enforced. Pending a conference which may be conceded by the masters as an act of grace, but which cannot be wrested from them, no action will be taken; but should the present crisis continue and develop, then the Government is bound to interfere. . . . Meanwhile, with the Premier, we can only entreat everybody concerned in the present strike to be wise in time, and give the councils of reason and moderation a fair hearing. No one stands to lose more over this unfortunate business than the individual miner, and no one should be so ready to think of the women and children belonging to him, and of the thousands otherwise who will innocently suffer through him. . . .

12th November, 1909.—A Meeting of the leading citizens has been called for this morning at the Town Hall, to deal with the strike from a business point of view, and the resolutions to be offered will be conciliatory. The idea apparently is to drop oil on troubled waters. We may say at once that such an attempt to help in the settlement of this crisis commands our fullest sympathy. Moreover, two years ago we took a prominent part in the discussion for a conference when the miners went out on strike, and we received a good deal of bitter criticism from some people appearing wishful to force the situation. The conference was held, and we claim to have done something towards making it successful. No one can fairly say that we are disinclined to be reasonable, and our honest desire is to see the coal miners working under decent conditions, and receiving a maximum of pay. But to-day the conditions have quite altered. A deliberate attack has been made upon the community, and the colliery proprietors have been practically ordered to a conference under a penalty. A general strike is to be declared next week if the conference is not held, and yet the way to a conference remains absolutely blocked. Let the men return to work and recognise the law in the first instance. That surely in a necessary preliminary to a conference that can do any good. Then a formulation of grievances may well follow, and we know the mind of the community sufficiently to believe that this will be given the fullest possible consideration. . . .

13th November, 1909.—A reader of the speeches of the strike leaders will readily detect a common fallacy running through them all. Whenever reference is made to the Industrial Disputes Act, it is referred to as the law of the Premier, who is described as the Irish members used to describe Mr. Balfour in the 'eighties. Whenever an Executive Act is referred to, it is spoken of as the act of a brutal government. In all the exhortations to the strikers, a contrast is drawn between the law of the land and the will of the people. . . . The laws are the laws, not of the Premier, or of the Government, but of New South Wales, passed after discussion by a majority of the recently-elected representatives of the people. . . . There is an obvious method by which the evils of existing legislation can be remedied if they exist. The coal-miners have as much weight with the electors as any other class. If they or their spokesmen can point to any defects in the Industrial Disputes Act, or to any injustice, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Act will be amended or repealed. Nor can there be any doubt that if they can prove the administration guilty of any arbitrary or unfair conduct they will find their remedy. It must be taken to be a proof of the weakness of the case against the Act and the Government that these methods are ignored. The Act was passed to cure certain defects in the Arbitration Act, the pride of the Labour Party. It gave expedition instead of delay, and consideration by experts instead of by permanent assessors. It contains all the machinery to prevent strikes and lock-outs, and provides for penalties against those who instigate them, or either of them. No one until to-day has been willing to assert that the very able men who have discharged the duties of chairmen in the Newcastle district have not been capable, painstaking, and just. If the men are willing to take advantage of the Act there is not the slightest reason to doubt that their genuine grievances will be redressed. . . .

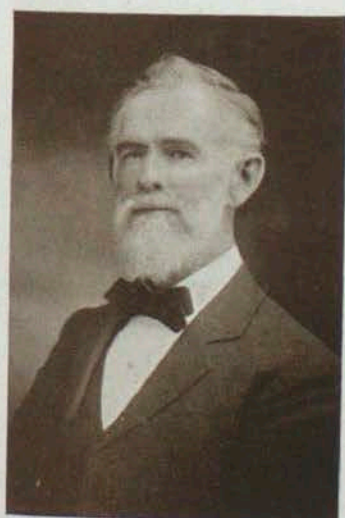
16th November, 1909.—The essential point is that the state, through its Parliament, has permitted coal-mining by companies or individual proprietors. To challenge the mine owners in this way is to challenge the State. Moreover, the State has provided a way by which all disputes between masters and men shall be ventilated and settled, and no industry need lack a hearing for its grievances. A handful of men on the coalfields cannot "arrogate to themselves the right to dictate terms upon which coal shall be produced." They have no such right, and to claim or assume anything of the sort is to be guilty of precisely the wrong which the Newcastle miners have done. Mr. Hughes points to the broken law. He warns the people of this State and of the Commonwealth that, unless an open conference is granted by the colliery proprietors, there will be serious and widespread trouble, and, in effect, he declares that unionism shall be a law to itself. It has



W. G. CONLEY
*General Manager, 1907-1929.
 Also a Director, 1927.*



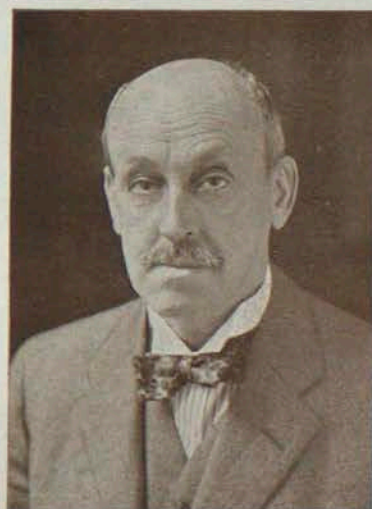
T. W. HENEY
Editor, 1903-1918.



P. PROCTOR
 1880-1905



DR. F. M. GELLATLY
 1905-1918



H. K. WILLIAMS
 1918- —

THREE OF THE FINANCIAL EDITORS OF THE "HERALD."



H.R.H. the Prince of Wales laying the commemoration stone on June 21, 1920, of the Capitol, that some day will occupy the central point of the Federal Capital.



An early view of Canberra (March, 1913), taken from Capitol Hill, with Mt. Ainslie in the distance, before the building of the Capital had been begun.

defied State law; and it has now prescribed the method by which the present Newcastle strike, and presumably all future strikes, shall be settled. . . .

And, finally, we quote the comment of the paper when the conclusion of the strike was inevitable. The extract is taken from the leading article of the 4th March, 1910, and very clearly expresses the HERALD's fears as to the effect of Federal interference in the industrial disputes of the State. It runs as follows:

The Federal elections are upon us, and before the year is out the State elections will have been held. One of the main contentions of the Labour socialists in the former battle was that there should be two judicial bodies in Australia to deal with industrial disputes, as though the system accepted by the States had broken down because appeal to another tribunal is withheld. Mr. Deakin's reply to this was very much to the point. The Newcastle strike is not yet over, though on the verge of settlement, because an effort is being made to transfer the whole struggle to Melbourne. We have only to imagine what would happen if every union that considered itself aggrieved by some wages board decision could rush off to invoke the help of Mr. Justice Higgins, or if every strike had to be settled by such long range firing. There would be no end to the loss of time and money. The cost of everything would mount up, and the whole machinery of industrial arbitration would break down of its own weight. . . . It has been a great stimulus to unionism, instead of a deadly attack upon it, and the danger is, lest this very development may be used by the Labour socialist in politics to serve his own ends. . . . The 168 unions, with a membership of 128,000 registered under the Act in 1909, are the greatest possible reflection upon the strikes which have taken place since the legislation of 1907. Broken Hill cost the country half a million of money, and the Premier estimates the loss caused by the present Newcastle strike at three-quarters of a million. . . . Mr. Wade is justified in emphasising these phases of the working of the Act, especially as he has been attacked for passing a law alleged to be an invasion of the most sacred rights of citizenship. It may, perhaps, be fair to point out that the times are prosperous. The boards, in a majority of cases, have granted the increased wages demanded, and the unions are happy. The real test will come if the tide turns, and employers ask that their losses may be lightened or shared, lest they find themselves in the Bankruptcy Court. . . .

How substantially the apprehensions thus expressed by the HERALD were to be justified the events of the near future were to prove.

It was in April, 1904, that the first Federal Labour Ministry managed to gain the reins of power. This occurred as the result of a split in the ranks of the Government supporters on the question of industrial arbitration and the withdrawal of the Labour support which up to then the Government had received. By this time the first, or Barton Ministry had—owing to the translation of Sir Edmund Barton to the Federal High Court—come to an end, and had been succeeded by a Government led by Mr. Alfred Deakin, of Victoria, and mainly composed of ex-members of the Barton Cabinet. The second Parliament of the Commonwealth was in session, having been elected only four months previously. Deakin's Government lasted for seven months—September, 1903, to April, 1904—and then, as a result of the disagreement already referred to, Mr. Watson, the Labour leader, was given his opportunity. He was commissioned by the Governor-General to form a Ministry, and did so after the lapse of a few days. This Ministry constituted not only the first Labour Government in the history of the Federation; it was—with one exception—the first Labour Ministry in the history of the world. The honour of having led the very first Labour Government ever to hold office lies with Mr. Anderson Dawson, the Queensland Labour leader, who, on the 1st December, 1899, had been enabled, as the result of a split in the ranks of the followers of Mr. Dickson, the Liberal Premier, to effect the resignation of that gentleman and to obtain the Governor's commission to form a Ministry himself. The Government which he thereafter led lasted, however, only for a week!

The Labour Party being in the minority in the Federal Parliament, it was clear from the beginning that the Watson Government could last only so long as the difference

between the two sections of the opposition, led respectively by Deakin and Reid—the Free Trade ex-Premier of New South Wales—should prove unhealable. In other words, a coalition between the head of the previous Protectionist Government and the leader of the Free Trade opposition would at once send it back to the country; and that this was generally realised by all parties is clear from the contemporary reports. The reactions of the *HERALD* to the important political changes which were taking place make interesting reading. It attacked the Deakin Government—or ex-Government—for having so long permitted itself to be the tool of the Labour Party; it disliked the idea of a Labour Government intensely, and said so; it saw that the only hope of ousting that Government lay in a coalition of the two branches of the Opposition; and it prophesied that such a coalition must inevitably result in a very short time. We quote a few extracts from its leading articles of this period, expressive of the paper's attitude; the first of which is taken from the issue of the 22nd April, 1904, and runs thus:

The result of the division in the House of Representatives last night upon Mr. Fisher's amendment for including State servants in the purview of the Federal Arbitration Act was the defeat of the Deakin Government.

Hitherto there has been a certain affectation of innocence of the fact that the business proper to this Parliament was delayed, or that there was any understanding amongst certain members by virtue of which a majority was secured to the Government on certain conditions, or that Ministers were pandering to the Labour Party, or that the Arbitration Act in particular was anything other than a necessary and desired corollary of federation.

But the determined attitude of the Labour Party over its amendments introduced a touch of reality which quite spoiled the idyllic play. Sir John Forrest was one of those who were most successful in responding to the appeal to throw off the mask of illusion, and his contribution to the debate was not only instructive, as well as amusing, in itself, but a very striking confirmation of all that the critics of the Ministerial-cum-Labour alliance have been saying for months past.

The Government is responsible for the Arbitration Bill, which has been the fruitful parent of the intolerable Labour demands, and we now know from Sir John Forrest exactly why the Government brought it in, and what those who voted to keep the Government in power were supporting. The fact that the situation is such a tangled one only goes to offer further proof, if that were necessary, of the demoralisation reigning in Federal politics as the result of this alliance between the Federal Government and the Labour Party. The best way to break down that alliance, or anything resembling it in the future, is to rank the moderate and the State socialist sections of the House in fair opposition to each other, and this is one of the possible results of a crisis like the present.

The break up of the Cabinet-cum-Labour compact was the real defeat of the Government, and the division merely carried it into effect. The alternatives apparently are a tentative Labour Ministry under Mr. Watson or a Coalition Cabinet composed of leading members of the outgoing Government and the Opposition. But the main fact of the situation this morning is that the compact between the Cabinet and the Labour Party has been brought to an end.

Five days later, the personnel of the Watson Ministry having been announced, the *HERALD* commented upon its claims and prospects in the following terms:

With the announcement this morning of the personnel of the new Federal Ministry, all doubts as to its purely Labour composition will be set at rest. Mr. Watson has called the caucus to his council, and the free hand he was supposed to have been given seems to have found a very limited swing.

What appealed to many thoughtful minds as the right policy for Mr. Watson to pursue, taking the Labour point of view by way of argument, was to form a Ministry which would draw the radicals together to reinforce the caucus minority.

But the inclusion of Mr. Higgins may be accepted as the crown of Mr. Watson's failure to form a moderate Ministry. His Attorney-General has been in State politics for so long that it is not unfair to argue that other Premiers have been afraid to take him as a colleague. His undoubted ability, his force of character, and his experience as a lawyer should have long ago qualified him for office, but only now, in Mr. Watson's extremity, has a portfolio come to Mr. Higgins.

The first Federal Ministry, taking Mr. Deakin's as a continuation, was composed of the most experienced men from the State Cabinets. The second Federal Ministry is made up almost entirely of untried politicians, the representatives of a class, and tied hand and foot to a caucus vote.

The "Mr. Higgins" referred to in the foregoing extract was the late Mr. Justice Higgins, President of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Court; but who, at the date of the article quoted from, was still practising at the Victorian Bar. The Parliament met on the 27th, and the new Prime Minister having announced the names of his Ministers, obtained an adjournment of three weeks. Deakin and Reid had apparently patched up their differences, and it was generally felt that, very shortly after the resumption of business, the Watson Ministry would be defeated.

As a matter of fact the Watson Ministry lasted just four months, being defeated by the combined forces of the opposition in the middle of the following August. Although its life, therefore, was of the briefest, it is notable, not alone because of its priority amongst the Labour Governments of the world, but because it introduced to Federal Ministerial rank two men, each of whom—and one of whom particularly—was to play a big part in Australian and even world affairs in the not undistant future. These two men were Andrew Fisher, the man who became Prime Minister of Australia for the third time shortly after the Great War broke out, and whose cabled promise of Australian support in the struggle "to the last man and the last shilling" has become famous; and William Morris Hughes, whose strenuous and picturesque personality, firstly as Labour Prime Minister and subsequently as head of the Nationalist Government of Australia, has made of him a world figure curiously comparable in many ways with that of his compatriot, the "little Welsh wizard," Mr. Lloyd George. Although, as we have said, it was the combination of the opposition forces which, uniting in a formal coalition, succeeded in driving the Watson Government from office, strangely enough, Mr. Deakin was not one of the two men who commanded the Government which followed. He would not even accept a place in the Coalition Cabinet, preferring to stand with the rank and file rather than share the leadership with Reid. It was a much lesser man who enjoyed that doubtful privilege, Mr. Allan McLean, an ex-Premier of Victoria, and a politician of some repute in the southern colony, but, considered as a Federal statesman, almost negligible. The accident of his one-time premiership of Victoria, however, gave him his chance; and, since Reid could not command the support of a united party, he was fain to accept the inevitable and let the new Ministry be known to history as a sort of two-headed Cerberus, under the joint and individual title of "the Reid-McLean Government." But that the real leadership was Reid's is a matter of no possible doubt. The Coalition Government was hailed with relief, tempered with caution, by the *HERALD*, which felt dubious as to the sincerity of Deakin's attitude. That the doubt was justified was well proved eleven months later. In July, 1905, Deakin gave Reid a formal intimation that he could no longer support the coalition; and, that support having been withdrawn, the Reid-McLean Government went promptly on the rocks. As a result of the political re-shuffling which followed, Deakin came back into power at the head of a government which occupied the Treasury benches for over three years, with the support of the now rapidly-growing Labour Party. In April, 1910, the elections—fought mainly on the question of land nationalisation, as a preliminary to which the Labour Party proposed to impose a drastic Federal Land Tax—gave Labour so great a strength that, for the first time in its history, it was able to command a working majority in the House of Representatives without outside assistance.

From that day until February, 1917, when W. M. Hughes (who had, in turn, succeeded Fisher as leader), breaking away on the conscription question from the party he

had so long supported, formed and led the National War Government, Labour, with one short break, held the reins of power in Federal politics. The break referred to began in June, 1913, when Mr. Joseph Cook, one of the first Labour members elected to the New South Wales Assembly, and a man who had risen from State Labour politics to the Liberalism of those of the national Parliament, gaining on the way a seat in the Deakin Cabinet of 1908, managed to wrest from Mr. Fisher the right to occupy the Government benches for some fifteen months. But, even this brief summary has taken us too far ahead, and we must return to the mid years of the first decade of the century and of the Commonwealth.

The Imperial Conference of 1907 was notable for the fact that the question of "Imperial Preference" was the main subject of discussion. Others matters were introduced, of course, but the preference question far outweighed all the others in interest and importance. Australia was represented by its Prime Minister (Alfred Deakin) and Sir William Lyne, and the conference, which opened on the 15th April, continued its sessions until the 14th of May. Of the fifteen days actually spent in discussion, five were occupied with the preference debates. In the end the British Government absolutely rejected Imperial reciprocity in any shape, although all the dominion representatives confirmed certain resolutions arrived at in 1902 to grant preferential treatment to British and intra-Imperial products. The result was a disappointment to Deakin, who had taken the lead in stressing complete Imperial preference. But the *HERALD*, which could not see without a shudder such an abandonment of Free Trade principles as, in its opinion, Deakin's proposals connoted, and which, moreover, had consistently declared that the Australian Prime Minister had no mandate to make those proposals at all, unfeignedly approved of Britain's decision. The paper published many leading articles on the subject, and we quote from three of them. The first appeared in the issue of the 4th May, 1907, and took as its text the speech of Mr. Asquith (then Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Campbell-Bannerman Liberal Government), in which the proposals of Mr. Deakin has been firmly rejected. The article ran as follows:

Mr. Asquith's point-blank refusal to grant fiscal preference to the Colonies was, of course, what was to be expected. . . . If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had consented, he and his Government would have had to reckon with the majority in the House of Commons, which is solidly Free Trade. . . . As a matter of fact, as we have so often insisted, Australia has never made an offer of preference. In the dying days of the last Federal Parliament, Mr. Deakin brought forward so-called preference proposals, and these were passed with an addition which made them still more ridiculous as a sincere attempt to establish preferential rates. Since then the general elections have been fought, but the issue was not preference. Mr. Deakin did not even venture to take his policy to the Commonwealth. He appealed to a certain small minority of seats held by his Ministers and personal followers, chiefly in Victoria. In the greater part of Australia, Mr. Deakin could not find candidates to face the electors with his cry, and so complete was his defeat at the elections that he occupies the position of a Prime Minister who leads the smaller of the three parties into which Parliament is divided, and who holds office at the will of a party whose policy he has strongly criticised. For such a Minister to claim that he has a mandate from Australia to offer preference on his own terms is a course of political conduct which we can hardly define in Parliamentary language. His astonishing colleague, Sir W. Lyne, nearly equals the effrontery of the Prime Minister when he invites the Imperial Government to institute a referendum on the subject. . . .

On the 5th May the *HERALD* took the matter a little further. It said:

There is one policy which the Imperial Government might reasonably have urged on the Conference, and that is the policy of Imperial Free Trade. How would *that* have appealed to the visiting Premiers, and especially to our Australian Prime Minister? "What," Mr. Deakin would have exclaimed with much eloquence, "what, do you demand of us that we shall surrender the fruits of years of protection? By means of protective tariffs we have built up a large number of

factories. We are still employing a number of hands. Our manufacturers, who are now strong supporters of the sort of preference we offer, would at once enlist themselves in the objectionable army of Free Traders, and turn me incontinently out of office. And what would Australia do then, poor thing." It was possibly in view of this contingency that the Imperial Government refrained from urging this policy. Mr. Lloyd George, however, did not advance this reason—probably refraining from imagining the Commonwealth without its Mr. Deakin. The reason he did advance was sufficient—that the proposal of Free Trade within the Empire would be unfair as ignoring local conditions and exigencies. In other words, the Imperial Government, knowing that the Colonies, in their own interests, have erected barriers against the importation of British manufactures, is disinclined to recommend an upheaval of their fiscal policy. This did not occur to Mr. Deakin when he suggested that the fiscal policy of the Mother Country should be abandoned at his request—a request which has not, as he alleges, the mandate of the electorate behind it. . . .

And, finally, in summing up the work of the Conference in its leader of the 16th May, the paper disposed of the preferential trade proposals in the following terms:

Mr. Deakin has played a role in this, as in so much else, for which he could find no warrant in his commission. His speeches on preferential trade . . . had no justification whatever in Australian public opinion. . . . As to preferential trade, the British Government seems to apprehend trouble as an outcome of the recent discussions, since the Prime Minister has just struck a note of warning; but nothing has been said by Mr. Deakin that has affected the position. Every flamboyant statement has been more than answered. Protection, naked and unashamed, may have been his inspiration, but Mr. Asquith and other Free Trade champions have exposed the selfishness of Australian provincialism. . . .

It was in this same year—1907—as has been already stated, that Mr. Samuel Cook, who had been General Manager for John Fairfax & Sons since 1888, was forced by ill-health to resign his position. The vacancy was filled by Mr. William George Conley, who had been associated with the *HERALD* staff for over eight years, and who held, at the time of his appointment to the higher office, the position of Chief of Staff. Born at Toowoomba in 1868, Mr. Conley as a youth entered the Educational Department of the Public Service and passed with credit the examinations which came his way. But, as Tom Hood once said of himself, he had "ink in his blood," and the young man soon abandoned his first design and entered upon the career of journalism for which he was so eminently fitted. After some years' preliminary experience in various capacities with country newspapers, he gravitated to Sydney in 1898, and entered the service of the *HERALD* as a reporter. His ability was quickly recognised, and it was not long before he had worked his way by sheer merit into the senior ranks. He served with the special staff on the occasion of the visit to Australia of the Duke and Duchess of York in 1901; and in the following year was appointed Chief of Staff. He served for five years in this capacity, and then the resignation of Mr. Cook brought to him that General Managership whose varied, strenuous, and important duties he was to carry out with fine efficiency for over twenty years. Mr. Conley was made a Director of the firm of John Fairfax & Sons Ltd. in 1927, this being the first occasion on which that position had been held by anyone outside the Fairfax family. Two years later, *viz.*, on the 15th February, 1929, Mr. Conley died, at the comparatively early age of 60 years. He was a hard worker all his life, a fine journalist and a brilliant organiser; and although his duties tied him very closely to his office, he managed to engage in a number of outside activities. Most of these were, characteristically enough, of a philanthropic or charitable nature. Thus, he was at various times a director of the Sydney Hospital, and a prominent member, and for a time the President, of the Sydney Branch of the Rotary Club. He was also a member of the Council of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce, and being, as the result of his constant interest in military matters, on the Reserve of Officers when the Great War

broke out, he was able to render considerable service to his country in training and other kindred ways. It may also be added that he was largely responsible for the design and construction of the present office of the HERALD. Mr. Conley was a forcible speaker and a good linguist; and as a natural result of the friendly interest he invariably displayed in their welfare, he was regarded affectionately by all the members of the staff. His death was the occasion for eloquent expressions of sympathy from many sources; and the HERALD, in its issue of the day following his death, not only published a lengthy obituary notice, but also devoted a leading article to his memory.

Although in 1905 wireless telegraphy had been introduced into Australia by the Marconi Company and messages had been interchanged between Queenscliff, Victoria, and Devonport, Tasmania, by its means across the waters of Bass Strait, it was not to take its place as a general utility for some time yet, and the opening of the telephone between Sydney and Melbourne in 1907 was, so far at any rate as the HERALD was then concerned, a matter of much more practical importance, as being one of which immediate and valuable use could be made.

In August, 1908, the visit of the American Fleet provided the Australian public with a magnificent spectacle and a topic of rare interest. The fleet, consisting of sixteen battleships, two supply ships and a hospital ship, the whole under the command of Rear-Admiral Sperry, flying his flag on the "Connecticut," entered Sydney Harbour on the morning of the 20th August, to be greeted by what was undoubtedly the largest assemblage that the city had ever seen. It was estimated, on a careful calculation, that over half a million people were scattered that morning around the foreshores of Port Jackson, and that the great majority of them thronged the streets during the celebrations that followed. The weather was brilliantly fine, and the illuminations, decorations and other evidences of greeting were both lavish in quantity and appropriate in design. The HERALD had made special preparations for reporting the various functions, and its issues during the stay of the fleet in Sydney waters provide ample evidence of the efficacy of those preparations and of the way the paper lived up to its traditions. For the first time in its history the HERALD used process blocks to illustrate its pages; and, in addition, it printed a number of line drawings. The Fleet stayed in Port Jackson for a week, before paying a visit to the other States; and during the whole of that week Sydney was *en fete*. There was no doubting or denying the warmth of her reception nor the sincerity of the hospitality with which she entertained her visitors; and the HERALD in its leading article of the 28th—the day after the fleet had left—very appropriately congratulated the citizens of the Mother State on the way they had upheld their reputation. No serious accident of any kind, no untoward disturbance, marred the general success of the celebrations, and this was the more remarkable in view of the immensity of the crowds that thronged the streets both by day and night. The police, in particular, exhibited that combination of firmness and good-nature which means so much on such an occasion; and the HERALD, in testifying to their record in this regard, paid them the tribute that was universally acknowledged to be their due.

In June, 1909, an event occurred of the utmost importance to the Empire in general and to journalism in particular. This event was the holding in London of an Imperial Press Conference, the first of its kind in the history of British journalism. Preparations for the event had been long in the making; delegates from all the leading newspapers of the Empire had been selected to attend the sessions of the Conference and a lengthy agenda paper had been prepared. On the part of the Home authorities similar arrangements had been made to receive and entertain the delegates and to see that every possible

avenue of information was laid open to their inquiry. Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. O. Fairfax was commissioned by the proprietary of the *HERALD* to represent the paper at the Conference, and the Australian delegates having arrived in England towards the end of May, appointed Mr. Kyffin-Thomas, of Adelaide, as their Chairman, and Mr. J. W. Kirwan, of Kalgoorlie, as their Secretary. The Conference opened on the 5th, and ended on the 26th of June; and during that time the delegates were enabled not only to hold a number of sessions during which matters of moment to journalism were discussed and furthered, but, thanks to the hospitality with which they were received, they were able to participate in a varied round of entertainments and to investigate the workings of the principal industries and factories of the Three Kingdoms.

Lord Burnham, of the London *Daily Telegraph*, presided over the Conference, and the banquet to the delegates which was held on the evening of the 5th June, to mark its opening, was made particularly noteworthy by the address of welcome delivered by Lord Rosebery. This speech has been declared to be one of the finest and most impressive that ever fell from the lips of that statesman, and though it is far too long to quote in full, an extract from the cabled summary of it which the *HERALD* printed in the issue of the 7th, may very well be given:

Referring to the conferences of the Prime Ministers of the Empire, Lord Rosebery said it was no disparagement to those gatherings to say that the present Imperial gathering was more important still. Ministries were transient, while the power of a great newspaper in guiding and embodying opinion immeasurably exceeded the statesman's.

"The best and simplest words for the present occasion," Lord Rosebery continued, "the only two essential, perhaps, the sweetest that mortal can hear, are—Welcome home!" (Prolonged cheering.)

Proceeding in a vein of delicate pathos, with flashes of humour and satire, to picture what the delegates who had arrived would see of Great Britain past and present, including her prodigious but always inadequate armada protecting her shores, "All these, gentlemen," he exclaimed, "are yours as much as ours."

Lord Rosebery asked the delegates what they had brought, adding that, more important to the motherland than anything they could take from her, the best they could bring was knowledge about themselves, their communities, their aspirations, and their policies.

Finally, Lord Rosebery, altering his mood, described with extraordinary impressiveness the state of Europe—its surface calm, but its overpowering preparation for war. He added:

"Great Britain is determined to spend, if need be, her last shilling in Dreadnoughts. I am not sure even whether that will be enough. Possibly it will be your duty to carry to the dominions a message of some personal duty and responsibility that defence rests upon every citizen."

He emphasised the deplorable condition of Europe "rattling into barbarism. Pressure is being put on this little England to defend itself, its liberties, and yours. . . ."

"Take this message also back: The old country is right at heart. There is no failing or weakness in her. She rejoices in renewing her youth in the giant dominions beyond the seas. For her own salvation she must look to herself, and that failing, she will look to you."

The *HERALD* gave the most detailed reports of the proceedings. In the leading article which appears in the issue of the 4th June, the paper thus commented on the aims and possible results of the forthcoming conference:

The Imperial Press Conference, which will be sitting in London for the next week or so, is an event of no little importance, not merely to journalists, but to all who take a fitting interest in the larger problems of empire. As usual on such occasions, papers will be read and discussions take place, and these are bound to serve a useful purpose. But the really significant thing is that journalists from all parts of the Empire will be brought into personal contact with each other and with the changing life of Great Britain, and will be able to discover how easy it is to find a common viewpoint towards the great Imperial questions this century will have to ask and answer. . . . While the people of Great Britain do not know as much about us as we should like, colonial opinion is now anything but ignored in the British press, and it is no longer possible for serious

misunderstandings to arise. But while we must be glad that this change has come about, there is no doubt that we do miss on both sides the broadening and humanising influence of personal contact. For those who are visiting the present conference, and those who will be their hosts, this disability will be removed. . . . More urgent still it is that we should realise the existence of a great body of educated opinion throughout the Empire, a body of opinion not the less vital and formative that it usually fails to find complete political expression. Journalism which lives up to its responsibilities enables this complex of criticism to voice itself, and by so doing it plays no slight part in the making of empire.

So successful was the conference that, before its final sittings was completed, tentative arrangements were already being made for the holding of its successor in Canada. Unfortunately, the War interfered in the fulfilment of these arrangements, and eleven years were to elapse before the second conference was held at Ottawa.

On the 10th December, 1909, the *HERALD* published a short paragraph which is of considerable interest and which reads as follows:

The first aerial flight in Australasia by a motor-propelled machine was accomplished yesterday afternoon at Victoria Park Racecourse. The machine, handled by Mr. Colin Defries, flew about 115 yards, the time of flight being registered as $5\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. The height attained varied from two feet to fifteen feet, and there was every prospect of the aeroplane soaring aloft had not the engine worked badly. . . .

Certainly no better day could have been chosen. When the first test was made, the breeze, which was a south-easterly, was scarcely felt. The aviator faced the wind, and made several trials unsuccessfully. Then he turned to the north, intending to run into the wind at the turn. The result was a success. When travelling at about 35 miles an hour, and handling the machine alone, Mr. Defries suddenly raised his elevating planes, and at once rose into the air. As he left the ground there was an involuntary cry from about 150 spectators, "He's up!" and he *was* up. As the machine rushed forward it kept in the air, and rose quickly from three feet to fully fifteen feet or twenty feet, and then tapered down again to earth, after covering about 115 yards. According to the time taken over the measured distance, the aeronaut covered 100 yards in five seconds, which will give some idea of his rate of travelling. . . . The first public flight is announced for between 4 and 6 p.m. to-morrow.

Search reveals no further reference to such flight, and it was not until the following year that the opportunity was given to the Australian public of witnessing an aeroplane actually taking to the air.

It is curious that the *HERALD* should have paid such comparatively little attention to this pioneer effort in Australian aviation, since, as we shall now show, the paper had for more than forty years keenly interested itself in the possibilities of the art of flying. Its very first reference to the matter is dated the 1st June, 1841, and takes the shape of a remarkable prediction—copied from an American paper, by the way—that, as the result of a certain Virginian gentleman's invention "mails would be carried through the air at 100 miles an hour." This extract was printed without further comment; but two years later the question of air navigation again came before the notice of the *HERALD*, and this time the matter took on a local association. There had been further rumours as to mechanical air transport having been made practicable in England; and in the issue of the 8th June, 1843, there appeared a letter from a Mr. Francis Forbes, of Muswellbrook, in which he claimed to have invented some years before a form of "Aerial Carriage," which "circumstances had prevented him from bringing forward," but of which he had informed certain people at the time. Mr. Forbes was of the opinion that his ideas had probably been annexed by the author of the new invention, and gave a number of particulars of his "carriage" and of the methods on which it worked. This letter had somewhat unexpected results. In the first place, it brought a vigorous letter from a correspondent signing himself "A.B.," who, referring to what he termed Mr. Forbes's "visionary project," roundly asserted that he—the writer—was convinced that

"no plan for carrying goods and passengers through the air would ever be carried into effect." In the second place, "A.B.'s" letter was answered in the issue of the 27th June by Mr. Forbes, who delivered himself of his indignation in these terms: "Having explained my principles, I shall not trouble you further than to express my most unmitigated contempt for the *profanum vulgus* who at the present moment are waiting either to hoot or applaud the proposed invention, according as it may fail or succeed, without having the least idea of the principles on which success may be hoped for." And, finally, it induced the HERALD on the 28th June to devote a leading article to the subject of aviation, in which the writer committed himself to the following striking prophecy:

Without assuming that the invention which has been proclaimed in the English papers will be successful, we may be permitted to predict, that if this one should fail, others of an analogous character will arise, and that the subject once broached will not be allowed to slumber until the grand discovery is made. It must be confessed that the accomplishment of this wonder by steam is the most extraordinary part of the tale; for the ponderous nature of the engine, with its necessary fuel and water, would seem to baffle all schemes to render it buoyant. Nevertheless, as there are pelicans as well as swallows among birds, we may yet behold a stately leviathan rising in the air. . . .

In the meantime we beg to direct our readers to the rapid progress of electro-magnetic improvement, because we have more hope of ultimate success from the agency of expanded air, the gases, or electricity, than from steam. . . .

Upon the whole, we think aerial navigation quite feasible, and wait with impatience the account of the experiment which was to be tried in February last. And we doubt not that, when the ingenious contrivance is made known, it will transcend all present speculation, and, like the chameleon in the fable, the creature when turned out will be unlike all the visions which our theorists have had of it.

. . . Let our subscribers read the essay we refer to for themselves; and in connection with what is there stated, and with facts which are now being rapidly brought to light, they may perhaps foresee a period when cities will be illuminated, their clocks regulated, their bells rung, their printing, their plating, and their engraving executed by the electric fluid—a period when both air and ocean will be navigated by electricity—an era when, with lightning speed, news will travel round the world, and radiate to its remotest wilds—when the birth of a Prince in England will be telegraphed to Sydney before the dawn of another day.

During the next two or three months the HERALD returned again and again to the subject. Thus, on the 14th of August, it printed, *in extenso*, an article taken from the Liverpool Mail (England) of the previous April, giving a full description of the invention the previous references to which had initiated the correspondence and articles already quoted. Moreover, it reproduced as illustrations to the article the line drawings given in the English paper; and on the following day it again devoted its leading columns to an article bearing the title "The Aerial," and containing the magnificent, but somewhat premature, assertion that "Man has conquered the air." On the 26th January following, another leader appeared, headed "Can We Fly?" in which the whole position of aerial navigation as it then stood was discussed at considerable length, and which ended with the credo: "The whole intellect of Europe, America and the civilised world has been so stirred up by this topic, and mechanical and pneumatic appliances are so numerous that we fairly calculate upon a practical aerial machine, which, although it may not satisfy the most sanguine, may yet prove of high advantage to man."

It is appropriate to add here that, although these predictions were not to be realised for more than fifty years, when the date of that realisation came the HERALD resumed its old attitude of intense interest in aviation generally. Nor was this attitude confined to aviation; ever since its birth the HERALD has evidenced an enthusiasm for, and an appreciation of, the marvellous advances of science in every field. And before leaving this theme, it will be of interest to quote in support of the preceding generalisation, an

extract from a leading article of the issue of the 2nd October, 1846, wherein the writer, after traversing the subject of electrical communication generally, and with England in particular, ventured to conclude with the following truly remarkable forecast:

It is not for us, in the absence of explicit and perfect detail, to say whether this scheme will be successful; but, should it succeed, its capability of illimitable extension is obvious. And having lately shown the contiguity of the chain of islands to the north-west of New Holland, with our own and the Asiatic continent, it seems almost impossible to resist the conviction that at no very distant day electricity will link the whole together, and telegraphic communication will be established through this line with the Mother Country, thus conveying intelligence from Sydney to London in the hitherto incredibly short space of four-and-twenty hours. . . . Years may pass away before commerce and politics, sustained by universal peace, shall fulfil this vision; but we apprehend it is one of the great thoughts which, while they entertain, also enlarge and invigorate the mind, and prepare it for marvellous enterprise. This hint thrown out thus early, may enter into our habitual anticipations; losing the charm of novelty, it may be matured into sober calculation and calm deliberation, until step after step shall be taken, first to prepare for, and then to approximate the general idea, until it shall be perfected. Such is our suggestion in 1846, and let our children applaud our perspicacity, although contemporaries may question or deny or sneer.

The year 1910 was remarkable, in Australian and State politics alike, for seeing in the Commonwealth Parliament the first Labour Ministry to hold power by virtue of its own unaided majority, and in the Parliament of New South Wales the first Labour Ministry that had ever sat upon the Treasury benches of the Mother State. The Commonwealth Ministry was that of Mr. Andrew Fisher, who had some two years before reigned for a few months, by virtue of assistance received from a disgruntled section of the Liberals, and who was now called upon as the result of Mr. Deakin's defeat at the polls, to form a second Ministry. Mr. Fisher took office in April, 1910, and remained there for nearly three years. The State Ministry was that of Mr. J. S. T. McGowen, who had been at the head of the Labour forces in New South Wales for some years, and who, taking over the reins of government in October, 1910—largely, as we have said, as the result of the "leg-iron" cry—was to remain the Premier of his State for almost exactly the same period as his fellow leader in the Federal Parliament.

The *HERALD*, if it did not—and, indeed, it could not—welcome these coming guests with any enthusiasm, did at least offer them the courtesy which their position as the duly elected representatives of the people demanded, while it sped the parting guests with gratitude. We quote the opening and closing paragraphs of the leading article of the 20th April to show how fairly the above generalisation expresses the attitude of the paper:

The resignation of the Deakin Ministry was the inescapable corollary of the elections, and Mr. Deakin has taken the right and the dignified course in at once leaving the responsibility of office to Mr. Fisher, who, doubtless, will with equal promptitude proceed to gather a Cabinet about him. Australia will take leave of the late Government, we believe, with a cordial recognition of its good deeds. A party which for the first time in Federal politics made possible a return to a constitutional two-party system has a place in the political history of the Commonwealth that will appear more worthy and more dignified as time goes on. Whatever happens, its term of office will be a memorable one. It has accomplished more than had been done in the whole previous history of the federation. It gave promise of accomplishing much more. It has left little evil to live after it, nor will the good that it has done perish with it. Mr. Fisher may add what he chooses, or what his party chooses for him, but he will have to build on the broad foundations that have been left him, as no mean legacy, by the late Administration. In spite of the abyss that divides the Liberal from the Labour platform, this fact remains, and though Labour may attempt much of which we shall not be able to approve, we believe that in practice the abyss will not be so wide or so deep as it looks. Mr. Fisher has to assume an enormous responsibility, but we have no evidence that he and his Ministry will not realise that responsibility to the full. In that event we shall not be surprised if much of the work so capably begun by Mr. Deakin is as

capably concluded by Mr. Fisher. . . . We reserve the right, and all Liberals reserve the right, to criticise keenly the spirit and the substances of every measure Mr. Fisher may seek to place on the Statute Book. But let us not make a mere fetish of the name "Liberal"; let us remember how much of Labour policy is only the continuance of Liberal tradition, and let us give Mr. Fisher and his friends credit for a desire to uphold the prestige of Australia before the world. Whatever sins or follies they may be guilty of will be swiftly visited upon their heads. But we shall be all the stronger to resist any real menace to our national well-being if we begin by extending to the new Administration a certain frank generosity, even if events should make it only the generosity of the swordsman who has to keep his rapier keen. For the rest, no one can escape seeing that all the much-talked-of ability of Mr. Fisher and his friends will be needed to keep them straight in the perilous paths they have to tread.

The paper's claim for the Deakin Government that it had done more than had been accomplished in the whole previous history of the Federation, was a large one; but that it was substantially justified may be conceded when it is recalled that during its ten months' term of office, that Government had placed upon the Statute Book such important measures as the Seat of Government Act, an important Finance Act, the Bills of Exchange Act, the Marine Insurance Act, the High Commissioner Act, the Seamen's Compensation Act; and, above all, the Defence Act.

This last-named Act was, indeed, the great work of the session. Since the Federation had been established, practically nothing in the shape of a definite defence policy had been attempted. There had been Boards of Military and Naval Administration, there had been a Council of Defence, military and naval experts had reported and their reports had been received—and shelved. The net result had been the installation of a form of military instruction for cadets and the decrease of the military forces of the Commonwealth by about 5,000. The Defence Act of 1909 did much to remove this reproach upon the reputation of the Commonwealth. Above all, it established that form of compulsory military training which, despite its detractors, did much to help the authorities when the great appeal of 1914 rang out across the world. The compulsion was for home defence only, of course; and the training was neither very strict nor very lengthy; but that it was effective there can be no doubt. The cost of the scheme was estimated at £1,750,000 per annum, and this, with the £750,000 required for naval defence, made up a total expenditure of £2,500,000. In addition, the Naval branch of the service required a preliminary capital outlay of £3,750,000 to pay for the vessels forming the Australian unit of the British Navy, in terms of the Imperial Naval Conference which had recently been held in London. At that Conference, while New Zealand had decided to continue the existing form of cash contribution, Australia had undertaken to provide the nucleus of an Australian Pacific Fleet to be manned by Australians, supplemented by Imperial officers and men for training purposes. To meet the outlay required for this purpose a Naval Loan Act was also passed by the Deakin Government, enabling it to borrow £3,500,000.

Unfortunately, the elections of 1910 upset all these plans. The Defence Act was to come into force by proclamation; but before that proclamation was made the Deakin Government was defeated, and the Fisher Government not only delayed and drastically amended the Act, but repealed the Naval Loan Act before any operations under it had been carried out. It is only fair to say, however, that the new Defence Act of the Fisher Government was an improvement upon that of its predecessor, since it embodied the recommendations of Lord Kitchener, who had visited Australia in the beginning of 1910, at the request of the Deakin Government, to advise upon Defence matters generally. So far as the Naval side of the question was concerned, the Fisher Government

also introduced a Naval Defence Act which gave statutory authority for the establishment of that Commonwealth Navy which was later to do such effective work in the Great War. It only remains to add of the Deakin Government, that during its term, and especially the earlier portion of it, the debates in Parliament were marked by an acrimony that was as remarkable as it was unhappy. Those displays of temper culminated on the 22nd July, 1909, in a tragic scene when, after a session of fourteen continuously stormy hours, the Speaker—Sir Frederick Holder—taxed beyond endurance, fell insensible from his chair, and died a few hours later. The House was shocked into sobriety; but unfortunately the effect was only transitory, and during the remainder of the session, disorder, though not carried to such extreme lengths as before, continued to mar the proceedings of the House.

As for Mr. McGowen's Government, the *HERALD* offered it, in its leader of the 20th October, a similar courtesy to that which it had extended to Mr. Fisher, while of Mr. Wade, the departing Premier, it spoke with appropriate gratitude:

. . . It would be easy at this point to be cynical at the expense of the caucus, but it is fair to recognise that when a party has been waiting for a majority for nearly twenty years, the unexpected and novel experience of a distribution of office involves very great temptation, and no one can afford to cast a stone at the caucus if it gives rise to some stormy scenes. . . . Although we do not share many of Mr. McGowen's ideals, his political tenacity and his unselfish devotion to his party merit recognition, and as Premier he will have a position which, from a party point of view, he has justly and honestly earned.

In saying good-bye to the Wade Government for the time being, there is no need to dwell at any length on its good works. Mr. Wade himself has earned the respect and the cordial sympathy of the whole country.

The death of King Edward VII. on Saturday, the 7th May, of this year (1910), was announced by the *HERALD* in a special issue on the following Monday. The paper was bordered in black, and it contained, in addition to a sympathetic leading article upon his Majesty's demise, a summarised account of the events of his reign, and many special articles upon his life and work. A miniature edition of this issue was subsequently printed, and a very large number of Australians possessed themselves of copies. The issue of the following day—10th May—was also printed in mourning, and its leading article was devoted to a consideration of the possible effects of the death of King Edward and of the accession of his son, the present King. We quote briefly from this article as follows:

. . . We do not know as yet all that the great name of Edward VII. stood for among the nations of the world, and it is all too early to estimate what the world has lost. What we do know is that, after many years of apprenticeship at the right hand of the most revered of constitutional Sovereigns, the late King took up the duties of his exalted station, and not only succeeded in maintaining the highest traditions of the Victorian era, but during his all-too-short reign of nine years advanced the prestige and moral force of the British Throne to a still nobler and more commanding place among the nations. . . . In his discharge of regal duty he seemed almost incapable of error, and as the evidence of his extraordinary genius for diplomacy developed before the grateful eyes of his people, he came to be regarded as the best accredited ambassador of the Empire.

How far-reaching the late King's influence was in this direction time alone will tell, but the altered relations between Great Britain and France and all that has arisen therefrom, afford evidence enough of the wonderful success attendant upon his unwearying pursuit of the pacific ends of an enlightened statesmanship. It is impossible to over-estimate King Edward's services to the cause of international peace. It is given to few men to crowd into nine strenuous years such a record of usefulness in the highest and most responsible levels of life as that which will be forever associated with the name of Edward VII. He was among the few men who really count in the world's activity, and he was always to be reckoned on the side that makes for progress and for peace. Some day we may discover on how many occasions the skilful hand of the late King was

laid on the helm when more than one ship of State was making for the rocks. Certain it is that Europe's immunity from devastating war has more than once during the last decade been due to the wisdom and helpfulness of King Edward.

The great event of the following year, so far as Australia and the *HERALD* were concerned, was the holding in London of the first Imperial Conference at which Dominion representatives were consulted on the Foreign Affairs of the Empire. This recognition of the advance in nationhood and responsibility which the Dominions had acquired, was received in Australia with natural gratification, and the fact that the Conference synchronised with the ceremonials attending the coronation of King George V., lent it an added importance which the *HERALD* was not slow to recognise. Australia had sent her Prime Minister—Mr. Fisher—together with his Ministers for Defence and External Affairs—Senator Pearce and Mr. W. M. Hughes—and the Conference, which lasted from the 23rd May to the 20th June, was memorable, among other things, for the fact that three of the Dominions—Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, which had by this time become a Union—practically monopolised, if they did not actually take charge of, the business paper. But the great distinction of the Imperial Conference of 1911 was that it relegated the discussion of all matters of Empire Defence to a special committee of which the Dominion representatives were made members, thus, as we have said, for the first time recognising the right of the latter to be consulted and to be heard on a subject which was fraught with the greatest importance to every member of the Imperial firm. The *HERALD* devoted many leading articles to the Conference, and kept its readers well supplied with cabled reports of its doings. The attitude of the paper may be gathered from the following extract from the leading article of the issue of the 22nd June, 1911, which shortly summarised the proceedings at, and the general effect of, the Conference. The writer said:

Whatever effect may be given to the resolutions arrived at during the session of the Imperial Conference which has just been concluded, there can be no doubt of its importance in the history of the Empire. . . . In 1907, Mr. Deakin's year, the dominant topic was colonial preference. This year it was the relationship of the different parts of the Empire to each other. . . . Undoubtedly many years must elapse before the public will know exactly what passed between the delegates and the Imperial Ministers. But it is clear that a great step in advance has been taken, which, whether it leads to a permanent form of organisation or not, is of the most conspicuous value in our Imperial development. This last session will always be memorable for the revelation of foreign policy by Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey, and for the promise that in the future the Dominions will be consulted on treaties and on references to The Hague. This action of a Liberal Ministry has put an end to the grievance which was the strongest support of the party antagonistic to Imperial control, even in time of war. . . . Not the least beneficial of the results of this conference is the assurance that we shall hear no more of any want of sympathy between the Imperial Government and those of the Dominions. On every occasion the Imperial Ministers have shown an anxiety to meet the wishes of their fellow-members wherever they could do so without disregarding their own responsibilities.

The same issue which contained the above article also contained a special supplement of 16 pages, dealing with the coronation of King George. It gave a vast deal of interesting information about the function itself and dealt with its historic and social aspects in considerable detail. The supplement was punctuated with a number of photographs and other illustrations, and, following the practice which had by now become practically established on such occasions, a miniature edition of the paper was published as a memorial of a very notable event.

On the 14th September, 1912, one of the greatest of Australia's transport enterprises was instituted by the turning of the first sod of the Transcontinental railway, destined eventually to link up the eastern States of the continent with that vast western State

whose isolated position had so long interfered with its progress. Western Australia, indeed, despite its immense possibilities, was so definitely separated from the more progressive east that it was hard at times even for Australians to recognise that it was an indivisible part of the Commonwealth. The railway, completed and opened for traffic on the 22nd October, 1917, is, with its connections in the other States, one of the great railways of the world. In itself it runs from Port Augusta, in South Australia, to Kalgoorlie, in Western Australia, a distance of 1,051½ miles; but in joining up the railways of the east with those of the west it has given to Australia a continuous railway—except for its unfortunate and unnatural breaks of gauge, the result of stupid intercolonial jealousies—extending from Dajarra, in the north of Queensland, to Meekatharra, in Western Australia—a distance of 5,500 miles. And it must be remembered, in addition, that the Transcontinental runs across one of the dreariest and most inhospitable districts in Australia—the Nullarbor Plain—a factor in its construction which added enormously to the difficulty of the feat and necessitated, incidentally, the carriage of water for the constructing gangs over a distance of nearly 500 miles. One stretch of the line is said to be the longest straight stretch of railway in the world, running across the plain for 330 miles without a single curve.

The ceremony of turning the first sod of this gigantic undertaking was performed by Lord Denman, then Governor-General of the Commonwealth, on the 14th September, 1912; and the *HERALD* of the 16th, in its leading article on the subject, put the importance of the function very aptly in these words:

The turning of the first sod of the Transcontinental railway from Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie marks an extremely important point in the history of the development of Australia. The undertaking is one whose very magnitude impresses the imagination. More than a thousand miles will be bridged by what has always proved a certain harbinger of progress. The gain to national sentiment which the completion of the line will involve will be enormous, but there are other advantages of an even more tangible nature which are sure to follow in the immediate future. The strategic importance of the line will be immense. It will materially reduce the time taken by passengers and mails to go to Western Australia or beyond—an important consideration in these days of hurry; and last, but not least, it will promote the settlement of the country it traverses. . . .

This prophecy has proved correct. Large areas of land in Western Australia are now growing wool and wheat as a direct result of the means of transport which the transcontinental railway has provided.

The laying of the foundation stone of the Federal Capital at Canberra was the great event of 1913. It will be remembered that by a clause of the Constitution Act, inserted after the question of the location of the capital had threatened unduly to delay, if not to destroy, the whole Federal consummation, the seat of government, as it was termed, was to be in the territory of New South Wales, but not within 100 miles of Sydney. Also, it was to be vested in the Commonwealth and was to contain an area of not less than one hundred square miles. The debate upon the respective merits of the various sites proposed was long and heated, but eventually, by a process of elimination, the Canberra location was decided upon, and the actual site of the Federal City selected. Plans for the construction of the city were then called for by open competition, and the selection of the committee appointed to adjudicate upon the matter fell upon that sent in by a Chicago architect, named Walter Burley Griffin. The original area of 100 square miles was increased to 900 square miles, and, in addition, an area of about 4,000 acres at Jervis Bay was acquired by the Commonwealth for Naval purposes. On the 12th March, 1913, Lord Denman laid the foundation stone of a "Commencement Column" on the chosen site of the new city; and Lady Denman gave it its official name of "Canberra."

The function was celebrated with much pomp and ceremony, and the *HERALD* of the 13th described in vivid detail the proceedings of the day. Its leading article upon the event may briefly be quoted:

Yesterday was an ideal day. Our report of the ceremony shows that the thousands who took part in it found themselves in a wonderful flood of sunshine, amidst surroundings which gave the Federal Capital site its true perspective; and the whole programme was carried through in terms which must be regarded as a good augury for the future. The Federal Capital has received its official start with the best of omens. This is the more to be noted because, in twelve years, there has been a good deal of friction and bickering, and many things have been said and done which have not helped union, but the reverse. But, after all, these opening years are a small space in what is to be the life of a great and growing nation. Compared with the troubles which met the Republic of the United States in the first decades of its existence, our own may be said to sink into insignificance. Federation with us has bred disappointment in many hearts, it is true, but there is a real spirit of nationhood alive in the Commonwealth, and we are sure that time will work for strength in an increasing unity. The laying of the foundation-stone of the Federal Capital is evidence in concrete form that we are marching and not marking time—certainly not falling back. . . . The world will know Canberra as it knows Australia; and in future the city will take its place beside Washington and Ottawa as a notable centre when world problems come to be debated.

Despite the prophecies expressed at the ceremony, and re-echoed for the most part in the press of the Commonwealth, that the new seat of Federal Government would soon be ready for occupation, no less than fourteen years were to elapse before the Federal Parliament sat for the first time in its proper home. As by the Constitution Act Melbourne was to be the seat of Government until the new city was ready for occupation, the Victorian capital held the honour of being, to all intents and purposes, the Federal Capital for more than a quarter of a century—a much longer period than had ever been imagined by the drafters of the Act, or indeed by anyone else.

The same issue of the *HERALD* as that which contains the report of these proceedings at Canberra also contains an intimation that Mr. W. M. Hughes had decided to retire permanently from political life, in order to accept the newly-created position of Australian Trades Commissioner. The best-laid plans of mice and men have, as we know, a habit of ganging oft agley, and this announcement reflects one of them that went agley very badly. For Mr. Hughes did not retire, even temporarily; he retained his office of Minister for External Affairs until the Fisher Government expired three months later; then, after fifteen months spent in the comparative obscurity of the opposition benches, he emerged once more to take the Attorney-General's portfolio in Mr. Fisher's famous government of 1914. A year later he became head of a Labour Ministry of his own; and thereafter, breaking with his party on that conscription question which divided Labour as with a wedge, and caused it to lose so many of its ablest leaders that it was said to have "blown its brains out," he became the head of a National Ministry which lasted uninterruptedly for over five years and incidentally made Mr. Hughes himself a world figure. Not only is Mr. Hughes still an exceedingly vigorous member of the Federal Parliament, but he has never known an interval in that membership since he first entered the House—an event which synchronised with the foundation of the Parliament itself!

In June, 1913, the Federal General Elections were held; and the Fisher Government was defeated by a small majority. It had been responsible for many important undertakings during its three years of office; it had established the Commonwealth Bank; taken over the Northern Territory from the State of South Australia; imposed a Federal Land Tax; started the transcontinental railway; and commenced the building

of the Federal Capital. It had also been responsible for the Defence Act of 1910, to which reference has already been made, and partially responsible for the Royal Australian Navy, although that work was to be carried to fruition, as it had been begun, mainly by the man who was to succeed Fisher as Prime Minister. This was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Joseph Cook, a man who had risen from the ranks of the miners, by virtue at first of a prominent participation in Labour politics and a seat in the New South Wales Assembly as a member of the original Labour Party; and, subsequently, after having abandoned Labour on account of its extremist views, by way of an association with Liberalism to a deputy-leadership of that party in the Federal House of Representatives under George Reid. When the latter left Australian politics in 1908, Cook took his place; and, joining Deakin's Coalition Ministry of 1909 as Minister for Defence and the Navy, he was instrumental in establishing the Australian naval "unit" which—though in a different form—was some few years later to prove so great a help to the Empire and so fine an advertisement for Australian loyalty. When the coalition was defeated in 1910, Cook gradually replaced Deakin as the head of the combined forces opposed to Labour; and, thus, in June, 1913, upon the defeat of Fisher at the polls, Cook became his natural successor as Prime Minister.

He had anything but an easy row to hoe, however. He had a majority in the House of Representatives of but a single vote, and an immense Labour majority against him in the Senate. But nobody particularly wanted another election, and by the exercise of considerable tact and ingenuity the Cook Ministry managed to retain the reins of government for over a year, by which time events had come to pass which, convulsing the world at large, had, *inter alia*, many and peculiar reactions upon Australian public life.

Perhaps the most important event that happened during the Cook regime was the arrival in Sydney Harbour, on the 4th October, 1913, of the first units of the Royal Australian Navy. The battle-cruiser "Australia," on which the Admiral of the new fleet flew his flag, led the way, and out of the mist there followed six other lesser grey shapes, three cruisers, the "Sydney," the "Melbourne," and the "Encounter," and three destroyers, the "Warrego," the "Parramatta," and the "Yarra." Of these seven ships, Australians were well acquainted with four, since they had formed part of the old Australian squadron of the British Navy—that squadron which from now on was to be replaced by an Australian Navy, separate and distinct, though still working in, of course, with that of Britain and the Empire. But the "Australia," the "Melbourne," and the "Sydney" were new; and on them ten thousand eyes, bright with the proud light of possession, were centred as they slowly drifted through the Heads and, to the accompaniment of cheers and booming guns, came to their anchorages in Farm Cove. It was a great day for Australia, and it was a great day for Mr. Fisher, the ex-Prime Minister, who had well done his share towards bringing an Australian Fleet into being. But, above all, it was a great day for Mr. Cook; for both as Minister for the Navy in the Deakin Cabinet, and as head of the Government of the day, he, above all men, perhaps, had been responsible for the consummation which was that day effected.

The event was celebrated in Sydney in appropriate fashion. Illuminations, fire-work displays on shore and searchlight displays on the ships themselves, processions, music and oratory were all levied upon to mark the importance of the occasion; and the citizens of Australia's oldest and largest city left nothing undone to show their appreciation of the growth in nationhood which the birth of their own Navy exemplified. The *HERALD* brought out a special illustrated supplement and devoted its leading articles on several consecutive days to the great topic of the hour. That of the 6th Octo-

King George the Fifth



The coronation of King George the Fifth, which took place on June 26, 1911, at Westminster Abbey, London, was a grand and historic event. The ceremony was attended by members of the royal family, including the King, Queen Mary, and their children, as well as representatives from various Commonwealth countries and foreign monarchs. The coronation was a significant moment in British history, marking the beginning of the reign of King George the Fifth, who had ascended the throne in 1901 following the death of his mother, Queen Victoria.

The coronation ceremony was a highly formal and elaborate affair, featuring traditional rituals and customs. The King and Queen were crowned with the Coronation Crown and the Coronation Orb, respectively, and anointed with holy oil. The ceremony was presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the words of the coronation oath were read by the Bishop of Ely.

The coronation was a highly publicized event, with the coronation procession and the coronation ceremony itself being widely reported in the press. The coronation was also a significant moment in the lives of the royal family, as it marked the beginning of a new chapter in their reign.

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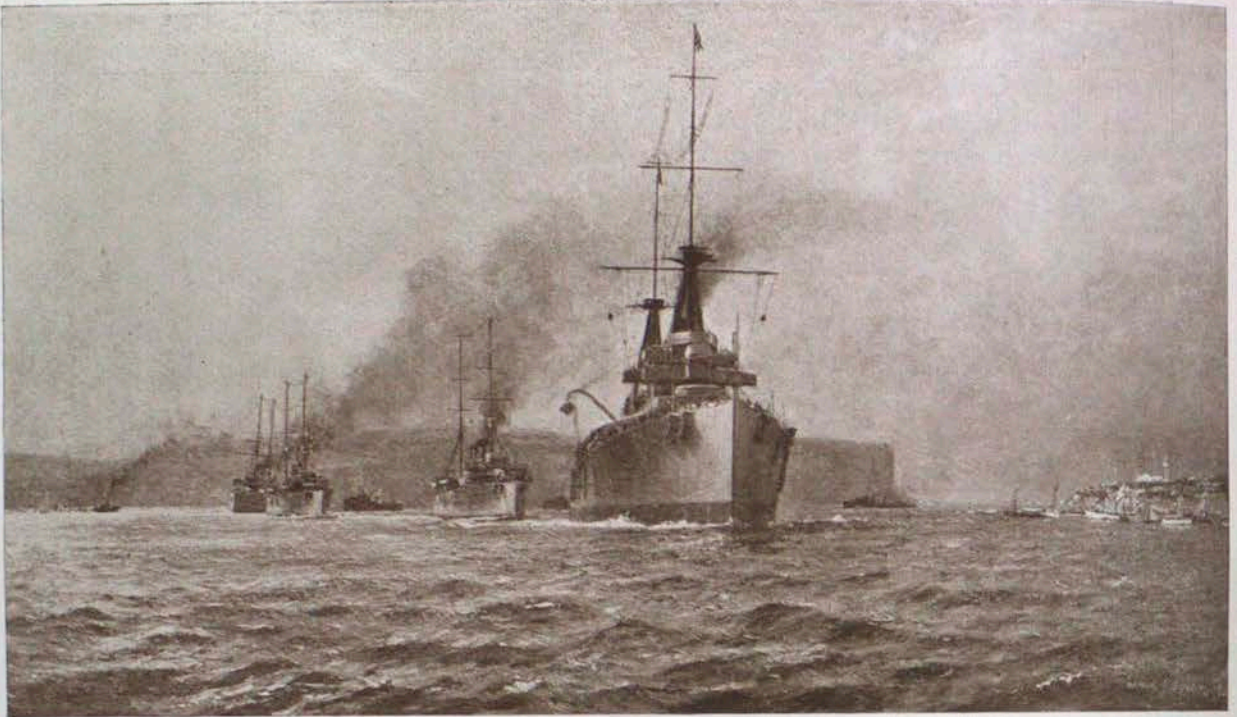
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The coronation of King George the Fifth was a highly significant event in British history. It was a grand and historic occasion, marking the beginning of the reign of King George the Fifth, who had ascended the throne in 1901 following the death of his mother, Queen Victoria. The coronation ceremony was a highly formal and elaborate affair, featuring traditional rituals and customs. The King and Queen were crowned with the Coronation Crown and the Coronation Orb, respectively, and anointed with holy oil. The ceremony was presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the words of the coronation oath were read by the Bishop of Ely.

The coronation was a highly publicized event, with the coronation procession and the coronation ceremony itself being widely reported in the press. The coronation was also a significant moment in the lives of the royal family, as it marked the beginning of a new chapter in their reign.



In typography and make-up, the Herald changes little from day to day, but departures from the ordinary display mark the supplements issued on notable occasions.



A historical event—the arrival in Sydney Harbour of H.M.A.S. Australia, first flagship of the Royal Australian Navy, on October 4, 1913. This fine picture is from the painting of Arthur Burgess.



A familiar sight at Newcastle 20 years ago, when large fleets of "wind-jammers" went there to load coal for the West Coast of South America, San Francisco, and the East. They usually arrived in stone ballast, the stone being dumped along the foreshores of Stockton, where the vessels are seen tied up.

ber, referring to the speeches of Mr. Cook and Mr. Fisher at the official banquet held to mark the occasion, ran as follows:

The two speakers who thus emphasised the unanimity of Australians were wisely insistent on the Imperial character of the day's celebrations. To refer to the attachment of this country to the Empire as a whole may have seemed superfluous in an assembly, every member of which had witnessed the entry of the ships of war. No words could have been so impressive as a demonstration of the arm which has for over a century kept us in safety while guarding the coasts of Great Britain. But it was wise on this occasion to insist on the Imperial character of a policy which is different from that of any other Dominion, and has led to the establishment of a force nominally separate from that of the United Kingdom.

Neither Mr. Cook nor Mr. Fisher made any reservation when they referred to the unity of the Navy in time of war. They were at one in their assertion that in the hour of danger the Australian unit will be found where it can do the greatest service. In time of peace its presence among us will be an addition to the strength of the Empire of incalculable value. It will keep alive that instinct for the sea which Australians have inherited as part of the stock of Anglo-Saxon traditions, and will stimulate that national feeling without which no country can attain salvation. In time of war it will enable this country to take a share in the defence of the whole Empire, which it could not have taken under other conditions. . . . Happily, the most sympathetic of our advisers has never allowed us to under-estimate the difficulties, moral and material, of our undertaking. It will be a decisive test of the ability of Australians to follow a momentary enthusiasm by years of hard work and self-sacrifice. There need be no fear of the result if the welcome of Saturday was, as it seemed to be, a sign of pride and faith in their country and of the wider patriotism which is embodied in the Australian unit.

Admiral King-Hall, upon whom, as the last Commander-in-Chief of the Australian Squadron of the British Navy, fell the duty of hauling down his flag and handing over the command to Rear-Admiral Patey on the arrival of the latter on the "Australia," expressed the exact nature of the situation which had now been inaugurated in naval affairs, in the official memorandum which he issued on the morning of the 4th October. It is quoted in the *HERALD* in these words:

Before relinquishing command of the Australian station, I desire to express my satisfaction to all who have served under my flag for the loyal support that has been rendered to me during this transitional period that I have been commander-in-chief.

In doing so I must especially refer to the assistance that has been given to me by my former and present flag-captains, and the commanding officers of ships for their ready willingness when required to lend officers and men and perform other work to help the Royal Australian Navy during the initiatory stages of formation.

. . . The new Australian station has been transferred to the control of the Commonwealth, and the ships of the Royal Australian Navy are now the guardians of these waters, thus preserving the continuity of the Imperial naval defence in this part of the Southern Hemisphere, which has been in charge of the Royal Navy since 1788.

On behalf of myself and the officers and men of the Royal Navy, I have tendered, through his Excellency the Governor-General, our best wishes for the continued success and welfare of our comrades in our sister service, the Royal Australian Navy, which, with the Royal Navy, forms one great Imperial Fleet for the defence of our King and the peoples of this world-wide Empire which Providence has entrusted to our care.

G. KING-HALL,
Admiral,
Commander-in-Chief.

The Commanding Officers,
H.M. Ships and Vessels,
Australia Station.

It only remains to add in this connection that the men who manned those ships of the new Australian Navy were almost entirely Australian, both by birth and training. That training had been carried out, so far as some of the younger officers were concerned, at the Naval Colleges at Geelong and Jervis Bay, which had been instituted

under the provisions of the Naval Defence Act; and so far as the majority of the other ratings were concerned, on that training ship "Tingira" to which reference has already been made.*

One other important event of the period reviewed in this section of our history alone remains to be noted. It had long been arranged that the Congress of that organisation which, representing the whole body of scientific thought and progress, is known officially as "The British Association for the Advancement of Science"—but more generally as "The British Association"—should meet in Australia in 1914. The first meeting was to be held in Adelaide on the 8th August, and thereafter sessions had been arranged for the other capitals, the last to be held in Brisbane. But long before the time appointed for the official start, the scientists of the world had been arriving in Australia, and the *HERALD* had devoted considerable attention to the Congress and prepared a very extensive campaign of publicity for it. Even early in July its columns were full of preliminary articles, contributed by various members of the Congress who had arrived, and of other references to the great event. And then, just as the forces of the Congress were formed up in preparation for the campaign; just on the very eve of the greatest event in the history of Australian science, the world went mad and chaos had come again. The fatal fourth of August arrived, and with it the hell and fury of Armageddon.

* See page 297.

THE "HERALD" AND THE WAR

IN glancing over the files of the *HERALD* immediately preceding the outbreak of the War, the impression that the reader will most strongly receive is the suddenness with which the crisis was precipitated. Take the issue of the 23rd July, for instance, just a fortnight before the fatal date which saw Great Britain enter the arena as an active participant. There is no word in the whole paper to indicate that trouble was brewing in Europe, beyond a short announcement, tucked away on the over-page of the cable-matter, that Austria had demanded from the Servian Government an immediate prosecution of the Servian subjects compromised in connection with the plot to murder the Archduke Franz Josef, and that Russia had expressed resentment against Austria's high-handed attitude. The principal cables deal with the King's speech to the members of the conference summoned to discuss the Irish troubles, which were then almost at their worst; the Caillaux trial; and the position of certain Hindu immigrants in Vancouver. The leading articles are devoted to a review of the Farmers' Conference, which had just concluded, the Federal elections, the Irish Conference, and the forthcoming meeting of the British Association; while the other columns carry references to local politics and local strikes. It is true that on the following day—Friday, the 24th July—there was a leading article on the position between Austria and Servia; but, even then, the seriousness of the position was evidently not in the least appreciated. It was not, indeed, until the following Monday, when the cables told of the feverish activity, not only in Servia and Austria, but in Russia and Germany as well, that the world—or at least that Australian part of it which the *HERALD* served and represented—awoke to the fact that the greatest crisis in history might possibly be at hand. The *HERALD*'s leading article of that date sums up the position clearly and well; and, in view of the almost immediate happenings, its concluding but doubtful hope that the "impulsive" Kaiser might once again allow Britain and Germany to save the peace of the world, reads curiously enough. On the Tuesday it was recognised by the paper that "It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the gravity of the facts stated in our cables this morning, or the danger to the peace of the world which they disclose." But it is significant, all the same, that this was the opening sentence of the sub-leader, and not of the main leading article itself. That was still devoted to setting out the "Facts for the Electors"—many of whom were to participate almost immediately in a sterner campaign than politics had ever provided.

On Thursday, the 30th July, however, the realisation of the crisis was complete; and from that day onwards the cable pages were crammed with war and rumours of war, the leading articles were invariably upon the same red theme; maps of the "Danger Zone" and portraits of the leading personages named in the daily story began to appear, until, by the fourth of August, with the announcement that England was almost certainly engaged, to the *HERALD*, like every other paper in the world, one supposes, the war became the only thing that really mattered. It was in this fateful issue of the fourth of August that the paper printed the announcement of the Prime Minister (Mr. Cook) that the Commonwealth Government had decided, in the event of war, to place the Australian Navy under the immediate control of the British Admiralty and—a still

more significant and appealing note—to offer to the Imperial Government “an expeditionary force of twenty thousand men of any suggested composition, to be sent to any destination desired by the Home Government, the cost of despatch and maintenance to be borne by the Commonwealth Government.” The wave of enthusiasm which this announcement immediately produced is still fresh in the memory of Australia. Twenty thousand men! It seemed a mighty host; but who could then foresee that thrice that number of the flower of Australia’s youth would not only answer to the call of honour, but would lay their young lives down upon the field?

Although, as we have said, the war was the one thing that mattered, the *HERALD* did not allow this fact to prevent its continuing its usual activities. So far as was humanly possible, the paper, right throughout the whole period of hostilities, kept the “business-as-usual” flag flying. Remembering the hectic rush, the unexpected and often insuperable obstacles in the path of ordinary procedure, the diminution in the staff, the difficulty in obtaining sufficient of that first necessity—newsprint—and the thousand and one other embarrassments which combined maleficently to affect the paper, and, indeed, to threaten its very existence, the story of the *HERALD* during those four years of war is a truly remarkable one. The paper maintained not only its continuity, but its standard. Indeed, in many ways it rose above that standard and gave evidence to the world that its harassed and depleted staff could serve their country with as enthusiastic a loyalty and as sincere a devotion as their uniformed fellows on the beaches of Gallipoli, the sands of Egypt, or the trenches of the Western Front.

Although it is impossible even to attempt to write the history of those four amazing years in anything like detail, yet a brief summary of the activities of our Australian forces, both naval and military, must presently be attempted. But first we must refer with some detail to certain occurrences which made the period unique in the history of the *HERALD*. Many of these occurrences were common to the majority of the great newspapers of the Empire—and, indeed, of the civilized world; but some of them, either wholly or in part, were the experience of the *HERALD* alone. No section of our history is more difficult to write than this one; for, by the very nature of the occasion, the one great authority upon which we have so far been able confidently to rely—*viz.*, the *HERALD* itself—becomes almost as useless for reference purposes as any other. The trail of the censor is over it all, and while even the censor could not make its matter unreliable, he could, and promptly did, make it so incomplete, so filled with blanks and erasures, that it is hardly possible to obtain from it a correct or consecutive story. Fortunately the archives of the office hold a mass of papers which, although they could not be published at the time, and subsequently became useless as news-matter, are now available to help us piece the narrative together and to make it, if not as complete as we would like, at least considerably more coherent than would have been possible without them.

We have referred to the censorship—that necessary wet blanket with which the exigencies of the time attempted to smother the flames of reportorial enthusiasm and even to destroy the basic principles of journalism. Censorship—such wholesale censorship, at any rate, as that which came into operation immediately upon the commencement of the war and lasted until long after its conclusion—was a new thing, not only to the *HERALD*, but to the press of the world; and the *HERALD*, in common with the press of the world, found it at times a grievous and an illogical tyrant. But the censorship affected the *HERALD* even more directly and seriously, perhaps, than any other paper in the State. For the *HERALD* holds, and long has held, a unique position in public estimation. However else it may be regarded by any section of the public, it holds with all of

them the reputation of being absolutely sincere. Many disagree with its politics and its methods; but nobody denies that its invariable endeavour, and its consistent achievement, is to be accurate at all costs.

Such, then, being the admitted position of the *HERALD*, it can at once be seen that the paper would naturally attract the peculiar attention of the censor. Therefore it must on no account be permitted to say anything at all which, in the naturally jaundiced view of officialdom, could by any possibility be harmful to the interests of the allied forces. And as neither the censor nor any other official could know what intelligence might not be turned to such harmful uses, it was only to be expected that the embargo laid upon the *HERALD* in this respect was of the most wholesale nature. And when one comes to think of it, officialdom can hardly be blamed by journalism for adopting one of the golden rules of the journalist himself: "When in doubt, leave out!" But the effect of the rule, as interpreted by the censor and applied to the *HERALD*, was devastating. The censorship was partially established so early as the 3rd of August, and by the 7th of that month it was in full swing, and its fiats were being fired as rapidly as the bullets from a machine-gun. The archives of the *HERALD* hold some hundreds of these "Confidential-and-not-for-Publication" evidences of its activities, and one can only say, after a hasty perusal of them, that it is difficult to understand, not only how the paper managed to get any news in its columns at all, but how the responsible members of the staff managed to retain their sanity. There would often be as many as half a dozen prohibitions, or releases, or cancellations of both, or one, or either, during the one day; and the difficulty of keeping track of these orders, added to the rush and responsibility inseparable even at ordinary times from the conduct of a daily newspaper, and now intensified a thousand-fold, must often enough have made the duties of the editorial staff of the *HERALD* at this period, a hectic nightmare.

But, despite these exasperating interferences, the paper was not slow to recognise the necessity for censorship. The sub-leader of the 6th of August sets out its ideas in this regard:

At the present time, as our readers are already aware, there are certain compulsory restrictions on the liberty of the press, some of which are imposed by law and others at the request of the Government, which is equivalent to a command. . . .

Obedience to rules which have the authority of the Government and of public opinion behind them imposes no test on the patriotism or the sense of honour either of newspapers or of their readers. There is, however, another test by which Australians may judge whether their newspapers are worthy of the high place which they claim for themselves within the British Empire, or in the world. They can, if they like, set an example of restraint and confidence at a time when the minds of their readers are at a high pitch of excitement and sensitive to every impression or suggestion. Merely by setting out the exact facts they can save foolish and needy persons from the financial disaster which may be caused by nothing more substantial than ignorance, fostered by rumour into panic. They can, however, just as easily, and with more immediate profit to themselves, lead those of their readers who accept their information into a course of conduct which may be fatal to them and dangerous to the whole community. They may at the same time heighten the sufferings of people on whom a war must entail prolonged anxiety and bitter grief. . . .

It is possible for a newspaper to make a temporary profit out of the most bitter sufferings by pretending to satisfy a thirst for knowledge which is constant and insatiable, or by recalling descriptions of the horrors of war which only intensify the anxiety of those who are driven to read them. But the newspapers which take advantage of such an opportunity can never again claim to be a force for good in the community, or ask for a share in that respect which in Australia the press has always gained from its readers. To have survived the test is not a proof of more than the ordinary human sense of decency and compassion. To have failed in it is not merely to have disgraced an honourable profession, but to have revealed a sense of honour which would sanction the sale of a country or of a soul, if such a thing were left, for a few pieces of silver.

A large number of items of interesting news, however, escaped both the drag-net of the censor and the moral obligations implied in the HERALD's leader. The paper was hot on the scent of them all. It almost at once began to publish "extraordinaries," and the first of these appears in its issue of the 8th August. It reads as follows:

THE WAR.

HERALD EXTRAORDINARIES.

The HERALD this morning carries the latest war news up to the hour of publication.

Extraordinary editions (two pages only) will be published to-day at 12.30 p.m. and 4.30 p.m.

These editions are issued so that the public may be put in possession of all the news that has reached the HERALD Office up to the hour of publication.

There could be no doubt, of course, as to the paper's general attitude towards the war, the Empire and Australia's obligations; and the principal leader of the 6th August puts the case in a nutshell. After reciting the events which led up to the war and setting out the justice of England's cause, the writer concluded as follows:

Germany is now shown to be responsible. She stands before the world discredited, a breaker of treaties, and an assailant of weaker nations. All this has given Great Britain a dominant place at the very beginning of hostilities. She is thrice armed with a just quarrel, she has gathered her Empire together in such solid array that each part will give and suffer to the last, and she has vindicated every step she has taken in the path which threatens to run with blood before the end is reached. What remains for us at this end of the world is to possess our souls in patience, while making the necessary contributions of time, means, and men to carry on the great war upon which so much depends. It is our baptism of fire. Australia knows something of the flames of war, but its realities have never been brought so close as they will be in the near future, and the discipline will help us to find ourselves. It will test our manhood and womanhood by an immediate local pressure, even though we never hear a shot fired or get a glimpse of the foe.

An item of news which is of considerable interest, so far as Australia's connection with the war is concerned, also appeared in this issue of the 6th of August. It runs as follows:

THE PFALZ.

When dawn broke to-day there was one German vessel in the port of Melbourne. This was the Pfalz, a cargo steamer belonging to the Nord-Deutscher Lloyd Company. The Pfalz emerged from the Yarra mouth and passed Williamstown at full speed to-day. She ran down the south channel at full speed, and between noon and 1 o'clock reached Queenscliff, where the vessel slowed down to receive a visit from the examining officers, who boarded the Pfalz from the Alvina, which is engaged in this work at the mouth of the port.

Evidently the clearance papers were in order, since, according to Pilot Robinson's story, the vessel was allowed to proceed. She had just got up speed again and was entering the Rip when a shot from Queenscliff Fort plunged into the water about fifty yards astern. The pilot immediately looked up and saw that the signal on the fort was against the vessel. Her head was turned round and she came back up the bay. A guard of marines was put on board for the night.

This shot from the Queenscliff battery was the first fired by Australia in the war. It was also, if we except a few rifleshots fired against prisoners attempting to escape, the only shot fired against the enemy *in* Australia during the war. This happy state of things the Commonwealth owed to three causes—the first being its distance from the main centres of the fighting; the second, the effective guardianship of the Atlantic by the British Navy; and the third, the presence of the Australian Navy in the Pacific. For that the squadron of Von Spee, then roving the Southern Pacific, was quite ready and willing to attack the Commonwealth, had she not been so defended, the events of the next few months were decisively to prove.

Within ten days of the public notification of the acceptance of the Government's offer to send an Australian contingent, the HERALD was able to announce that the required quota of infantry from New South Wales was practically complete, and that volunteering for the Light Horse detachment had been so enthusiastic that more volun-

teers were already available than were needed. The Red Cross movement, also, had been initiated with results which even then gave token of their ultimate magnitude. From the first the proprietors of the *HERALD* entered with practical enthusiasm into every movement for the assistance of the Empire that sprang into being; but it was perhaps with the endeavours of the Red Cross that they most completely identified themselves. Its humane activities made an appeal upon their sympathies which proved irresistible, and from first to last they utilised the great influence of the *HERALD* to help along in every way its funds and many functions. It was, indeed, Mr. James Oswald Fairfax's long and active association with the Red Cross during the war that helped to win for him the honour of knighthood.

Fortunately, although the censor's fiat prevented the paper from describing the scenes at the embarkation and departure of the troops, it did not prevent, but rather asked for, full accounts of those presented at the various enlistment depots. The *HERALD* reporters carried out their work in this respect with spirit and skill; and undoubtedly by the magic of their pens assisted in the promulgation of that patriotic enthusiasm which it was so desirable to foster. Lord Kitchener, on hearing of the Federal Government's offer, had cabled out a message to Australians to "Roll Up"; and on this text the *HERALD* writers wrote unceasingly. Their efforts would have been unnecessary, perhaps, so greatly was the spirit of loyalty abroad; but that they helped to spread her wings there can be no question.

On the 5th of September, 1914, the Federal Elections were held and the Cook Ministry was defeated, the final results giving the Labour Party, headed by Mr. Fisher, a large majority in both houses. Any little doubt that existed as to the attitude of the new Government towards the war was entirely dissipated by Mr. Fisher's famous declaration that the Commonwealth would stand behind the Empire to the last man and the last shilling. But it says much for the way in which the war had eclipsed all other topics of the day that the *HERALD* on the morning of the elections had only a passing reference to them, explaining the method of voting, and that neither the defeat of the Cook Government nor the announcement of the new Ministry, produced any comment in the editorial columns.

It was while the final returns of the voting were being made that the news of the result of Australia's first active participation in the war arrived, and this doubtless helped much to destroy any interest that might otherwise have been taken in the political situation. This first result was the capture of German New Guinea by the Australian Navy, aided by a contingent of Australian troops, who—the pioneers of so many who were subsequently to be carried to all parts of the world—had been sent away in the transport "Berrima." With this contingent the *HERALD* managed to send one of its staff, Mr. Fritz Burnell, as correspondent, and his letters descriptive of this little "side-show" were as detailed and graphic as the censorship would allow. Unhappily, the campaign was not completed without loss of life; and the four men—two officers and two seamen—who thus laid down their lives upon the altar of their country constituted the first items in that long, sad roll which was during the next four years to testify so gloriously to Australia's loyalty and service.

The loss of these lives at Rabaul was quickly to be followed by a disaster which again brought home to Australia how filled with mortal danger was the grim business in which her sons were now engaged. The "A.E.1," one of the two submarines of the Royal Australian Navy, disappeared with all hands in the waters of the Pacific on the 14th of September. The mystery of her fate has never been solved, but the death roll of thirty-five officers and men which her loss occasioned, was an unhappy reverse to the

fair side of the medal exemplified by the capture of the German possessions at New Guinea.

Two months later, however, an event occurred which roused the citizens of the Commonwealth in general and the citizens of Sydney in particular to a condition of enthusiasm, and helped them to forget for a moment the sadness of their recent loss. On the 11th November the *HERALD* was able to report that H.M.A.S. "Sydney," one of the units of the new Australian Navy, had two days before encountered the notorious German raider, the "Emden," and after a sharp engagement had driven her ashore, a blazing, battered wreck, on Keeling Island, one of the Cocos group, in the Indian Ocean. The whole world knows now the full details of that famous engagement; but all that Australia knew of it for some time was the bare result. Those who were in Sydney that day—in Sydney, the city after whom the Australian warship had been named—are not likely to forget the emotion which moved the hearts of its citizens. And yet, as the *HERALD* pointed out in its leading article of the 14th instant, "although we thrilled with pride as individuals, we made no demonstration as a city." No flags were hoisted to mark the victory, no crowded gathering applauded it. A well-known American actor who was appearing in Sydney at the time, commenting on this "anomaly," as he called it, said that if Sydney had been an American city it would have gone mad with joy. Possibly. But, as the *HERALD* added, in the article referred to, "we are a strange people. . . . Yet in the days to be our children and our children's children will look back upon and celebrate this day. It was our first sea-fight; and on that day a new Australia was born."

The irritating effect of the censorship attained its maximum, perhaps, in the week that followed the first news of the Australians having taken part in the operations at Gallipoli. If nothing at all had been allowed to be said, until the full news could be given, there would have been little complaint, for Australia was becoming used to the agony of long-sustained silences. But the trouble was that just enough was said to bring hopes and fears to the point of highest tension, and at that point they then were left for days. All that Australia knew—or had been allowed to imply—from previous messages was that a very large proportion of her troops had been placed under the control of General Sir Ian Hamilton, and it was commonly suspected that they would be called upon to operate against the Turks. Consequently, when on the 28th of April, 1915, the *HERALD* was permitted to publish a brief statement that a general attack on the Dardanelles had been inaugurated a few days previously, and that Sir Ian Hamilton's army had participated in it, and to supplement this information the next day by a still briefer statement that "after hard fighting," a landing had been effected at Gallipoli, the interest of everyone in Australia was immediately centred upon the doings in the peninsula with a painful intensity. For, as the *HERALD* said in its leading article of the 29th, "Australians are now assured that their troops have landed on Turkish soil and need have no fear lest their long preparations should end in one of the minor operations of the war. . . . The result of the fighting which must have taken place," continued the writer, "will be awaited by their fellow citizens with unwavering confidence, although with the keenest anxiety for individual lives."

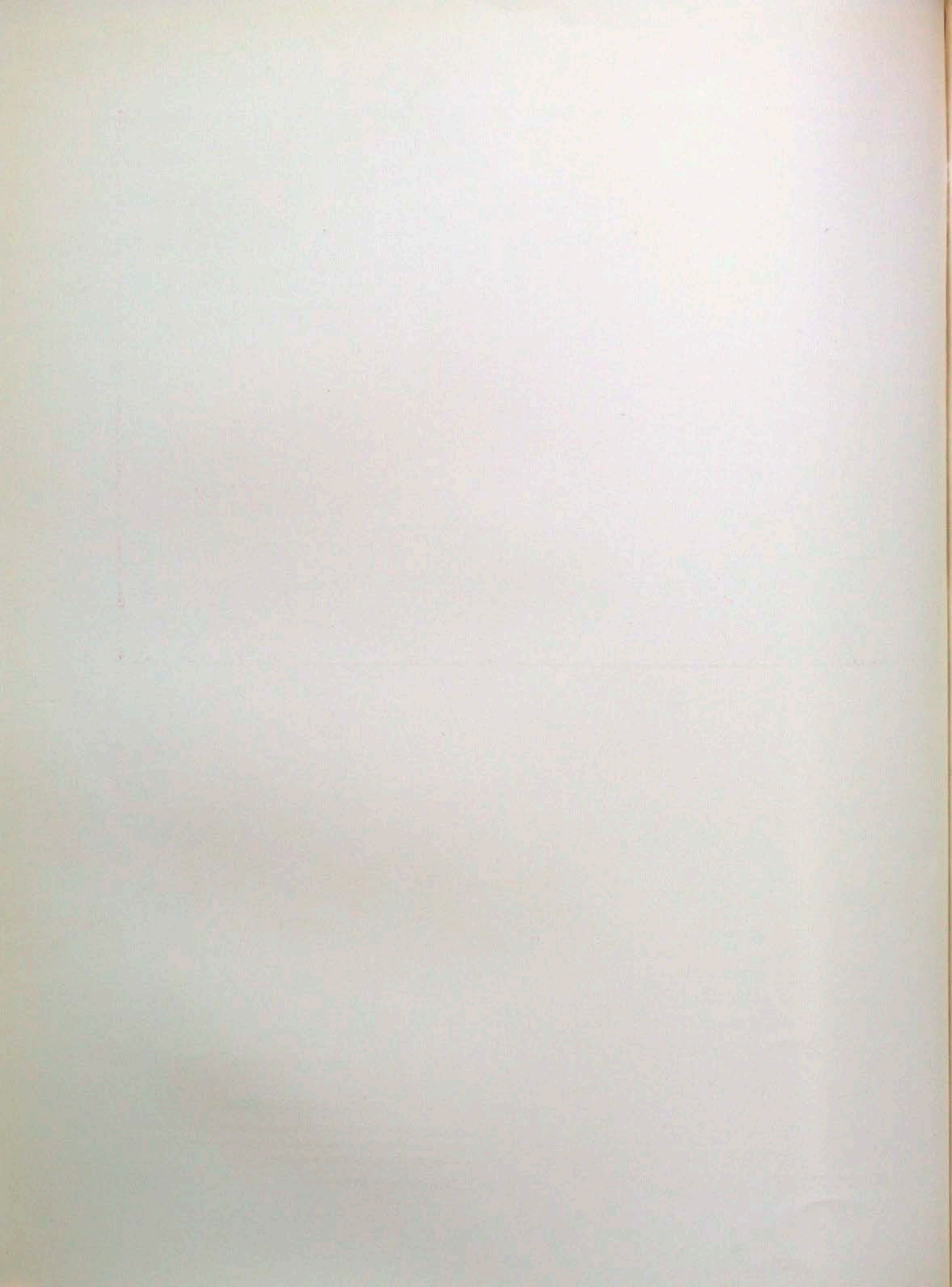
But no definite news came through, except a cable from the head of the British Government, congratulating Australia "on the splendid gallantry and magnificent achievement of your troops in the successful progress of the operations at the Dardanelles"—a cable which, while it brought pride to the heart of every citizen of the Commonwealth, necessarily added largely, by its implication that a major operation had been fought, to the general anxiety.



THE SHELTERED POOL.

A water colour by Hans Heysen, who delights in studies of what commonly is called the gum tree. This picture is a very good example of his style.

[Original in the possession of Mr. G. Rowell, of Melbourne.]



Nothing further was disclosed for several days, except of the most general nature, and when, on the 4th and succeeding days of May, brief lists of casualties began to filter through without any definite account of the engagement in which they had been incurred, the public tension almost reached breaking point. Even then, the HERALD appreciated the difficulties of the censor and endeavoured to put the matter fairly before its readers; although it, also, could not resist making an appeal to the authorities for further news as speedily as possible. But another almost newsless week went by, newsless except for the ever-lengthening casualty lists; and then, upon the 8th of May—a fortnight after the event—the HERALD was able to publish that long and thrilling story of the landing from the pen of Mr. Ashmead Bartlett that went straight to the heart of every Australian and filled him with a passionate pride. The despatch occupied half a page of the paper, and it is safe to say that it will be quoted so long as the Australian nation lasts. "There has been no finer feat in this war," it says in one of its most stirring passages, "than this sudden landing in the dark and the storming of the heights, and, above all, the holding on whilst reinforcements were landing. These raw colonial troops in these desperate hours proved worthy to fight side by side with the heroes of Mons, the Aisne, Ypres, and Neuve Chapelle."

Is it any wonder that the people of Australia regard that magnificent tribute of Mr. Ashmead Bartlett almost as one of the documents of their title to nationhood? Or that the HERALD should devote a leading article to the achievement under the appropriate title of "The Glory of It!" It is not without significance that this particular issue, even in the official file which is carefully preserved in the HERALD Office, should give clear evidence of the fact that it is of all its fellows the one most often referred to, the one that has been so thumbed and handled that it has to be repaired and re-repaired again and again.

The issue of the following day contained not only a further instalment of Ashmead Bartlett's story, and an unhappily lengthy addendum to the rapidly growing casualty list; but also the account of the sinking of the "Lusitania" by a German submarine off the coast of Ireland with the loss of fourteen hundred lives. This dastardly deed, it is hardly necessary to say, the HERALD, in common with the great majority of the journals of the world, condemned in terms of stern, indignant horror. "The act," said the leading article of the 10th of May, "is none the less a murder because it must be attributed to a government and not to an individual. . . . The German people will find that they have no friends in the world. They may for a time terrorise or bribe their neighbours. But once the scale of war is turned against them they will find that a nation which sets itself above every law and every humane instinct has all mankind for its enemies."

Despite the thronging excitements of the period, the HERALD could find time and place, in the issue of the 7th July of this year (1915) to note at some leisure the death of an Australian pioneer in the science of aviation. This was Lawrence Hargrave, to whose ingenious brain the world owes much, for it was Hargrave's genius which gave to science the basis upon which the art of flying was subsequently built. We quote, upon this point, from the obituary notice referred to, as follows:

"Sydney will one day be noted, not for its famous harbour, but as being the home of Hargrave, the man who invented the flying machine." Lawrence Hargrave, the man of whom these words were spoken by Professor Threlfall, formerly of the Sydney University, died yesterday at his home in Wunulla Road, Woollahra Point. He was 65 years of age.

The late Mr. Hargrave, whose experiments, carried on at Stanwell Park and in Sydney, did so much to advance the science of aviation, was born in England, but he spent the greater part of his life—48 years of it—in this country. He was a son of the late Mr. Justice Hargrave. The

death of his own son, Geoffrey Hargrave, who was killed at the Dardanelles a few weeks ago, was a great blow to him and undoubtedly hastened the end. Geoffrey Hargrave, like his father, was an engineer by profession, and his death in action has cut short a very promising career. . . . The name of Lawrence Hargrave will be remembered in this country—the more as time goes on. He worked for some years as an assistant astronomical observer at Sydney Observatory, under the late Mr. H. C. Russell, and it may have been because he had to do with the things above the earth that his thoughts turned to flying machines. However that was, he gave up his work at the Observatory and thereafter devoted most of his life to the study of aeronautics; and certain it is that the present-day successes in mechanical flight are due largely to the work of this man in Australia. Thirty years ago Lawrence Hargrave was studying the flight of birds, and making working models, embodying the principles of their motions. The success of the models convinced him of the possibility of mechanical flight; and in a paper which he read before the Royal Society on August 6th, 1884, he gave particulars of his discoveries in simple and modest terms. . . . Eleven years later—in 1895—Hargrave conducted a remarkable experiment at Stanwell Park, on the South Coast, utilising his invention of the cellular or box kites, the fore-runner of the modern aeroplane, to lift him from the ground. "It is thought," he said, in another address to the members of the Royal Society, "that this experiment marks an epoch in the series of aeronautical contrivances recorded in our journal." And the principle was adopted by practically every military nation in the world for signalling purposes.

It was Hargrave who lifted human flight from the realm of dreamland into realisation; it was upon his discoveries that other men built, who have become famous in the world of aeronautics—the Wright Brothers and Farman, for instance. For 30 years he worked steadily on the problems of aerial engineering, constructing models, improving on them, and ever reaching higher stages. . . . And all the time, whilst his work was unappreciated in this country—by many, indeed, his efforts even had ridicule heaped upon them—aeronauts in other lands were working on his ideas. . . . It is a regrettable thing—it is, indeed, something of a disgrace—that when, some years ago, Mr. Hargrave expressed his willingness to hand over all his models to the Government, that they might be housed somewhere where they would be available for inspection by other inventors and the public generally, the Government could not see its way to accept them—there was no room anywhere. They were offered to Governments; they were offered to institutions—there was no room available. The same indifference was shown in England. So Mr. Hargrave presented them to Germany, and to-day they may be seen in the Deutsche Museum at Munich—and it is believed that the Taube aeroplane, which has been so prominent in the great war, is fashioned on one of these Australian models.

Three days later, under the caption of "Unappreciated Genius," the *HERALD* again, but this time editorially, expressed its appreciation of Hargrave's genius, and its regret at Australia's indifference to it, in a leading article. It may be added that the blot upon our 'scutcheon is not quite so black as these references would make it appear; for, while it is true that Hargrave's genius was almost disregarded by Australia while he lived and that the Munich Museum holds most of his most important models, his original monoplanes and one box kite have long been displayed among the leading treasures of the Sydney Technological Museum.

Naturally, one of the first methods of "doing their bit" thought of by those Australians who could not enlist for active service was that of subscribing to one or other of the War Funds which had been started almost immediately after the news of the outbreak of hostilities had been received. So great was the rush to help in this particular way that the totals of all these funds grew with the rapidity of a rolling snowball. Perhaps the best proof of this statement is to be found in the issue of the *HERALD* of the 10th of June, 1915, which shows that in a little over a year the total subscriptions thus received amounted to over a million pounds, nearly half a million of which had been given to the various Belgian relief funds. In addition, over fifty thousand pounds' worth of clothing and other donations in kind had been gathered together and sent overseas. These figures, it must also be remembered, do not include any such direct war philanthropies as the Red Cross or the Soldiers' Comforts Fund.

This, of course, was but the beginning of things in this connection. In a statement published in the *HERALD* in August, 1918, the grand total to that date was given as over four million pounds sterling, and before they closed, the funds had closely approached the five million mark. And this without taking into account a multiplicity of smaller and unofficial contributions, both in cash and kind. A number of "Days" were set apart during the four years for special activity in connection with one or other of these causes, and in every case the response was enthusiastic, and on several occasions, astonishing. Thus, for "The Australia Day" Fund—which reached in a very short time nearly a million pounds—the particular "Day" set apart for its activities brought in the colossal sum of £339,000 in New South Wales alone! The *HERALD*'s descriptions of these "Days" and of the scenes that were enacted thereon, make fine reading. One incident of many may be related in evidence of the eagerness to subscribe which marked "Australia Day" in particular. A baby elephant was led through the city, bearing on its back a small howdah fashioned like a money-box. It perambulated the streets all day, gathering subscriptions in cash as it went. The howdah was filled and refilled over and over again, and the total sum gathered in this ingenious manner exceeded £600! And this was but one of countless incidents of a similar nature enacted that day, and all that day, and on many days during the years of war.

This "Australia Day" was held on the 30th of July, 1915, and the *HERALD* devoted the space to it in its issue of the following day that its unique interest demanded. We quote from the general columns of the paper a description of the scenes in the city during the height of the excitement:

There was never anything like it before. "Australia Day" will assuredly never be forgotten. There are days that stand out for all time in our memory—great days associated with great events—and among the greatest of these is "Australia Day." It was stupendous. Over £339,000 has been given in this State alone. When the full returns are received the total will probably reach £400,000. . . .

July 30th, 1915, is a landmark in our history—as truly as is April 25th, 1915. Back from the shot-torn slopes of Gallipoli, bearing their wounds upon them, have come some of our soldiers who won imperishable glory for themselves and for us; and in many a hospital in Egypt battle-scarred Australians are lying at this moment, with the memory of marvels of life and death burnt deep into their brains. And remembering their imperishable record, we organised "Australia Day"—an offering of gratitude—a pouring out of love from our hearts, and of money from our pockets, money to provide comforts and nursing assistance for those who have fought so valiantly. Never was appeal more confidently made; never was response more generous. . . .

That crowd, the sights that one witnessed there, will never be forgotten. The Town Hall was a picture of colour, a mass of flags, stretching from the tower to the steps below; and there was not a part of it that gave some foothold, no matter how precarious, but was occupied by sight-seers. So it was everywhere. There were people even on the roof of St. Andrew's Cathedral. In every shop window, on every awning, and on every roof—even to the topmost parts of the tallest buildings—human beings were crowded. Thousands of them were silhouetted against the sky—"snipers," the street boys called them. And as for the street itself, it was a dense mass of humanity, now swaying this way, and now that. . . .

Strange and unforgettable sights! A city we never knew before! No one knew beforehand of the surprises of the day. Few of us could even have guessed it. We knew, of course, of the army of collectors that was to take possession of the city, and we came out in the morning prepared to surrender all we possessed; but we did not know of the thousand devices that had been planned. Even the central organising committee did not know the half. But little committees, in city and suburbs, preparing for this great day, had made preparations of their own. Some had planned this thing, and some that, and when the whole splendour of the day burst upon us we were amazed. One pauses for words to describe it; and the words refuse to come. It was indescribable. . . .

Such enthusiasm, such whole-souled giving, there has never been.

There were crowds and bands everywhere. All along the route of the military procession the streets were packed with people. Many were unable to see the procession at all; and particularly was this the case near the Town Hall, where the police—"who always get the best places," as one irate and elderly lady put it—had great difficulty at times in keeping the route open. . . .

The leading article of the same date, having referred in eloquent terms to the great success of the "Day," went on to strike a note of fervent patriotism, and to make an appeal that the occasion made singularly apt. The writer said:

Yesterday saw a wave of patriotic fervour passing over our land such as has never yet been seen, and the scenes as our soldiers passed through the city streets in the morning were unprecedented. . . . To-day we are aroused as we have never been before, and we are determined to fight the battle through to the end. . . .

This is Australia's war no less than Britain's. When we sent our contingent to the Soudan, when we sent our troops to South Africa, there was no menace to Australia, no threatening invasion of our own land; but to-day the case is far different, and if it had not been for the navy which a wise statesmanship had created in this country we would assuredly have been bombarded by the enemy cruisers which were in these southern waters in the early days of the war. Nor can we doubt that with anything less than the complete and crushing defeat of Germany, the future of Australia would be imperilled. . . .

In October, 1915, Mr. Fisher resigned his office as Prime Minister, and, retiring from political life, accepted the position of High Commissioner for Australia in London, an office which he held until 1921, when ill-health compelled him to resign it. He died in London in October, 1928. His successor as Prime Minister of the Commonwealth was Mr. W. M. Hughes, who had been his Attorney-General in both his Ministries. As in June, 1913, the leadership of the New South Wales Labour Party and the Premiership of the State had been resigned by Mr. McGowen into the more energetic hands of Mr. W. A. Holman, who was still Premier in October, 1915, the two men were at the helm of public affairs who were subsequently to leave (or, to be more accurate, to be expelled from) the Labour movement as the result of their advocacy of conscription, and were thereupon to form with the leading Liberals the National War Governments in New South Wales and the Commonwealth respectively. It may also be added that Mr. Wade, the leader of the Liberal Opposition in the Mother State, a man of singular ability and sincerity of purpose, had, in view of the crisis occasioned by the war, abandoned all attempts at political opposition and was giving Mr. Holman the loyal and consistent support in all war and national matters that was only to have been expected from a man of his character.

Affairs at the front were becoming so critical towards the end of 1915 that the demand for further reinforcements became imperative. Unhappily, there were forces in the community whose dark and poisonous leaven was working maleficently against enlistment. It is true that the flow of recruits never ceased. Indeed, its decline was not so marked as to give any reasonable ground for the belief that the public sentiment had changed in respect of the necessity for the prosecution of the war. The trouble was that a large increase in enlistment had become necessary, and the forces referred to had been able to retard, and even decrease, it. A recruiting campaign was therefore decided upon, and in its prosecution Messrs. Holman and Wade were associated, both in Parliament and on the platform. The necessity for this step was not experienced in New South Wales alone; the ramifications of the reactionary spirit were known in every State of the Commonwealth; and it was the combined effect of these ramifications that eventually induced Mr. Hughes to enter upon that advocacy of conscription which was to have such extraordinary results upon the social and political life of the Commonwealth.

By the Federal Defence Act, military service within the Commonwealth had, as we have already shown, been made compulsory; and a system of compulsory military training had been instituted for some time. But it contained no provision compelling military service outside Australia, and, therefore, if such compulsory service were required there were only two ways in which it could be obtained. The easier, the more obvious, and what may be termed the more natural, manner of obtaining it was by the ordinary process of legislation—in other words, by so amending the Defence Act that conscription for service abroad would become law. If Mr. Hughes had adopted this plan at the outset there is little doubt that he could have carried it to completion; and that little trouble, beyond the outcries of a few reactionaries, would have resulted. But, believing that the great majority of the public were behind him in the demand for conscription—a belief in which he was largely encouraged by the attitude of the press of Australia and by the general enthusiasm aroused by any demand upon the public sympathy in respect of the war—he decided upon the second method; and the second method was the cumbrous one of taking a referendum upon the matter. It was not only cumbrous, but the delay which it necessitated played into the hands of the Communistic element, an element which, unfortunately, had recently been strongly reinforced. For that sinister organisation, the Independent Workers of the World—notorious in three continents by its abbreviated title of “the I.W.W.”—had by this time become extremely active in Australia generally and in New South Wales in particular. Its adherents gleefully seized upon the conscription issue to further their subversive and reactionary aims, and the effects of their interference soon became visible. Threats, personal violence and even arson on a large scale were resorted to, and the campaign, especially in Sydney, speedily resolved itself into one of “direct action.” The disturbed state of affairs in Ireland, too, added its quota to the trouble. There was a powerful Irish section in Australia, many of whose members, inspired by a bitter anti-British spirit, vehemently expressed that spirit both in speech and action. Moreover, the very suggestion of conscription had aroused a very strong natural opposition, apart altogether from that which was so skilfully engineered, among a section of the public whose patriotism was undoubted, but whose horror of compulsory service over-rode every other sentiment and found its outlet in an alliance with the reactionary factions to which we have referred. The combination proved too much for the advocates of conscription, and its patent strength had the effect of making a number of Labour politicians, who otherwise might have followed their leaders into the conscription camp, hesitate and eventually refuse to go against the obvious feeling of the rank and file. The final touch was added by the unhappy tactics of a number of fanatics on the conscription side, who, by their extreme methods, so inflamed the feelings of their opponents that any suggestion of mediation or compromise became intolerable. The results of this confused and impolitic state of affairs were three: The first was the cleavage in the Labour ranks, whereby practically all the leaders of the Party, both Federal and State, were expelled, and the adoption by the headless remnant of an anti-conscription campaign which for virulence of prosecution has rarely been equalled in the political history of this or any other country. The second was the formation, by the expelled Labour leaders and the Liberals, of those Coalition governments which held office, both in State and Federal politics, until after the close of the war, and which incidentally drove the word “Liberal” out of our political nomenclature and substituted therefor the wider term of “Nationalist.” The third result was the defeat, not once, but twice, of the conscription proposals when submitted to the nation.

The attitude of the *HERALD* on these various important matters was consistent with its long-avowed imperialistic and patriotic sentiments. It welcomed the formation of the National Governments in the States and the Commonwealth, and it supported the compulsory service proposals with the greatest energy. Quotations from its leading articles, taken over the period covered by these great political and social changes, will illustrate the paper's views. Commencing with the necessity which arose in the middle of 1915 to obtain an increased flow of enlistments, and the recruiting campaign which was instituted, appropriately enough, on the anniversary of the opening of the war, we cull the following extracts from the two "leaders" which appeared in the issue of the 5th August of that year:

We have now two factors to encourage us which were absent when the first call for recruits was made. We have the knowledge both of the great services Australians have rendered at Gallipoli, and of the character which a year of war has revealed in the German people. Having that knowledge, we know that German domination is a fate to be avoided at all costs, and that we can give considerable assistance to the common task. We can give it primarily by sending every available fit man to the assistance of those already at the front, and, secondly, but only secondly, by employing all the industrial resources of the country in the preparation of war material. . . .

We have newly entered upon a recruiting campaign more extensive than at any time since the war broke out. Are the voluntary efforts of the speakers to be nullified because those in authority are too lazy or too indifferent to put on the final touches? Let us hope not. We have the material at hand. There is no lack of enthusiasm. It rests with the Defence Department to awaken to its grave responsibilities and do the rest. If the Minister for Defence would but pay us a visit and see for himself perhaps some improvement might be introduced into local methods. These seemingly lag far behind those of the other States and New Zealand. Our sister-Dominion across the seas could teach us many valuable lessons in this connection. The day for red tape in the Defence Department should have long since passed. . . .

It is time surely that the service of a capable organizer, quite uninfluenced by departmental red-tape methods, should be engaged upon the important task of seeing that the whole country is well served, and that no one who is willing to go to the front is discouraged from carrying his good intentions into practice.

On the 10th of the same month the paper struck a pessimistic note which was unusual with it, but which, nevertheless, was amply justified by the position of affairs. The article is noteworthy, too, in that it puts into plain black and white a possibility which so far had only been hinted at—and that with almost bated breath—the possibility of conscription. The article is boldly headed, "Is Conscription Coming?" and sets out the position without any circumlocution whatsoever. Says the writer:

Those who are opposed to the conscript system must be up and doing if they are to avoid its advent. It rests with those who support the voluntary system to show that by its aid the Empire can be made to issue victorious from the present conflict with the forces of rapine, plunder, and worse. There is no denying the fact that so far the recruiting campaign in this State has not been an unqualified success. . . .

In some places the cry for more and more men has met with some measure of response; in others it has fallen upon ears that are deaf and hearts that are stone. And on the whole the result of all this effort has been quite out of proportion to the energy put into the campaign. . . .

We can only urge, as we have urged before, that a greater part of the administrative work of the Defence Department be placed in the hands of men who are proved organisers, men who have been a success in other walks of life, and who are capable of infusing business training and method into a department that appears woefully deficient in this regard. . . .

The press of both city and country would lend a hand, the theatre, the concert hall, the picture show, might all be enrolled. Even the churches might be turned into recruiting organisations, were they properly organised for that object, for what better work could they do in the name of Christianity than aid in putting down the godless Huns, who fear neither man nor his Maker. Then there is another side of this recruiting campaign that needs emphasising. Necessary as it is

to enrol every possible man for the front, it is not every man's duty to go to the front. His more important work may be found nearer at home. The Munitions Committee is now getting busy. It will require the services of all the skilled men it can lay its hands upon. These should not be allowed to enlist, if enlistment necessarily means going into the firing line. Others follow occupations which should be carried on without interruption. The position and capacities of each would-be recruit should be thoroughly investigated. His proper work should be found for him. Some men can fight better than they can teach, others can best teach their fellows. . . .

The whole system should be reorganised and be put on to a business footing. This should be done now, to-morrow it may be too late. The alternative is conscription, nothing less.

Naturally, however, the idea of conscription was one to which neither the politicians nor the public took at all kindly, but eventually the body of opinion in support of compulsion became both strong and widely-spread. Properly handled and organised it might indeed have overcome the general prejudice; unfortunately, as we have already intimated, the methods introduced inflamed that prejudice to a point beyond the powers of reason to allay. When the first conscription campaign was decided upon, the *HERALD* entered into it with heart and soul, and published almost daily articles of exhortation and advice which were compact at once of eloquence and good argument. We quote from one or two, the first extract being taken from the leading article of the 20th of September, 1916, the day following that upon which the campaign was opened in New South Wales. Said the *HERALD*:

Monday night's meeting at the Town Hall struck just the right note in the opening of the referendum campaign. It was a meeting moved by earnest patriotic feeling; and of party spirit there was practically nothing. All parties were represented on the platform with Mr. Hughes; and his appeal was made from the higher levels of an Empire's need and of Australia's duty. . . .

The path of duty in this case, as always, is the path of safety; and as the world notes our readiness to struggle and suffer to the end in this great war so will it accept us as worthy of the increasing privileges of a wider citizenship. . . .

In Great Britain the women are showing a spirit and capacity for service which are beyond praise; and the limits of their ability to help in keeping the wheels moving have not yet been reached. Here we must be prepared to test Australian womanhood to the full, and it will not fail us. If as a people we rise in single-minded determination to work together for the common good there will be nothing to fear.

As the campaign proceeded, it became clear that a great cleavage was opening in the ranks of the Labour Party. Practically every one of its leaders was in favour of conscription; notably so were Mr. Hughes, of course, and Mr. Holman. But there were many workers on the other side, and what they lacked in status they made up in energy. Prominent among them were such men as Frank Anstey (now a member of the Federal Ministry), J. H. Catts, E. Riley, and G. M. Burns, Labour Members of the House of Representatives; J. J. Cusack and P. J. Minahan, Labour Ms.L.A.; A. C. Willis, subsequently to become a State Minister; and J. S. Garden, a stormy petrel whose activities in political and industrial affairs have long been known to Australians. Under such leaders as these the opposition was consolidated into an army whose methods became more and more bitter as the days went by. The *HERALD*, commenting on this aspect of the question in its leading articles of the 21st of October, a week before the vote was to be taken, said:

Above the confusion of the referendum one thing stands out clear. All the leaders of Australia are on the one side. There is nothing more striking, nothing more inspiring, than this fact. We do not refer only to the political leaders of this country—the appearance of Mr. Cook on the same platform as Mr. Hughes, the bond uniting men like Senator Pearce, Sir William Irvine, Mr. Holman, Mr. Wade, Mr. Watt, Senator Millen, Mr. Crawford Vaughan, Mr. Watson, Mr. Scaddan, Senator Givens, Mr. Spence and Mr. Lamond in a common spirit of brotherhood in the great crisis of our nation; we refer also to the leaders of thought in all the varied manifestations

of our national life. Never before in Australia's history has there been such unanimity. If we look back upon the past we shall find nothing approaching it. In all the great political fights in this country, in Parkes's day or later, when the original Federal Convention was before the people, and again when the draft Constitution came up, we saw our leaders divided. Some were on one side and some on another, and some again halted between two opinions. So it has always been up till now. It matters not where we look to-day, we find on the one side all the men and women in whom the community trusts. . . .

So with the captains of commerce and industry, so with all men, employers and employed, who value the precious liberties they possess. And so it is with all women who love their country, who love their honour and the honour of their menfolk.

And on the other side, what? Never was there a case so hopeless, never one so abject in leadership. It has no appeal to any greatness in the soul. It relies upon fears, upon suspicions, upon hatreds, upon abuse. It has no ideal of personal or national honour. It is as shallow and as selfish as its own cries. No wonder that such a cause appealing to no nobility in its adherents discloses no greatness in its leaders. We look around and we see no leader there—only blind men leading the blind to the ditch. . . .

We prefer to remain free men, and the conscription of our manhood in this great crisis is the price of our freedom. For the sake of our pledged word, for the sake of righteousness and justice, for the safety of our homes and the honour of our women—"for all we have and are," as Kipling says—we dare not fail now. If the union of our political leaders is, as we have said, without a parallel, it is because the crisis that we face is unparalleled. We believe that the heart of Australia beats true, and that the mighty "Yes" which will go up on Saturday next will express, as nothing else could, the Grand Union which has been born of this war—the "one big Union" which is to carry us on to victory and shape our destinies for many an age to come.

Again, on the day of the poll, upon the morning of the 28th of the month, the **HERALD** issued a last appeal:

The tumult and the shouting die, and the rest is with the ballot-box. To-day we are asked to decide the most momentous question ever submitted for decision to a free people. . . .

We are not asked to add a single new division to the Australian forces, but simply to keep those already in the field up to strength. Who asks for it? First, our own Australian Government; secondly, the military authorities of Great Britain and her Allies; thirdly, our own men in the trenches; and, fourthly, may we not say, every patriotic man and woman in our land. . . .

Never did we have a more solemn duty to perform than we have to-day. No other nation has been given such a choice as is ours, and as free men and women, valuing our liberties, and determined to retain them, it is for us now to send out a clarion message to the world—"Australia answers Yes!" Such an answer, on our enemies as well as our friends, will have incalculable value. For the State is a greater thing by far than the individual, and it is not a case of individuals being asked to-day to volunteer, but of a whole nation volunteering—a whole nation deciding, of its own free will, to throw every ounce of its strength into the great fight.

But all the eloquence and all the enthusiasm of the pro-conscription party and its press were in vain. The referendum was held throughout Australia on the 28th October, 1916; the question asked of the electors being stated in this simple fashion: "Are you in favour of the Government having in this grave emergency the same compulsory powers over citizens in regard to requiring their military service, for the term of this war, outside the Commonwealth as it now has in regard to military service within the Commonwealth?" And although Victoria, Western Australia, Tasmania and the Federal territories gave their decision in the affirmative, the vote against the proposal in New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia was so large that the net result was a negative majority of over 72,000. On the 10th of November—for it was not until then that the voting returns were sufficiently complete for the verdict to be regarded as final—the **HERALD** wrote as follows:

Compulsory service outside the Commonwealth had to be surrendered; yet it is quite clear that the great body of electors is as convinced as ever that Australia must take her full share in the struggle against Germany. . . .



Some original members of the Australian Light Horse (which participated in the Palestine Campaign with brilliant effect) exercising their mounts preparatory to embarkation.

Australian Infantry being transferred by ferry from the wharf at Woolloomooloo Bay to a transport lying in Sydney Harbour.



A familiar scene in the streets of Sydney during the embarkation of troops, when friends and relatives accompanied the soldiers to the wharf to bid them farewell.

AUSTRALASIANS

GLORIOUS ENTRY INTO WAR.

HISTORIC CHANGE.

BRILLIANT FEAT AT GABA TEPE.

The story of how the Australian troops landed at Gaba Tepe, and made good their landing in the face of the Turkish fire, and subsequent counter-attacks is vividly told by Mr. Ashmead Bartlett in his story.

The work of the Australian troops was splendidly carried out, and Mr. Bartlett says there has been no finer feat of arms in this war than that of the Australian troops.

Operations, according to an official statement, are now being pressed on under highly satisfactory conditions, though the enemy is offering stubborn resistance.

The eighth casualty list issued by the Defence Department last night contained the names of one additional officer who had died from wounds.

The list mainly consisted of the names of a large number of wounded Australian officers and men from all the British Empire. The names of the killed are as follows:

MR. ASHMEAD BARTLETT'S STORY.

At 10.15 on the morning of the 4th of August, the Australian troops landed at Gaba Tepe, and made good their landing in the face of the Turkish fire, and subsequent counter-attacks is vividly told by Mr. Ashmead Bartlett in his story.

MEETING FOR THE MORNING.

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TENSE MOMENTS.

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THE ALARM.

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A TERRIBLE PURSUE.

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LATEST CASUALTY LISTS.

NEW SOUTH WALES, SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

NEW SOUTH WALES, SOUTH AUSTRALIA. The names of the killed are as follows:

VICTORIA.

OED OF WOUNDS.

OED OF WOUNDS. The names of the killed are as follows:

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

WOUNDS.

WOUNDS. The names of the killed are as follows:

NEW ZEALANDERS.

WOUNDS.

WOUNDS. The names of the killed are as follows:

DOMINION'S LOSS.

NEW CASUALTY LIST.

NEW CASUALTY LIST. The names of the killed are as follows:

LATE WAR NEWS.

QUEENSLAND.

WOUNDS.

WOUNDS. The names of the killed are as follows:

THE ENEMY'S CLAIMS.

THE RUSSIANS.

JAPAN'S DEMAND.

THE FAR EAST.

ULTIMATUM.

JAPAN TO CHINA.

TWO DAYS FOR REFUSE.

SOLVED UNDER WILLIAMS.

EASIER SERVICE.

CONFERENCE RESULTS.

AMERICAN ATTITUDE.

INTEREST OF CHINA.

WESTERN FRONT.

GUNING REGRADUATED.

HEAVY CONVOY.

POISONOUS GAS.

RUSSIAN EFFORTS.

WAR FINANCE.

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The deed that made Australia a nation. Mr. Ashmead Bartlett's brilliant story of the landing of the Anzacs at Gallipoli.



THE LANDING AT ANZAC, 1915.

Presented to the Commonwealth by Austin Taylor in memory of gallant deeds.

The result of the referendum only lays a more onerous task upon us as a people, because the Government can no longer look to the weapon against Germany which has enabled Great Britain to complete her mobilisation. Our business is to prove that the voluntary system will accomplish that which Australia ought to do.

Almost immediately after the taking of this vote, the rift which had been steadily widening in the Labour Party became an open breach. Its first manifestation took the shape of a want of confidence moved in the New South Wales Parliament against the Holman Government by Mr. E. Durack, one of its own erstwhile supporters. The House adjourned, and events thereafter moved rapidly. A coalition between the Liberals and the Holman conscriptionists became inevitable if the prosecution of the war was not to be hindered by political squabbles and a transfer of Government. Eventually the coalition was arranged, Mr. Wade agreeing to support Mr. Holman and thus give the latter the necessary majority in the House. But before the new Government could be formed, a dramatic intervention by the State Governor, Sir Gerald (now Lord) Strickland, nearly precipitated a crisis without precedent in the constitutional history of the State. The direct censure motion against the Holman Government had been defeated, and an amendment thereon by Mr. Wade (to the effect that it was not desirable in the critical state of national affairs to determine whether or not the Government possessed the confidence of the House, since the best efforts of the State should be devoted to assisting the Commonwealth worthily to play its part, and that the time was opportune for the formation of a national party) had been carried, in both cases by the combination of the Holman-Wade forces. The Governor, however, on the grounds: (a) That the Legislative Assembly had deliberately refrained from declaring its confidence in the Holman administration; (b) That Mr. Wade had taken the control of the House from Mr. Holman; and (c) That Mr. Holman had originally received his commission to form a Government as being the leader of a party whereof the majority had now expressed its lack of confidence in him, informed Mr. Holman that he—the Governor—must cease transacting business with the present Ministers, and would at once seek the advice of the leaders of the party possessing the greatest strength in the House.

That the Governor was wrong in adopting this attitude is the verdict of leading constitutional authorities. But his bombshell naturally created a sensation, and the *HERALD* commented upon the situation in these terms:

. . . . Mr. Durack cannot govern in this Parliament, and should any unfortunate contretemps oblige him to attempt it, the only outcome would be an immediate general election. That is, in the existing state of the public mind, a thing to be avoided as long as it can be avoided, for without question the issue would be beyond anything in our experience personal and overshadowed by events in the federal sphere of action. That being so, we can only express the hope that Mr. Holman will accept the new situation created by his old followers, and that when Mr. Wade is sent for he will loyally maintain the essentials of the working agreement already understood to be arrived at.

Mr. Holman, however, was not the man to accept a rebuff of this kind, even when it came from the King's representative. He refused to accept the Governor's ultimatum, and, calling upon him with Mr. Wade, the two leaders proved to Sir Gerald that not only was Mr. Holman in command of the House, but that, if he were dismissed, there was no one else who would be able to form a Government. Wade had definitely pledged himself to support a National Government under Holman's leadership, and this was the only arrangement under which the Parliament could carry on. Eventually the Governor had to give way; Holman's position was officially recognised; and in a few days' time the National Ministry was announced. It was led by Holman; but Wade, who was in poor health, resigned his leadership of the party—and his right to office in the new

Ministry—to his lieutenant, Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Fuller. The latter accepted the position of Chief Secretary, and the other portfolios were fairly equally divided between the Liberals and that section of the House which, by supporting conscription and remaining loyal to Holman, had been expelled from the Labour Party. Mr. Wade retired shortly afterwards and accepted the Agency-General for the State in London. He was knighted in 1918, and, returning to Sydney in 1920, was appointed to a puisne judgeship of the Supreme Court of New South Wales. He died in Sydney, suddenly, in his sixtieth year, on the 26th of September, 1922.

The *HERALD* greeted the coalition Government—or National Government, as it came at once to be called—with a cordial satisfaction. The leading article of the 13th of November—written before the personnel of the new Ministry had been announced and before Mr. Wade's decision not to accept a portfolio was known—holds a further interest in that it deals in some detail with the Governor's action and declares its considered opinion thereon. Omitting certain unessential parts, the article is thus worded:

In this penultimate chapter a dramatic and unexpected episode was provided by the intervention of the State Governor. When the result of the divisions became known, His Excellency thought himself entitled to take the advice of the strongest party in Parliament. That ultimatum was withdrawn on Saturday morning after two interviews, the first with Mr. Holman and the second with Mr. Holman and Mr. Wade. Whoever criticises the conduct of the Governor in intervening must remember that the circumstances on which he acted were themselves exceptional. The Legislative Assembly had not only rejected a motion of want of confidence proposed from within the Government party, but had carried an amendment proposed by the leader of the Opposition, by which, for various reasons, the House declared that it was inexpedient to decide whether Ministers had its confidence or not. From these facts his Excellency appears to have drawn three inferences—that Mr. Holman had ceased to possess the confidence of the House, that Mr. Wade had taken over charge of its business, and that therefore it was his duty to intervene. Many observers who know the circumstances under which the amendment was moved will think that his Excellency was mistaken in the inferences on which his intervention was based. They will argue that, as the amendment was supported by Mr. Holman himself it could not be taken as a proof of want of confidence, and that as it was moved with his concurrence it could not show that the control of business had passed to Mr. Wade. But though there may possibly be differences of opinion on these points, we think that public opinion will be unanimous in holding that his Excellency's decision to intervene for any reason was a grave error of judgment. The relations of a Governor to the Parliament of a State must necessarily vary with the progress of the State. They cannot be gathered entirely from precedent or from the opinions of the Colonial Office. But it is surely established that in a State such as New South Wales the Governor must depend for his knowledge of the opinions of Parliament either on his Ministers or on a deputation appointed by resolution and acting through the Speaker. . . .

It may be said that if a Governor cannot use the public sources of information or exercise his own discretion, the position will not attract men of capacity and independent judgment. Such a conclusion would be opposed to the recent experience of the Australian States. In this State and in others the personality of the King's representative has been of infinite value to the community, and has exercised an influence on political life which would have been impossible had he not steadfastly kept aloof from political affairs.

On the announcement of the Ministry, the *HERALD*, commenting upon Mr. Wade's omission therefrom, paid him a well-deserved tribute.

The dramatic split in the Labour ranks of the New South Wales Parliament was almost immediately followed by a similar break in the Parliament of the Commonwealth. On the 14th of November, the Federal Caucus held a meeting in Melbourne and a motion declaring that Mr. Hughes no longer retained the confidence of the Party and was therefore no longer entitled to lead it, was proposed and discussed at some length. Mr. Hughes cut short the discussion by announcing that, as independence of thought and action was clearly impossible in the party as it was then constituted, he

had no option but to withdraw. Asking his supporters to follow him, he accordingly left the room, followed by some twenty-odd members. He immediately selected a new Ministry, two of his Cabinet having announced their decision to resign and stand by the party. The Liberals, led by Mr. Cook, gave Hughes their support against the Labour "rump," and he was thereby enabled temporarily to carry on. But a coalition government was as inevitable in Federal politics as it had been in those of the Mother State; and, after a brief reign of three months, the second Hughes Ministry came to an end. It was succeeded by his third Government, a National coalition in which Mr. Cook took the Ministry of the Navy, and Senator Pearce—one of the ex-Labour men who had followed him on the conscription question—that of Defence; the rest of the portfolios being divided, as in the case of the Holman-Fuller Government, equally between the two parties to the coalition. Also, as in the case of the State, the *HERALD* received the new arrangement with relief, and for the same reasons. It expressed its satisfaction in the leading article of the 19th February, 1917, in the following terms:

The Coalition Ministry which was completed on Saturday has been formed and will be welcomed for two reasons. Its formation was necessary in order, in the first place, to allow Australia to be represented adequately at the Imperial Conference; and, in the second place, to ensure that the government of the country will be carried on, and our contribution to the national cause maintained, at the highest possible level. The coalition will be judged at the next elections by its success in attaining these objects. . . .

The Prime Minister will not complain that he has been treated unfairly by his fellow citizens. His was the smallest party in Parliament, and yet he is chosen by common consent as the man to represent Australia at a gathering of historic importance. It is a rare tribute to ability and to a form of patriotism which had admirably stood the test of war. . . .

Mr. Cook has many of the gifts necessary for a leader of the Government during the remainder of this Parliament. No one is more likely to conduct Parliamentary business without friction or less likely to make an unwarranted use of the dictatorial powers of the Government.

After some months' consideration, the new Government determined to hold a second conscription referendum. The need for increased reinforcements was an ever-growing one, and the Government believed that, differently approached, and with more careful organisation, such an appeal would this time be successful. It therefore decided to submit the referendum in a modified form. The appeal was now not to be for power to conscript for overseas service generally, but only to conscript sufficient men to make the total reinforcements (including volunteers) up to 7,000 per month.

The *HERALD*, in common with the greater portion of the responsible press of the Commonwealth, supported the proposal ardently, as the following extract from the leading article of the 12th of December, 1917, will show:

To-morrow week the referendum will be taken. Another seven days, therefore, remain in which the work of the campaign to secure an affirmative vote must be completed. . . .

Therefore missionary work to be worth anything must be done among those who may be converted or aroused; and the justification for believing that a fine majority can be secured for the affirmative to-morrow week is to be found in the honesty and sincerity of the great body of the people throughout Australia who ring true when the war is discussed apart from personal or political issues. . . .

Once the position is fairly faced there cannot be two minds upon the matter. Either we accept the responsibility of Empire and recognise its demands upon us in this war, or we do not. Those who have not looked at the question in this light have not been following the trend of recent events and have forgotten our lifted heads when we declared as a Commonwealth under a Labour Government that Great Britain should have our last man and our last shilling if she needed them. Missionary work, then, must be done with all who are open to argument and enlightenment. They will recognise, if they are patriots, that the Federal Government is not asking a thing too hard for them. . . .

Our honour also requires that the Australian army shall be maintained as one of the Empire's finest weapons against Germany; and all this can be settled with a simple "Yes" on the 20th. Those, therefore, who have recognised a duty in attending meetings to serve the right side should look beyond their immediate neighbourhood if work has been exhausted therein, and carry the crusade as far as their strength and means will allow.

This second referendum was held on the 20th December, 1917; but, despite the eloquence of platform and press, the proposal was again turned down, and by a larger majority than before. Once more New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia favoured the "Noes," and this time they were joined in their negation by Victoria, leaving the small States of Western Australia and Tasmania, and the Federal Territories, the only supporters of the proposal. The final majority for "No" was 166,588.

The HERALD was deeply disappointed, and in its editorial comment was inclined to blame Mr. Hughes for the result. The leading article of the 22nd December, written in the belief that the Prime Minister would resign if the proposal were defeated, is thus worded:

We have to acknowledge to-day that the Australian people have for the second time refused to entrust the Government with compulsory powers for the purpose of obtaining sufficient reinforcements to keep their divisions overseas at their full strength. The decision cannot be explained away by any theory of defective information. . . .

From the day the debate began it was seen that many of the electors would be unable to confine their attention to the question before them, and that many more would refuse to accept an unaccustomed burden of responsibility. The discussion revealed all the dangers of a general election, with none of the advantages to be derived from the action of representative government. Many were influenced less by loyalty to their defenders than by anger at the threat of a dictatorship. Religious and racial passions were so fanned that the single issue was lost sight of. . . .

Self-interest and short-sightedness were no doubt on the same side as intentional disloyalty, but their combined influence did not displace the belief that the Australian people would have accepted compulsion from Parliament if Parliament had been free to enact it, and that Parliament would have been given its freedom if it had had the courage to ask for it. . . .

Mr. Hughes's services to Australia during the war have been very great, and his patriotism is beyond question. But in the conduct of two referendums and of the general election he has shown the peril to a leader in a false view of his own supremacy. He has driven patriotic, if short-sighted, men into alliance with the enemy. His temperament has discouraged his own followers, and has given undue prominence to an opponent whose political instinct is not governed by the generosity of his race. His whole conduct of the campaign shows a want of appreciation of the instincts of his countrymen, of which the most marked are resentment at the appearance of dictation or coercion and the desire to see fairplay between any two parties, whatever the merits of their quarrel. In this campaign charges have been uttered and threats used which make it impossible to regard Mr. Hughes as a Minister of Reconciliation. Reconciliation, however, is a duty which must be the foundation of the policy of his successor. The many thousand opponents of conscription who are loyal to their country and the Empire must not be driven to find their leader among the nation's enemies. . . .

The Government should put every profession of loyalty to the test. It must save the country and the Australian forces from the apparent consequences of this decision. It can only do so by inviting the confidence of the whole people, by putting them in possession of all available information, and by avoiding the appearance of governing by the use of arbitrary power.

However, Mr. Hughes did not resign, and the verdict had to be accepted. It is now history how, despite the lack of the conscriptive power, the Government of Australia was able to keep its pledges and to send along the reinforcements that were required.

A few months before the second referendum was taken, however, there occurred an industrial upheaval of the most critical kind—an upheaval which, disastrous as it would have been at any time, was at this particular juncture of national affairs, fraught with the utmost peril; which was as dangerous as civil war, and which, indeed, *was* a

form of civil war, in that it raised between class and class passions so bitter that the years have not even yet allayed them.

Ever since the defeat of the first conscription referendum it had been evident that a certain reactionary and revolutionary section of the community which made up for its comparative smallness in numbers by an unceasing and malignant activity, was engaged in stirring up these class hatreds in general and an opposition to the National Government in particular. It used the referendum as a pretext for both propaganda and direct action; and it was largely dominated by the extremists of the I.W.W.—a body which about this time was putting its policy of hatred and destruction into a dangerously practical form. The activity of these gentry, both insidious and open, was strong enough to bring to a head the irritation and distrust that had long affected the health of Australian industry. The first definite indication of the coming crisis was a notification to the Railway Commissioners of New South Wales that unless a method of checking up the actual work done by individual employees, which had just been instituted at the workshops and which was known as the “card-system,” were abandoned, the whole of the Unions affected would stop work. This notice was given on the morning of the 1st of August, 1917, and demanded the withdrawal of the cards by the following day. The Chief Commissioner saw the representatives of the men, and pointed out that they had been mistaken as to the nature of the card system, which, in fact, had been once before instituted without protest under a Labour Government, but the office arrangements not being perfect at the time had been withdrawn, subject to an intimation, to which no objection had been taken, that it would be returned to as soon as those arrangements were complete. That time had now come, added the Commissioner, and it was impossible for him to consent to scrap a system which had been carefully considered and instituted for the benefit of the railways and all concerned with their working. But his explanations and expostulations were equally futile—the extremists had decided on a strike; and there is every reason to believe that, card system or no card system, the wheels of industry were to be stayed. If one pretext had failed another would have been brought into action; and so, on the 2nd of August—almost on the anniversary of the opening of the war—4,000 men downed tools in the railway shops, and the most desperate and destructive strike in the history of the State commenced. And once commenced, it ran like wildfire through the whole ranks of labour until nearly every industry was affected. The Premier of New South Wales, Mr. W. A. Holman, was away on a visit to England, and the Acting Premier, Mr. George Fuller, was in charge. He acted promptly and decisively. He refused to be dictated to by the Unions, knowing full well that to grant their demands would only mean a brief postponement of the inevitable trouble; and he issued a proclamation to the citizens, of which the material portions ran as follows:

“A CONSPIRACY OF EXTREMISTS.”

In spite of every effort made by the Government to prevent the calamity, this State is involved to-day in what will probably be one of the most disastrous strikes in the history of the Commonwealth.

We are not dealing with a revolt of workmen against oppressive conditions.

We are dealing with trades unionism for the time being under the control of irresponsible and dangerous men, who, for political reasons, have determined to plunge and keep the community in a state of industrial ferment.

There are in this State a limited number of men, for the time being, in control of several trades unions, who have lost all sense of patriotism and responsibility, and who are deliberately contributing to the success of the enemies of civilisation by their actions.

The men on strike to-day are all Government employees.

They have the full protection of an elaborate system of wages boards created by the law for the investigation of their grievances.

They enjoy numbers of privileges which workmen in private occupations do not enjoy.

These men, through their leaders, served an ultimatum on the Government, that, unless a demand was conceded within 24 hours they would cease work.

They refused to respond to every appeal to withdraw this ultimatum.

They are striking on a matter of detailed business management, the adoption of which cannot prejudice the interests of any decent workman in the State.

Nine-tenths of the men do not know now what the strike is really about, but are being blindly led into this appalling conflict by a few dangerous leaders.

The Government is convinced that a section of the men were determined to have a strike under any circumstances.

There can be no compromise on the part of the Government when an issue of this kind is raised.

The time has come for the people of this State to take their stand against those extremists who have for a long time been deliberately conspiring against the public interest and who have been responsible for the industrial ferment which has disgraced the State since the beginning of the war.

It may be that this conflict will have serious results, and will for a long time affect the general prosperity of the State.

But in every country there comes a crisis when the people must be asked whether or not they will declare for the supremacy of the State, as against the turbulence of a minority. That is the issue in this conflict.

I now solemnly appeal to every workman in the State to consider seriously the direction in which he is drifting, and to stand by the Government in its determination to resist to the utmost limit the challenge which has been so wickedly made by thoughtless leaders.

In the same issue—that of the 3rd of August—the HERALD thus commented on the position:

Disaster in its most menacing shape threatens us as a community. . . .

It is a conspiracy against the State, in the first instance; and, coming in time of war, when co-operation and hearty goodwill are essential to our taking a fair share of the fighting, it becomes conspiracy against the Empire. . . .

The present strike has been engineered by men who have made the card system a pretext for attacking the State as employer. If this strike is settled they will attack somewhere else. Clearly the State Government is right. Ministers must fight; and if the Commonwealth comes in it must fight, too, but on the side of the State—for that assuredly in the end is the side of the Empire.

By the 6th of the month, the number of strikers had grown to 10,000, including a number of engine-drivers and guards. As a result, the train and tram services became disorganised and the ordinary time-tables had to be almost altogether suspended. A Strikers' Defence Committee had been organised by the Unions, and on the 7th instant the whole of the tram and railway men who were not yet on strike were ordered to cease work, with the result that two days later the number of the strikers had increased to nearly twenty thousand. A considerable number of men, however, refused to obey the orders of the committee and remained loyal to the Commissioners, not only for a time, but all through the months of stress which followed. No tribute of praise can be too high for these men, and it is one of the blackest marks on the industrial history of the State that, ever since that strike of thirteen years ago, these loyalists have been made the subject of attack by the Union leaders, with the result that the promise of the Fuller Government and of its National successors to see that their services should never be forgotten, has been disregarded by each Labour Government that has held office. The loyalists have been made to suffer bitterly indeed for their patriotic decision to stand by their country in its time of stress.

That the country, as a whole, was behind the Government in its decision to carry on was almost immediately proved by the stream of volunteers who, in response to a further proclamation issued by Mr. Fuller on the 7th of August, offered to serve in any

capacity. With their aid the trams and trains were kept running, though necessarily only a very limited service could be maintained, and that only in the face of insult and abuse from the strikers. By the tenth the strike had become general. The draymen, carters and trolley-men were the first to come out "in sympathy" with the railway employees; and they were almost immediately followed by the wharf-labourers and the miners. The *HERALD* of the eleventh summed up the position of affairs in the following terms:

We may regret this great strike as we will, we may deplore it as all such national calamities are to be deplored, but at least one may be thankful that, as it had to come, it has come now. Those of us who could read the writing on the wall knew that the black thing had to come. It was inevitable. It is not a thing of a day's growth, nor of a week's; the fire has been smouldering for months, and now, fanned by the winds of sedition and treason, the flames have broken loose. This is no strike born, as some would have us believe, of political discontent and industrial unrest. It is something of a far more sinister nature, and the great body of the strikers, who in their hearts are as loyal to their country and the Empire as the rest of us, are merely the dupes of clever schemers who do not belong to Australia at all. . . .

It cannot be said that the unexpected has happened. It is true that to many of our people the war has appeared as something afar off and of no particular import to Australia; but to many others—and not merely to Government officials who were in possession of certain information that was not available to the general public—it had become plain during recent months that sinister influences were at work with the object of cutting Australia out as a factor in the war. . . .

Happily, a great many honest and clear-thinking ones have had the good sense to go back to work, but the great majority remain out, sacrificing everything at the behest of a group of secret tyrants who call themselves the Strike Committee and have nothing to lose themselves. The public will not shirk their duty. City and country will stand boldly together in defence of constituted law and authority, and if there is to be a "fight to a finish," as the strike leaders say, let it be so. It may cause much misery in our homes, it may possibly go to lengths we hardly dare to think of at the moment; but we can be very sure that, come what may, the forces of law and order will in the end prevail, and this country will be the better for the purifying work.

The "hold-up" was not, as we have seen, complete. Not only were the volunteers rapidly increasing, but many of the strikers, as the *HERALD* said, were returning to work rather than longer obey the dictates of leaders who, it was becoming increasingly clear, were themselves but pawns in the hands of the enemies of the Empire. Despite these defections from their ranks, however, the army of the strikers steadily increased. On the 13th the seamen came out, and on the 14th the ship-painters and dockers followed them. On the 15th the coal-lumpers joined in; but on this same day the Government had received so many volunteers that it was enabled to organise the food-supply services and to run a fairly satisfactory railway service, both to the suburbs and to the country, while the tram service returned, during the day-time at any rate, almost to its normal condition. However, the strike was still spreading, and as its activities had now extended to Queensland and Victoria, Mr. Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia, following the lead of Mr. Fuller, issued a proclamation to the citizens of the Commonwealth, setting out the facts of the dispute, and calling upon the public to support the State and Federal Government in their efforts to combat the forces of reaction. A great many of the volunteers were countrymen—farmers, and so on; and as they arrived in Sydney they were formed into camps which were stationed at the Cricket Ground, the Taronga Park Zoological Gardens, and similar spots. By the end of August there were nearly seven thousand of these men under canvas.

Meanwhile the Government had compulsorily restricted the use of gas and power; had taken over the mines, had arrested several of the most prominent of the strike leaders, and taken other steps which not only proved their determination to defeat the forces of disorder, but which also very clearly brought home to the public the very

direct and disastrous effect the strike was bringing upon themselves. There had never been much outside sympathy with the strikers; the action of the Government now alienated what little had survived. Gradually and surely the determined attitude of the authorities won the day; but the victory was long in coming and hardly contested. Fortunately, although the incitement to do so was constant, and in the general excitement almost anything might have happened, there was very little resort to violence. But there was some. At Broken Hill, where the miners had come out "in sympathy," a mob assaulted the volunteer workers who had taken their places, and also the police who were attempting to keep order; in Sydney, attacks upon the loyalist tramway-men were reported fairly frequently; on the south coast a railway-fireman was shot at and slightly injured; and at Camperdown, during an attack by a number of strikers on a loyalist carter, the latter in self-defence drew a revolver and fatally wounded one of his assailants. But these, in view of the circumstances, were but minor affairs; and the community, as the *HERALD* pointed out, were to be congratulated that the evil passions which had been aroused had found no more serious expression. On the tenth of September the paper was able to announce that the rail and tramway men—the initiators of the trouble—had seen the error of their ways and had decided to resume work. Other Unions, it was said, had also "decided to negotiate"; but it was not until the middle of October that industrial affairs generally had again approached so nearly to the normal that the *HERALD* could truly assert that the strike was "practically ended." The seamen were the last to surrender; but by the 19th October the majority of them had also returned to work, and the *HERALD*, which had followed the whole course of the crisis with the carefulness and consistency characteristic of its policy, was able to publish a leading article, from which we quote the following extract:

Our news yesterday and to-day points to the end of the strike, in that the shipping companies have seen their way to commission their large steamers again, and a number of wharf-labourers have signed on for work. In Melbourne recalcitrant seamen are to find themselves faced with volunteers, who will make up the necessary crews; and all that will remain will be finally to clean up—a process which has already been under way for some time. . . .

We have already suggested that there may be no end to the recent trouble called a strike, because it is part of the war. Everything that has transpired, since the originators of the mischief were seen to be beaten, shows that this is the case; and war must be the condition of trade and industry throughout the Commonwealth until every man employed in the most important industries is known to be an honest British citizen, and a loyal worker. . . .

An atmosphere of suspicion soon creates troubles; for alleged spies and traitors multiply by being sought out under conditions of panic. But there is a mean between the extreme of recklessness already reached by Australian unionism and the other extreme of nervousness and wholesale denunciation. We write of Australian unionism. The average unionist in this great land, if he be an Australian, is not, naturally, quarrelsome or extremist. He is inclined to be careless, and is easily led or influenced. To him now the community looks to place unionism in Australia on a better footing. Most of the trouble up to date has come with the advent of outsiders who are agitators or avowed members of the I.W.W. and of others who are definitely agents of the enemy in our midst. . . .

As a community we are all concerned in this new birth of unionism; and though there may be no peace, and no real progress in reconstituting it, the great thing will be to give every honest man his due, and every loyal unionist a chance of forcing his union out of the hands of the enemy.

All through, as we have said, the *HERALD* had written against the strike and in support of the Government; and that its articles did much to bring the true position of affairs before the public and to compel the final resumption of work, the wideness and frequency with which they were quoted at the time quite clearly shows. But perhaps the publication by the paper of three small paragraphs—well "lead" and displayed—

during the height of the crisis did more to bring shame to the hearts of the strikers and to win the battle for law and order than any other single written contribution to the cause. And these are the three paragraphs:

AMERICA.—“The representatives of organised labour will confer at Minneapolis in September for the purpose of perfecting their plans to fight the war to a finish.”—Cable message from New York.

GREAT BRITAIN.—“The seamen are still undaunted by Germany’s barbarism. They have not yet delayed the sailing of a single ship by five minutes.”—Mr. Havelock Wilson, Secretary of the British Seamen and Firemen’s Union.

AUSTRALIA.—“There is not a single wharf-labourer working on the wharves in Australia.”—Strike-leader in the Domain yesterday.

These paragraphs were printed without comment. But comment was needless, and of their effect there can be no doubt. They set out the actual position of affairs in a nutshell; and no loyal Australian, it is safe to say, read them without a sense of shame and anger. It only remains to add in this connection that, although the strike ultimately met with the fate it deserved, its repercussions in Australia were felt for long enough. Indeed, like the ripples that follow the plunge of a stone into a pool, the waves of distrust and anger and revenge which that great strike of 1917 created, still circle outwards, with maleficent effect, throughout the whole body of Australian industrial life.

It was during the last phase of this crisis that the work upon the Trans-continental Railway was completed. The *HERALD* of the 18th of October thus appropriately commented upon the event:

As one looks back it seems extraordinary that during the greatest war in the world’s history Australia should be able to complete her Trans-continental Railway while in other parts of the Empire the lines have been pulled up to provide rails and material for traffic on the European battle front. Both in Great Britain and Canada the reverse process from construction has been carried on, while here the building of a main trunk line has proceeded without hindrance except from our own industrial and political “cussedness.”

In five years the line has been finished, and nearly three and a half have been years of desperate warfare for the Empire. Taking everything into account, it is not so bad, though it might have been a great deal better had day labour given place to the definite contract and a clear run.

This article appeared in the issue of the 18th of October, and on the 22nd of the month the line was opened for traffic.

Owing to the extraordinary shortage of paper caused by the war, and the enormous increase in price which that shortage entailed, the proprietors of the *HERALD* were faced with a very serious problem in carrying on the regular production of the paper. The difficulty could be met in only two ways—either the size of the journal had to be reduced or the price of it increased. In the end both methods had to be adopted, but it was not until some time after the actual close of the war that the latter means was resorted to, and then only with the greatest reluctance. The whole question of this paper trouble will be dealt with in the next section of this history at its appropriate date—that is, at the date when the price had to be raised. It is sufficient to refer shortly here to a few of the alterations in the general make-up of the paper during and necessitated by the shortage. In the first place, the number of pages to the issue was reduced, the extent of the reduction varying with the exigencies of the demand for space. But that they were effected both gradually and regularly, may be seen from a comparison of the issues for the last week in July, in each of the years from 1914 to 1918. For that week in 1914—the normal state of affairs being still in existence—the paper contained 16 pages every day except the Wednesday and the Saturday, the issues on these two days being invariably much larger than those of the rest of the week. In this particular week they contained 24 and 32 pages respectively, making a grand total of 120 pages for the week. In the

corresponding week of 1915, the issues contained 14, 14, 20, 14, 12 and 24 pages respectively—a total of 98 pages, or a reduction of 22 pages on that of the previous year. In 1916 the total was further reduced to 96; in 1917 it had shrunk to 90; and in 1918 to 88. This decrease, although taken at random, may be regarded as typical; and, although about fifty per cent. of it represented a deliberate decrease in the space allotted to the advertising, it naturally necessitated a corresponding decrease in the reading matter as well. This was effected by a combination of alterations in several features of the paper. Thus the leading articles were reduced from the invariable four of the pre-war years to the two which have been almost equally invariable ever since; the column entitled "News of the Day," which followed the leaders and comprised a number of paragraphs briefly summarising the items dealt with at length elsewhere, was dropped altogether; and the parliamentary, social and sporting reports were shortened as much as was possible compatible with accuracy. In this way the position was met until, as we have said, some time after the war the tremendous price to which news-print had soared necessitated an increase in the price as well as a retention of the decrease in the size. But we may leave the final difficulties of the problem for further consideration in the next section.

There was a further handicap on the production of the paper which must be referred to here, however, at some length. That was the handicap which, in common with almost every other institution in the country, the HERALD suffered, and was glad to suffer, in the loss of many of its staff by enlistment. In this respect the record of the firm is a fine one, indeed. No less than ninety-seven employees out of a total staff of 446, enlisted; and of these five were decorated, many were mentioned in despatches, twenty-one were killed in action or otherwise made the supreme sacrifice during their term of service; and twenty-eight were wounded. In addition, forty-two of the staff, themselves too old for active participation in the war, saw their sons go forth to battle in their stead. One, indeed, gave three sons to the war, and several gave two. The glorious record of the HERALD staff in this respect is duly set out upon the beautiful memorial tablet which now hangs in a position of honour upon the wall of the HERALD building. Shortly after the close of the war a small memorial volume, containing the names and photographs of every member of the staff who had enlisted, together with a short biographical notice of each one, was printed by the proprietors of the HERALD and made available to the staff. It were a task as invidious as unnecessary to make any special or detailed reference to the war services of these men—many of them, indeed, so young as hardly to merit the name of men, were it not that their actions proved them so, indeed. But a word or two must be given to one of them, at least, since he had not only served throughout the whole extent of the war, but served in a capacity so important and so appropriate to be mentioned here that to omit the reference would be to leave the chronicle unfinished. This was Mr. Charles Edwin Bean, and our reference to him may well take the shape of a quotation from the memorial volume we have already mentioned. Thus, then, it runs:

Mr. Bean, who was a member of the editorial staff of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD when he left to go to the Front, was nominated by the journalists of Australia for the position of Official War Correspondent with the A.I.F., because they knew him to be one of the best descriptive writers, a man of fine character, and in every sense a good Australian. He fully justified his appointment.

Mr. Bean was born at Bathurst on November 18, 1879, being the son of the Rev. Edwin Bean, then headmaster of All Saints' College, in that town. He was called to the Bar in 1903. Two or three years later he joined the literary staff, and in 1909 was appointed London correspondent of

THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, and upon his return to Sydney in 1913, he resumed work as a leader writer.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war he was selected as the Official Correspondent, and though graded as Captain, he remained rigidly a civilian for the sake of the freedom which it gave him. He went with the first drafts of troops for Egypt, sailing from Melbourne in the "Orvieto" with the late General Bridges and his staff on October 24, 1914, and was all through the Gallipoli Campaign. He was wounded in the Lone Pine fight on August 7, 1915. After the evacuation he went to France, where he acted as Official Correspondent for Australia, with a few intervals of work in London, connected with war trophies, until just before the armistice was signed. He edited the well-known "Anzac Book" and "The Rising Sun," but the achievement of which he is proudest is the record of 300 volumes of notes and diary which he kept from the sailing of the First Division till the end of the war. He shared the risks taken by the men in the actual fighting line, and in a fine tribute paid to him by General White was described as "one of the bravest of our men."

At present Mr. Bean is engaged in writing the history of the A.I.F. in Gallipoli and France, and in editing the remaining volumes relating to our national history of the war.

Mr. Frederick Morley Cutlack, a South Australian journalist, who, subsequently to the war, became, and still remains, a member of the HERALD staff, also received from the Commonwealth Government the appointment of Second Official Correspondent with the A.I.F. in France. Mr. Cutlack has also contributed to the Official "History of Australia in the War," the volume of that great work which deals in detail with the services of the Australian Flying Corps. Another volume of the History was written by Mr. Henry Somer Gullett (subsequently to become Minister for Customs in the Federal Ministry led by Mr. Bruce), the nephew of that Henry Gullett to whom, as Associate Editor of the HERALD, reference has already been made. Mr. H. S. Gullett was himself for many years a member of the staff of the HERALD; and saw active service with the A.I.F. in Palestine. This, coupled with his known abilities as a writer, induced the authorities in charge of the Official History to entrust to his pen the volume relating to the campaign in Sinai and Palestine.

It may appropriately be added here that Dr. E. Wilfred Fairfax, son of Sir James R. Fairfax, also saw service with the A.I.F. In 1917 he joined the A.A.M.C., and, on proceeding overseas, was appointed Senior Physician to the 1st Australian General Hospital at Rouen. He was subsequently promoted to the post of Consulting Physician to the Fifth Army, and returned to Australia in 1919 with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

In May, 1918, an invitation was extended by the Imperial Government to the proprietors of the leading journals of Australia to send a delegation to England for the purpose of visiting the Western Front. Mr. James O. Fairfax, as he then was, was deputed by the proprietors of the HERALD to represent that paper on the delegation. Mr. Heney, the Editor, also attended, as a general representative of the journalism of the Commonwealth. They left together on the 26th June, and, in company with the delegates from the other portions of the Empire, they were enabled to visit not only the munition factories and other industrial activities which had been called into existence in England and elsewhere by the war, but also many of the various centres of hostilities on the Western Front. It was an enlightening visit, and, despite its tragic side, a vastly interesting one. On his return to Sydney in the beginning of December, 1918, Mr. J. O. Fairfax wrote a series of articles for the HERALD describing his experiences, and on many occasions thereafter he spoke with deep feeling of the scenes that he had witnessed.

Shortly after the departure of Mr. Heney, his resignation was received in Sydney and Mr. Charles Brunson Fletcher, the present Editor, was appointed to the vacant editorial chair. Mr. Fletcher, who was born in Taunton, Somerset, England, in 1859, came out to New Zealand as an infant, and, at the age of thirteen, arrived with his

parents in Sydney. This was in 1872. He was educated at Newington College and at Fort Street School; and, having passed the necessary examinations, he became an officer on the staff of the Detail Survey of the City of Sydney. Later he went to Queensland, and, qualifying as a surveyor there, carried on his profession until the floods and financial crisis of 1893 combined to drive him into that other profession of journalism for which his abilities so qualified him. His first article appeared in the Brisbane *Telegraph*, but soon afterwards he joined the staff of *The Courier*, under Dr. F. W. Ward, who was then editor of that journal. In 1898, on the departure of Dr. Ward to take up a position with the Melbourne *Argus*, Mr. Fletcher succeeded him in the editorial chair of *The Courier*. Five years later the two men met again in Sydney, Dr. Ward having been appointed to the editorial chair of *The Telegraph* and Mr. Fletcher to that of Associate Editor of the *HERALD*. He retained this position for the remainder of Mr. Heney's editorship, and, on the resignation of the latter, was, as we have said, appointed to succeed him. Mr. Fletcher's long association with Australasian matters and the opportunities he has had, and seized, to study the trend of world politics in the Southern Hemisphere, have made him an authority upon Pacific affairs generally; and, as a result, he has published three volumes dealing with this subject—"The New Pacific," "The Problem of the Pacific" and "Germany in the Pacific." These were essentially war books, written during the war, and prompted by Germany's aims and claims in the Pacific. Several other smaller books on various subjects connected with matters of Australian interest also stand to his credit. He has on several occasions held the Presidency of the New South Wales Institute of Journalists, and he is a member of the Senate of the University of Sydney, whose Diploma of Journalism he was largely responsible for instituting. Mr. Fletcher is a vigorous and incisive writer, and these characteristics of his style for many years illuminated the leading articles of the *HERALD*. Last year Mr. Fletcher was appointed, by the proprietors, to represent the paper at the Fourth Imperial Press Conference, in London, a responsible task which he carried out with efficiency and zeal.

In April, 1918, Mr. W. M. Hughes, who had already (in 1916) journeyed to England during the war, again visited the Old Country. As a result of the prominent part he played in the deliberations of the Imperial War Cabinet, and as the representative of Australia at the subsequent negotiations at the Conference that produced the Treaty of Versailles, he gained not only great personal prestige, but the affectionate esteem of his fellow countrymen. On his return to Australia, in September, 1919, he was accorded a welcome—from "Diggers" and public alike—that was as sincere as it was tumultuous. Indeed, despite the set-back of the conscription referendums, it is probable that the years 1916-1919 represent the apogee of his career.

In November, 1918, came the Armistice; and, with it, the beginning of that Peace which has so disappointed most of us, but which was then hailed with the almost frenzied joy which was so natural an accompaniment to the realisation of a long-desired consummation. Throughout Australia Armistice Day was celebrated in very much the same hysterical manner as it was in the other allied countries; and the writer of the article dealing with the excitement in the streets of Sydney when the famous news was announced, and the actual signing of the Armistice was confirmed (it had already been previously asserted and denied), thus let his pen describe the scene:

The news, awaited with so much impatience for three days, reached Sydney early last evening. Germany had submitted to the Allies' terms and had signed the armistice. The war was over.

The information, transmitted through the State Department in Washington, reached the offices of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD at seven o'clock. A few minutes later an extraordinary edition was being sold in the streets, and the word "Victory," in great electric letters, was flashed into being across the front of the *HERALD* Office.

By 7.30 the news was spreading rapidly. The various special editions were bought eagerly, and the cablegrams scanned. Finally they were accepted. By 7.45 steam whistles on ferries and locomotives were in full blast, and the whole city began to stir. Even in the smallest and most distant suburbs people commenced to gather in little knots and discuss the news.

The mad hullabaloo of the steam sirens kept on and increased in volume. More special editions appeared with the news in printed form. Fresh waves of excitement swept the suburbs—and then, suddenly, from cottage and mansion, flat and lodging, everyone who could walk turned an eager face towards the city. Never in the history of Sydney did a greater flood of passengers flow over the evening service of trams, trains, and ferries.

At 7.30, Martin Place and Moore Street were normal. At 8 o'clock, they were thronged, and great bursts of cheering broke out with increasing frequency. Every thoroughfare held a hurrying procession, the heads of which were thrusting into Martin Place, while the tails were miles out in the residential areas.

Every man, woman, and child came into the city to "celebrate," but they came in such numbers that they defeated their own purpose. At 9 o'clock, in Martin Place and Moore Street, and in Pitt and George Streets adjoining, the crowds were so dense that no one could move. They could only stand and cheer. The people were simply wedged there in an upright mass, and, to get in or out, or proceed for twenty yards in any direction, was a task of a quarter of an hour's duration. . . .

The crowds armed themselves with two varieties of articles considered indispensable—flags and noise-makers. The former added to the picturesqueness of the scene, but the latter made existence nearly unendurable. In the centre of the city, the noise was so over-powering that conversation could only be carried on in a loud shout. Thousands talked in pantomime.

But nobody cared. The realisation that the most terrible war of all history was over, that the Allies were completely triumphant, that the menace of Prussianism was swept away, that peace was once more to come to the earth after four years of horror—this did not come to every mind, perhaps, but in every face there was gladness, relief, satisfaction. The noise was overwhelming, but every person—and particularly every flapper—felt that there was only one way to treat the noise, and that was to add to it. The crowds found nothing in the city except other huge crowds without aim or direction, but they seemed to go home perfectly happy, though their feet, throats, and hearing organs must have been most painful. . . .

No incidents, perhaps, were more striking during the night than the enthusiasm with which men in khaki and those wearing returned soldiers' badges were greeted. All were hailed with expressions of gratitude and affection, and showered with confetti, which seemed to have been imported into the city in limitless quantities.

In front of the Soldiers' Club, in particular, this spirit found remarkable expression. Band after band, followed by tumultuous and cheering crowds, marched past the club during the night, but there was not one such occasion when those who followed the bands did not stop and cheer to the echo those soldiers who, deterred by wounds or for other reasons, did not desert the club for the excitements of the streets, lined the verandah, and watched the endless stream of passers-by. . . .

The scenes of joy and excitement were necessarily not unattended by pathetic incidents. The reaction from the anxiety and tension which in some cases had been bravely borne almost ever since the outbreak of war by grey-headed parents in some cases proved too much, and they were overcome by their emotions. On the outskirts of the crowds it was not uncommon to see police officers and civilians endeavouring to restore to consciousness elderly persons so affected.

The leading article of November 12th ran thus:

The end of this terrible war in the capitulation of Germany is an event so much greater in importance than any within the experience of the modern world that it is impossible to grasp its full significance. The most tragic chapter in the history of mankind is at last at an end. Hundreds and thousands of men will to-day be relieved of a constant burden of mental and physical suffering, hundreds of thousands of their kinsfolk will at last be free of the daily anxiety which has been theirs ever since their sons and brothers went into the firing line. There will be many whom this news of victory will not save from personal grief. The sounds of rejoicing cannot but bring some reminder of their loss. To them, however, the news of victory will mean more than to any other, since it will assure them that their sacrifice has not been in vain. Every man who fought and fell at Gallipoli, or in France, in the desert of Sinai, or in Palestine, has had

his part in the triumph of to-day. Every man who saw his duty and did it when the choice was before him has had his share in the destruction of the most maleficent Power that ever afflicted mankind. We can look back now to those days of disaster when the British and French armies were driven foot by foot from the French frontier to the heart of France, to that other day of grief and glory when we heard of the landing at Gallipoli, and of the brave men who had perished, to the long-drawn-out battle of Pozieres, to the defence of Bullecourt, which amazed the picked troops of the Allied armies, and to a hundred other such feats of arms as Australia had never contemplated for her sons. To-day the deathless dead of those battles will all be remembered. The Australian people will recognise that to them they owe their safety, that through them their honour stands high among the free peoples of the world. . . .

Peace that has been won by so much suffering and so many tears must be honoured by a new spirit of fraternity and of public service. The flower of this generation has perished. The men who promised greatest things in statesmanship, in science and the arts have gone, because their sense of duty was clearer than that of their contemporaries. Their loss is irreplaceable, but their sacrifice makes an unanswerable appeal for the democracy they have honoured and preserved.

What, then, had our Australian soldiers done to earn the tributes which, not the *HERALD* only, nor Australia, but the world at large, bestowed upon them? It is, as we have said, impossible to answer such a question satisfactorily within the compass of such a history as this. All that can be done is very briefly to outline the general nature of the work they had accomplished. And in making the summary we mention first the doings of "the senior service."

The ships of the Australian fleet, comprising a battle-cruiser, two light cruisers, three destroyers and two submarines—all fully efficient and modern vessels—and a number of older small craft, served throughout the war in every sea, and with loss of only the two submarines, one by misadventure in New Guinea waters and the other in the Dardanelles. The most notable naval action by any Australian ship was the "Sydney's" engagement with the German cruiser "Emden," to which we have already made detailed reference. The light cruisers remained on service in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans until various German raiders had been accounted for and then (like the "Australia") joined the Grand Fleet in the North Sea. None of them took part in the Battle of Jutland; that the "Australia" was not with the British Fleet that day was due to an accident. A third cruiser, the "Brisbane," was completed in Cockatoo Yard, Sydney, during 1916, and served in the Mediterranean.

The capture of Rabaul, in German New Guinea, in September, 1914, by a hurriedly-assembled force, accompanying the fleet, has also been referred to. That force subsequently proceeded to occupy all German New Guinea possessions, Nauru, and the German Solomons. Early in 1915, its work accomplished, it returned to Australia, leaving a small garrison behind at Rabaul. Meanwhile, the first expeditionary force of three infantry brigades and one light horse brigade left Albany on November 1st, with two New Zealand brigades in the same transport fleet, and arrived in Egypt in December. They were promptly followed by further Australian troops. The force was already much stronger than 20,000, and in Egypt they were organised into an Australian Division, and an Australian and New Zealand Division (both infantry) and a combined mounted division. There was some desultory fighting on the Suez Canal with Turkish forces, but the first four months in Egypt were mostly of organisation and training. When the attack on Gallipoli was planned, the Australians and New Zealanders, combined in an Army Corps—the initial letters of which, A.N.Z.A.C., added an immortal name to the English language—were allotted the attack on the beach at Gaba Tepe, on the flank of the British landing at Helles. The landings were made simultaneously at dawn on April 25th, 1915, and provided Mr. Ashmead Bartlett with the material for that descriptive article from which we have quoted. The attack on an enemy, inferior

in numbers, but expectant, and entrenched on cliffs of immense natural strength for defence, fell far short of the results hoped for, and neither at Anzac Beach nor at Helles did the attackers ever secure more than a narrow area as a foothold. The Gallipoli landings evoked efforts of the utmost gallantry from all engaged. The fleeting opportunity, all unknown, slipped away. Again in August, 1915, when a last effort was made to win the peninsula by the means of a new British landing in force at Suvla Bay, north of Anzac, a temporary opportunity was neglected. With the prospect of winter storms, both the landing of stores and the protection for the troops against severe weather raised grave problems. Moreover, the enemy was preparing to bring up the heaviest Austrian howitzers, which would have made the holding of precarious positions impossible. The evacuation of the peninsula was resolved upon, and in December troops from Suvla and Anzac were withdrawn by masterly manœuvres and without a single casualty. Early in January the British evacuated Helles with similar success. Anzac cost the Australians some 6,000 casualties to take and some 20,000 casualties to hold for the eight months of the occupation. The evacuation of Gallipoli was probably the most dexterous feat of arms of the whole war.

In Egypt again, in early 1916, the whole Australian force, now greatly increased, was re-organised. The two Australian infantry divisions from Gallipoli were, by means of mixing seasoned troops of the campaign with new units from Australia, expanded into four infantry divisions. Between March and June, 1916, these divisions were despatched to France. Another Australian Division, numbered the third, was trained on Salisbury Plain, and joined the other force in France at the end of 1916. The Light Horse brigades were combined into an Australian Cavalry Division under General Chauvel, and, with the New Zealand Mounted Rifles and a mixed Imperial Camel Corps, were allotted to remain in Egypt for operations towards Palestine. Later on a further Light Horse Division was organised, and with the New Zealanders and Imperial Yeomanry formed ultimately the Desert Mounted Corps under Chauvel for the final operations in Palestine of 1918.

During 1915 an Australian Aeroplane Half-Flight served in the first operations up the Tigris in Mesopotamia, and a few members of this unit were besieged in Kut with Townshend's force. Of the four Australian officer airmen and forty-one mechanics and ground-staff in the Half-Flight, one officer was killed and two were captured. The fourth later entered the Royal Flying Corps. At the conclusion of Townshend's campaign, most of the mechanics escaped the siege of Kut and were sent to Egypt to join the No. 1 Australian Flying Squadron, which had meanwhile been formed in Australia and despatched to the Eastern seat of war. During 1916 this Squadron was expanded to provide a second Squadron. In 1917 two others were formed in England. No. 1 Squadron served in Palestine, and Nos. 2, 3, and 4 in France from the end of 1917 onwards. By 1918 there was in England a complete Australian training wing to provide reinforcements. No other Dominion formed a flying corps of its own before the conclusion of the war.

In July, 1916, the Australian Divisions began their service in France—the 5th Division in the disastrous "holding attack" at Fromelles and the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Divisions in the Battle of the Somme. The offensive of the First Battle of the Somme, which lasted throughout the summer of 1916—and particularly the Australian assaults on the Pozieres positions—cost the Australian Divisions 30,764 casualties, including 7,487 killed. The protracted British offensive just failed to break the German line, and was succeeded by the bitter winter of 1916-17 in the mud, perhaps the most trying war experience to which our troops were submitted. They played a full part in the pursuit of the German

rearguard in the evening's retreat to the Hindenburg Line in early 1917, and again suffered heavy casualties in the attacks and counter-attacks at Bullecourt in April, coincident with the British offensive at Arras and the French near Rheims. During the severe winter and the operations up to May against the Hindenburg Line, the Australian casualties exceeded those of the Somme battle; they amounted to 31,575, including 8,295 killed.

From the Somme the Australian Divisions were transferred to Flanders. On June 7th, 1917, the 3rd and 4th Australian Divisions took part in the completely successful attack on the Messines Ridge. This operation was preparatory to the great battle of Ypres, which began with the British attack on July 31st, and died out in November, with the coming of winter, on the Passchendaele Ridge. The Australians joined in this battle on September 20th, and took part in a series of grand attacks in the stages represented by the battles of Menin Road (September 20th), Polygon Wood (September 26th), Broodseinde Ridge (October 4th), Roulers Railway (October 12th), and Passchendaele Ridge (October 20th and 30th). The third battle of Ypres cost the Australians over 40,000 casualties, the Canadians 12,000, and the British Army, all told, nearly 272,000. The Germans likewise suffered enormously in men and material. The persistence of this British attack, condemned during the following winter, was compelled by the earlier breakdown of the French army in Champagne and the call to prevent the Germans from taking advantage of the French weakness.

In January, 1918, all five Australian Divisions were combined for the first time into one army corps, named the Australian Corps. A period of resting and trench garrison in the Messines region during the winter of 1917-18 was broken at the end of March by the news of the great German offensive against the British at Bapaume and St. Quentin. Following a dramatic forced march to the Somme, the 3rd and 4th Australian Divisions, followed shortly by the others, assisted to stem the final stages of the German advance on Amiens, and met and defeated the enemy in decisive engagements at Villers Bretonneux and Albert on April 4th and 5th. On the outbreak of the German attack near the Lys River in Flanders on April 9th, the 1st Australian Division was hurried north again to Hazebrouck, where it assisted to hold the enemy till July. Meanwhile, in the south on April 24th, a German surprise attack seized Villers Bretonneux from the British; but a few hours later two Australian brigades (13th and 15th) retook the town in a brilliant night attack. The following months, while the British Army was re-organizing for further effort, were notable for a series of successful minor attacks by small Australian forces at Merris, in Flanders, and on the Morlancourt Ridge and about Villers Bretonneux, in the south. In May General Birdwood was promoted to command of the British Fifth Army, and General Monash, of the 3rd Division, succeeded him in command of the Australian Corps. On July 4th three Australian brigades carried out with pronounced success an attack with tanks on a new system at Hamel. The striking demonstration in this engagement of the new tanks and the demoralisation of the enemy confirmed the Allied High Command in its estimate that the time was at hand for a combined assault on the whole German position.

This resolve was further strengthened by the repulse by the French at Rheims and the American troops at Chateau Thierry of the final German attacks in July on the Marne and in Champagne. On July 18th, French and British troops struck a heavy flank blow at the Germans near Soissons, and the first retreat of the enemy was hailed as the turn of the tide. The Australians and Canadians, with British and French troops on either flank, delivered the great attack in front of Villers Bretonneux on August 8th which General Ludendorff described as "Germany's black day." Thereafter British



Band of 5th Australian Infantry Brigade passing through Bapaume, France, on March 19th, 1917. The ruins were still smouldering, and a few miles away the fighting was continuing. The episode was characteristic of the fine spirit that animated the Australian troops in the dramatic events of the war.

[Australian War Memorial Photograph, copyright.]



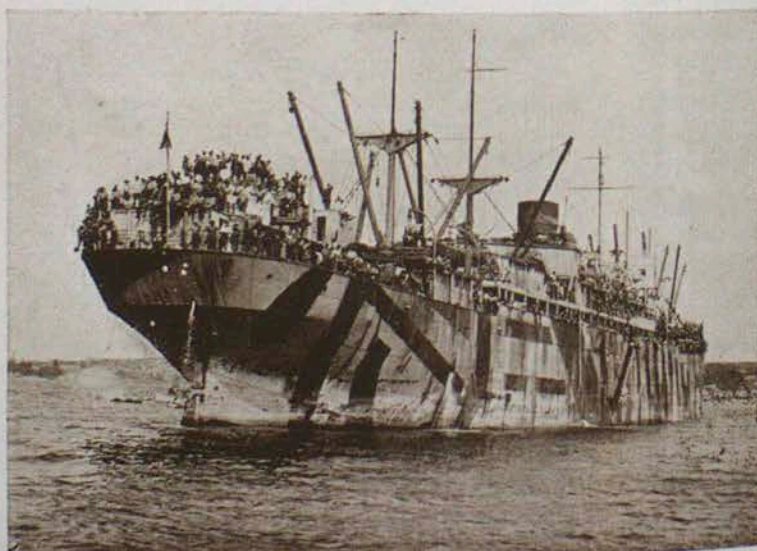
The 1st Australian Siege Battery at the Ypres-Comines Canal, Belgium. From this position it assisted in the barrage preceding the attack on Polygon Wood by the Australian troops on September 20, 1917.

[Australian War Memorial Photograph, copyright.]



First Australian Infantry Battalion outside its billets at Ypres, on November 1, 1917.

[War Memorial Photograph, copyright.]



An Australian transport in Sydney Harbour. A good example of the bizarre methods of camouflaging resorted to during the war.

[War Memorial Photograph, copyright.]



*A regiment of the Australian Light Horse on the march
near Jerusalem, in Palestine.*

[Australian War Memorial Photograph, copyright.]



*The 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade passing over the
steep sandhills at Esdud, in Palestine, on January 10, 1918.*

[Australian War Memorial Photograph, copyright.]



Australia Day in Sydney. Of all the scenes of enthusiasm which occurred during the War years, those which marked the celebration of Australia Day on July 30, 1915, were probably the most extraordinary.

armies on the north joined in turn in repeated assaults. By the end of August the enemy was driven back over all the old battlefields of the Somme, and on August 31st the 2nd Australian Division performed a resounding feat of arms in the storming of Mont St. Quentin, outside Peronne, in face of the whole German line. Peronne fell to the 5th Australian Division by September 2nd, and by the middle of the month the enemy had retreated to the Hindenburg Line. The battle was now joined along almost the whole Western front. The Australians' part in the overthrow of the defences, deemed hitherto impregnable, of the Hindenburg Line, consisted in the preliminary battle for assembly position of September 17th, and the final capture and piercing of the Line north of St. Quentin in the four days' fight between September 29th and October 3rd. This was the last engagement with the enemy in which the Australian Divisions took part. In November they were marching up to carry on the pursuit of the enemy towards Germany, when the Germans sued for the Armistice. The war ended when the Germans accepted the surrender terms imposed by the Allies at the armistice meeting. The Australian casualties during this offensive, from August onwards, were 32,720, including 8,782 killed.

In the Mediterranean theatre of war the Light Horse in 1916 opened the British advance in the Sinai peninsula with the successful defeat of a Turkish advance at Romani (August, 1916). Thereafter the British forces followed up the Turkish retreat to El Arish (reached in December). Following the capture by the Light Horse of Magdhaba (December, 1916) and Rafa (January, 1917), General Murray's Army attacked the entrance to Palestine at Gaza in March, 1917. The infantry frontal attack was meant to be assisted by a great flank ride from which the Light Horsemen took Gaza in the rear, but the holding up of the infantry at a critical stage and the perils of water shortage required the withdrawal of the horsemen at the end of the day, when success seemed to be with them. A second attack on Gaza failed on April 17th. Thereafter General Murray was recalled, and was succeeded in the command of the Palestine force by General Allenby. At the end of the summer, and when plans had been perfected, Allenby began the third Gaza battle with the attack on Beersheba on October 31st, when the 4th Light Horse Brigade, operating from the flank, carried the Turkish trenches with a great charge with bayonets fixed to rifles used as lances. Gaza was then won and the Turks fled, hotly pursued, to the mountains about Nablus. Allenby entered Jerusalem on December 9th. Jericho was taken in February, 1918. The positions of the opposing armies between the sea and the Jordan valley remained fixed for the next seven months. The desultory warfare during this period was interrupted notably by two great raids of the Light Horse across the Jordan towards Es Salt and Amman in March and April. The success of these raids served greatly when September came to deceive the Turks into believing that Allenby's great attack would be made on the same flank. Instead, on September 19th, 1918, he delivered it, after masterly arrangements for concealment, on the sea coast. As soon as the infantry assault rolled up the first Turkish positions, the Desert Mounted Column under Chauvel poured through the gap and began their great ride around the Turkish position. Thirty-six hours later the cavalry had closed the routes of escape for the Turkish 7th and 8th Armies at Nablus, and the retreat of the Turks became a rout and a shambles under the attacks of Allenby's air force, in which the No. 1 Australian Flying Squadron played a notable part. The remainder of the Light Horse, on the Jordan side, joined in the pursuit across the Jordan as the Turkish 4th Army, on the Hedjaz Railway, came north. All the remnants of that Army surrendered at Amman. Meanwhile, the northern cavalry force pursued fleeing bands of Turks to Damascus, and the Arabs likewise harried the enemy. Damas-

cus was entered on October 1st, and thereafter the advance was continued to Aleppo (entered October 23rd). The Turkish Palestine armies had by then ceased to exist. At the armistice on October 31st, Turkey surrendered unconditionally. The Australian battle casualties for the whole Palestine campaign were 4,826, including 1,626 killed.

Apart from the operations in the main theatres of the war, small Australian detachments served in the later Mesopotamian campaign (120 officers and other ranks of the Australian Wireless Signal Squadron); with the British expedition to Archangel, in North Russia, in July, 1918; and (a picked party of eighteen officers and twenty sergeants) with General Dunsterville's force in Northern Persia and about the Caspian Sea in later 1918. Australian army nurses were on service in England, France and Egypt. During the later period of the war military hospitals in India were staffed mainly by Australian nurses. They staffed also hospital ships running to Suez, Basra, East Africa, Hong Kong and Vladivostock.

It only remains to add that, in all, Australia raised £213,500,000 in war loans (including the 1919 "Peace" Loan of £25,000,000) from her own people; that she enrolled and trained 416,000 volunteers; that she sent 330,000 of them overseas and maintained them on a generous scale; and that, as the direct result of this contribution, she lost forever over 60,000 of her sons. Her total casualties were 226,000, a percentage to the whole number of her soldiers engaged in the war, of 68½. This figure exceeds by more than 10 that recorded of any other portion of the Empire, including the United Kingdom itself. These are the official figures, furnished by the British War Office.

SECTION XII.

THE POST-WAR YEARS

PART I.

IT is interesting to note, since it is typical of the HERALD's attitude ever since the war, that on the very day the news of the signing of the Armistice was announced, the paper published a sub-leader pointing out the immediate necessity for the proper repatriation of the members of the A.I.F., and for their maintenance after their return and until they could be provided with some satisfactory means of carrying-on for themselves. In this connection it initiated that "preference for returned soldiers" movement which it has ever since supported with every means at its command. The article (12th November, 1914) was headed "Our Great Responsibility," and ran as follows:

As the day of peace dawns, attention may be turned to the duty of the community towards the soldiers who have helped to preserve our democratic institutions. . . .

The Minister realises that he is faced with a problem of gigantic proportions. Instead of following precedents he has to make them. Indeed, there are no precedents to follow. The Commonwealth Official Correspondent with the Australian Imperial Forces has drawn attention to the necessity for dealing with the earlier stages of repatriation—the getting of "this great complex army back to Australia." In this connection, it is declared, and we think not without reason, that the civil problem is so completely entangled with the military problem that it cannot be arranged from Australia. There is much that requires attention before the men arrive back in Australia, and it seems likely that when the war has ended many months will elapse ere the whole of our troops will be again on Australian soil.

As the Australian military authorities in London have pointed out, before the men embark they will, during long months, have to be camped, fed, trained, and entertained, suitable occupations will have to be found for them during the whole of that time, and on the voyage out they will have to be classified into trades and callings. . . .

In this respect the New South Wales National Government has all along shown a readiness to help in every possible direction. It is gratifying to learn that within the next two years the Minister hopes to furnish about five thousand soldiers with living areas. It would seem, however, that much more than this will be necessary if all our brave lads who wish to go upon the land are to be given an opportunity.

Many of those who return will be taken back into their old positions—they went away with that understanding. But the Government and private employers alike should, whenever practicable, give preference to returned soldiers, not alone because of the great debt we owe to them, but in memory of their mates—those valorous souls who answered the call because they loved Australia, and who now sleep in foreign soil.

On the whole Australia has done well by her returned soldiers. Mistakes have been made, as in the organisation and administration of so vast a matter mistakes were bound to be made. But the errors, both of omission and commission, have been small; the work accomplished has been immense. The difficulties that had to be faced, both in gauging the very varied requirements of the returned men and in satisfying those requirements, were enormous, and, so far as the settlement of the soldiers upon the land was concerned, these difficulties were largely added to by the extreme fluctuation in land values which followed upon the close of the war. But as concrete evidence of the many ways in which the Commonwealth has rallied to the help of her returned men,

the following facts and figures, taken from the latest official returns (the Commonwealth Year Book, 1930), may very well be given. During the period from 8th April, 1918, to the 30th June, 1929, 132,832 applications for employment have been met; 27,685 men have been given vocational training, and 674,271 applications for assistance (other than vocational training and employment) have been approved. In addition, the sum of £896,865 has been expended under the provisions of the Soldiers' Children Education Scheme, and £4,647,089 upon medical treatment to returned soldiers.

As to land settlement, at the Premiers' Conference in Melbourne in 1917 it was arranged that the Commonwealth should finance the States in this regard, and that the States should thereupon acquire and set apart the necessary land. Under this agreement slightly over £35,000,000 has been advanced to the States and a total area of over 30,000,000 acres has been allotted to returned soldiers. Of this, over 24,000,000 acres represents Crown land, the remainder being land acquired by the Crown from private owners.

To these figures must be added the sum of £28,342,293, utilised by the War Service Homes Commission to enable returned men to purchase or build suitable residences upon the easiest possible terms of interest and repayment. Already over 20,000 homes are in occupation under this scheme. Finally, the item of pensions has to be added to the list. How great a liability upon the Commonwealth this item represents may be gathered from the fact that for the year ending June 30th, 1929, 272,631 pensions were in force, and the amount paid in connection with them reached a total of £7,734,921.

The anxieties of the closing months of the war had been added to by an outbreak of influenza (probably introduced by the returning soldiers) which ravaged Sydney and, to a lesser extent, the suburbs and the State generally. But this outbreak was as nothing compared to that which scourged the whole of the Eastern States during the first half of 1919. The disease, this time, took on that dreaded form of "pneumonic influenza" which had a little before run over England and the continent; and for many weeks it played havoc with the affairs of the State and the health of its citizens. The infection first took hold of Victoria in the middle of January, and on the 25th of that month the first suspicious case was reported in the mother State. The local authorities immediately took every preventible step at their command, and when, on the 24th, four cases had been definitely identified as "pneumonic influenza," New South Wales declared itself, under the provisions of a Federal Act, to be an "infected area." Victoria, which should have done so some time before, now also declared itself an "infected area," and all transport between these two States and the rest of the Commonwealth was at once so restricted as almost to become impossible. A further precaution of the New South Wales Government was to close the theatres; and a few days later the schools were compelled to follow suit. On the 29th the HERALD, which from the first had actively supported the local authorities, published a leading article on the matter and gave careful and authoritative advice upon the subject of inoculation and other preventives and remedies. It appealed to every member of the public who had occasion to leave home to wear a mask—a precaution which was made compulsory by official proclamation a little later on. The paper also took exception to the comparative laxity of the precautions taken by the authorities in Victoria, in which State the disease had by now become a very serious menace indeed. In this protest it again led the way, and on the last day of the month the New South Wales Government, after a vain appeal on the matter to the Federal health authorities, took the matter into its own hands and laid an absolute bar upon all transport from Victoria. In order to enforce this drastic order the Government appointed a number of officials to patrol

the border between the two States, a step which caused considerable irritation, not only in the southern State, but in the ranks of the Federal Government as well. But it was undoubtedly justified by the increasing seriousness of the outbreak. On the 4th of February all places for the sale of intoxicating liquor were ordered to close.

Despite all these precautions, however, the number of cases continued to increase. On the 9th of February all religious meetings or services, whether inside or outside a building, were prohibited; but by the 12th the number of cases had increased to 132 and the deaths to three. Victoria's totals to the same date were 2,916 and 233 respectively.

On the 28th February the New South Wales cases had only increased to 295, with no more deaths, while in Victoria the cases had increased to 5,071 and the deaths to 491. The authorities, believing that the disease had passed its crisis in New South Wales, began to make arrangements to relax the restrictions which had so hardly hampered the community. On the first of March it was officially announced that the compulsory wearing of masks should be waived, and that the church services should be resumed as from the following day; that the theatres should be allowed to reopen in a week's time and that the schools should resume work on the 3rd instant. During this lull in the activities of the outbreak the death of Sir James Reading Fairfax occurred, in circumstances which have already been detailed.

Towards the end of March the influenza epidemic, unfortunately, began to assume a new and alarming form; and in the first week of April the restriction on theatres and race-meetings had to be again put into operation. Other precautions were taken in the same way as before, and by the 17th of May, the decline in the bills of mortality was so evident that the theatres were again allowed to open. The remaining restrictions were gradually removed; but it was not until the end of July that the clouds finally lifted and the community could call itself free of the scourge. It had been responsible for nearly five thousand deaths in the State, and, of these, considerably over three thousand were reported from the city of Sydney and its suburbs.

We have already referred to the difficulty which the proprietors of the *HERALD* had to meet about this time as a result of the tremendous increase in the cost of news-print, and have mentioned some of the steps taken by them to meet it. But these steps were not sufficient, and in August, 1919, it became necessary to raise the price of the paper. It was an action which had already been postponed almost too long. In the issue of the thirty-first of August, the following notice was printed on the leader page, and just above the title of the paper:

On Monday, September 1st, the price of *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD* will be raised to 1½d.

We have been reluctant to make this increase, and have refrained from making it as long as possible, although the Australian Press has been almost the only one in the world to carry on through the war at the old rates.

We think it due to our readers and advertisers to tell them the main reasons for raising the price of the *HERALD*.

By far the most important of these is the increase in the price of paper.

The increased price of all other materials—including machinery—and an all-round increase in wages, add to the cost of production.

Advertisers have already been asked to pay more for their space, but it is neither possible nor fair to place all the extra cost on them.

We believe our readers will accept the increased price as moderate and reasonable in all the circumstances, and will recognise that it is impossible otherwise to maintain the standard of the *HERALD* and meet the demands and developments of the present day.

The above notice, however sufficient the proprietors of the *HERALD* may have deemed it as an explanation to their subscribers of the causes which had made the raising of the price of the paper necessary, certainly requires a little filling-out here.

The demand upon the rapidly diminishing supplies of newsprint had necessitated, as we have seen, a large curtailment in the size of the paper some time before the close of the war; but the difficulty did not become really acute until after the war had ended. So serious did it then become, however, that on at least one occasion the HERALD's stock of newsprint in hand (which is in normal times sustained at about six months) represented a bare three weeks' demand. Even before the close of the war, however, there had been apprehension in the office that the Government would step in and ration the supply. Indeed, a paper controller was appointed by the Commonwealth authorities in the middle of 1918, and his activities went so far as to institute a census of the available newsprint throughout the Commonwealth. But fortunately the Armistice arrived and made further Governmental action in this direction unnecessary. We have already referred to the manner in which the news space was reduced to meet the situation which had arisen; and it only remains to add that the advertising had to be rationed shortly after the war in much the same fashion, by closing up the letterpress of the advertisements into solid form, and refusing advertisers the use of white spacing in their announcements. The "peak" of this strenuous period occurred in the latter months of 1919 and the earlier half of 1920; but the difficulty was not entirely got over until another two years had passed.

It was the extraordinary rise in cost, however, rather than the decrease in supplies, that was the principal cause of the trouble. In July, 1914, the price of newsprint was £11/10/- per ton, c.i.f.e., Australian ports. Early in 1915 it rose to £12 per ton, c.i.f.e., but in 1916, owing to the tremendous difficulty—and even impossibility at times—of obtaining freight, the manufacturers in Canada adopted a new scale of charges. They would only quote f.o.b. and in dollars. This meant that the purchasers had to be responsible for the difference in exchange, and that they had in addition to pay the freight and insurance. Freight rose from £9 per ton in 1917 to over £18 in 1921, and the actual cost of the paper at the mills also rising during these years, the total effect of the change was enormous. The cost of paper rose by leaps and bounds to £40, £50, £60 and £70 per ton, and reached its climax in July, 1921, when it attained the price of £80/12/9 per ton. That the proprietors had good reason, therefore, for increasing the price of the HERALD is clearly apparent.

The price remained at 1½d. per copy until the 10th of May of the following year (1920), when a further increase of one halfpenny per copy became necessary. No explanation for the step was made to the public; but an announcement of the fact was inserted in black type on the leader page in the week prior to the increase coming into force. It may be appropriately added at this stage that the price of 2d. per copy was retained until the 3rd of July, 1922, when the proprietors were able to reduce it to the old figure of one penny.

In December, 1919, there occurred an event unique in the history of aviation, and one to which the HERALD, always keenly interested in such matters, devoted the attention it deserved. This was the completion of the first flight from England to Australia, a feat which not only won for the distinguished aviators who made the journey the honour of being the pioneers in the field, but also the prize of £10,000 which had been offered by the Commonwealth Government for its accomplishment under certain conditions. These conditions, shortly, were: First, the machine must be wholly constructed within the British Empire; second, it must be manned by an entirely Australian crew; third, the flight must not take longer than 720 consecutive hours (or thirty days); fourth, one machine only must be used, though repairs might be effected en route; and, fifth, the flight must be accomplished before the 31st December, 1919.

All these conditions were satisfied by the four men—Captain Ross Smith, Lieutenant Keith Smith, his brother, and Sergeants J. M. Bennett and W. M. Shiers—who, leaving London on the 12th November, flew their machine—a Vickers-Vimy model propelled by two 360 horse-power Rolls-Royce engines—by way of France, Italy, Crete, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, India, Burma, the Federated Malay States, and the Dutch East Indies to Darwin, where they arrived on the 10th December, thus taking but twenty-eight days for the complete journey. The actual flying time was 135 hours and the distance covered 11,340 miles. Both the Smith brothers were knighted in recognition of their accomplishment, and the sergeant-mechanics were also suitably rewarded and promoted. Unhappily, some two years later Sir Ross Smith, having journeyed to England to make arrangements for a flight round the world, was killed there, together with Lieutenant J. M. Bennett, who had accompanied him, when trying out a new machine. The 'plane suddenly nose-dived and crashed into an iron fence. Sir Ross was killed instantly, and his brave companion only survived him a few moments.

The news of the completion of the flight created an immense sensation, not only in Australia, but throughout the world. The *HERALD* recognised the interest and importance of the event by "displaying" its references to it in the most marked fashion, and by devoting several leading articles to the flight and to its significance. Owing to an accident to the machine on its way from Darwin to Sydney, the aviators and their 'plane did not arrive in the New South Wales capital for some months. But on the morning after their arrival at Darwin, the paper thus expressed its congratulations upon the feat and its ideas upon the significance of the flight:

The arrival of Captain Ross Smith at Darwin by air from London is a feat to which the whole world must thrill. We have all got used to the airmen's revolution of traffic and communication during the last three or four years; and the war, which was responsible for the scientific development of the heavier-than-air machine, provided so much excitement and emotion of every sort that it carried us over the wonderful improvements in flying almost without our noticing them. The flight across the Atlantic this year marked a distinct triumph of human intelligence over natural elements. Now comes the flight by one machine and the same pilot across half the world. The Empire must feel proud that the man who first flew the Atlantic without a stop and the man who has first flown from England to Australia are both of the British race. All Australians are additionally proud of the fact that the first flight across the width of the world Empire had been performed by an Australian. . . .

Captain Ross Smith left England on November 12, and has therefore reached Australia within the thirty days allowed, and won the Australian Government's £10,000 prize. His performance will raise again the question: Is flying now really safe and certain for the future as a means of ordinary commercial traffic and communication?

It is unfair to blame to mere accident, or to act of God, disasters which are due to careless examination for defects, faulty loading of machines, foolhardy "stunts," or reckless persistence against adverse weather. These are not fair risks. The successful airmen in the world to-day are men who do not take any risk which human care and forethought can avoid, and Captain Ross Smith, daring though he has proved himself in emergency, is one of that sort. His flight from England to Australia has, however, entailed two big risks which future aerial travel of the ordinary sort over that route will be sure to avoid, *viz.*, the strain on the one pilot, and on the one machine, of having to make the entire journey. This strain is an unnecessary risk in ordinary service, and involves great loss of time. The England-Australia air service of the future will inevitably be divided into relays, Darwin to Singapore will be one relay, perhaps, Singapore to Calcutta another, and so on. That service will come. Public sentiment in Australia is keenly awake to the possibilities of aerial travel and carriage of mails, and Captain Ross Smith is the pioneer of an enterprise which will bring Australia very much closer both to the world's international currents and to the centres of the world's business.

In March of this same year (1920) the Holman Government, which had held office in New South Wales since June, 1913—firstly, as a Labour Government, and, since No-

vember, 1916, as a coalition or National Government—came to an end, as the result of an appeal to the constituencies. This was the first General Election to be held in the State for nearly seven years (the term of the Parliament in existence when the war broke out having been extended as a war measure), and the public interest was therefore all the more intense. For some time previous to the expiration of the Parliament, considerable friction had existed between two sections of the Nationalists; and the antagonism had so developed by the date of the dissolution that these two sections—united only in their objection to the policy of the Labour party—took the field in opposition to one another. The breakaways called themselves the “Progressive” Party—a name which, by reason of the fact that it was mainly composed of country representatives, or would-be representatives, who asserted that the interests of the rural districts were invariably made subsidiary to those of the metropolis, was afterwards changed to that of the “Country” Party—and they naturally obtained a fairly solid body of support. The elections were held on the 20th of March, and the final results gave Labour forty-five seats in a House of ninety. As the Progressives, of whom fifteen had been elected, had promised in a general way to support the Nationalists, it became at once clear that the House would be equally divided. Mr. Holman, the Premier, had himself been defeated at the elections and the Governor, Sir Walter Davidson, commissioned Mr. John Storey, who had been the leader of the Labour representatives in the last Parliament and who would naturally still hold that leadership in the new, to form a Ministry. The new Parliament met on the 27th of April, and the question of the election of the Speaker immediately arising, and Mr. (now Sir) Daniel Levy, a Nationalist member who had occupied the chair for some time, being re-nominated for the position by the Labour Party, and accepting, a very heated interlude followed. The Nationalists took the view that party considerations should have prevented Mr. Levy accepting the office, since, by so doing, he enabled the Storey Government to carry on, albeit with a majority of only one; and some very bitter talk was indulged in at his expense. In the end, however, the Progressives making it clear that they would support his candidature, and no other nomination being forthcoming, Mr. Levy was appointed to the Chair. The whole affair was most unfortunate; and the *HERALD*, in its leading article of the following day, spoke out to that effect very clearly. As the article also serves to show the moderation which the paper wished to extend to the new Government, deeply as it had been disappointed at its advent to power, it will be of interest to quote from it at some length. Thus, then, it runs:

The conduct of the business yesterday proceeded in much disorder, from which there was no authority to restrain members. It is time that all parties looked the facts squarely in the face. As regards the Speakership, the facts are that in a House equally divided no one party can hold office without help, and Parliament must contribute to the government of the State. The Nationalists could not hold office because the Progressives seceded from the coalition. The Progressives could not hold office because they hold themselves independent of both Labourites and Nationalists. When the relation of the Progressives to the latter became quite clear, the only chance of carrying on Government remained with a Labour Cabinet. . . .

This being the general position, Labour, as commanding the largest party, is entitled to try its hand in power. The programme of the Storey Government must in all the circumstances be moderately framed, unless it is to be pruned down by amendments in the House. Mr. Storey had no mandate to carry out the frenzied legislation urged by the extremists of the Trades Hall; indeed, he had indicated himself that their policy is by no means his. He has said plainly enough that he is not going to be dictated to by the Trades Hall, and that he conceives the duty of his Government to be to govern in the interests of the whole community, and not of a mere section of it. Mr. Storey reads the situation clearly. That being so, the interest of all moderate men in Parliament at this juncture must be not to hinder him. . . .

In our view, the continued difference between Nationalists and Progressives rendered inevitable the election of a Speaker from one of those two parties opposed to Labour, unless we were to have another general election at once. The re-election of Mr. Levy, therefore, was indicated; he has experience and is as impartial, probably, as any member of the House. As far as it is possible to deduce anything of the "true voice of the people" from the recent elections—where only 50 per cent. voted, and of those one elector in every fourteen informally—the general desire of the community is for moderation in any new legislation and serious attention to the financial condition and general development of the State. There is more in the balance than petty party squabbles. We are under a heavy burden of debt in a world of gravely-shaken credit . . .

The rift thus shown to exist in the State Nationalist lute was soon to show itself in the Federal Nationalist Party also, although the actual breach was not to occur there for another three years. But the first evidence that all was not well with the Hughes Government was offered in less than three months after the fall of Mr. Holman. It took the form of the resignation of the Treasurer, Mr. W. A. Watt, while in England, whither he had gone to negotiate with the Imperial Government about the allocation of the profits received from the sale of the Australian wool clips during the later years of the war (the Imperial Government having taken over the whole of those clips for their own purposes) and also about the reduction of the Commonwealth's indebtedness to the Imperial Government generally. Certain arrangements which he had entered into without consulting the Cabinet at Melbourne were objected to by Mr. Hughes, who refused to confirm them; whereupon Mr. Watt tendered his resignation by cable. It is interesting to note that the *HERALD*, on the 11th of June, 1920, discussing the possible candidates for the vacant Treasurership, asserted that "the name of Captain Bruce is mentioned as being acceptable to the party." We shall hear a good deal of this "Captain Bruce" directly.

This year—1920—was distinguished above its fellows by the visit of the Prince of Wales to the Commonwealth. Indeed, the fact had been used to some purpose by New South Wales Labour members in the debate over the speakership. For they alleged that much of the bitterness shown by Sir George Fuller and his followers was engendered by the knowledge that, through being relegated to the shades of opposition during the Prince's visit, they "would be out of it when the expected knighthoods were being handed out." There was little truth in the gibe, but it stung.

The Prince arrived at Melbourne from New Zealand on the 20th of May; and received from the citizens of the southern capital a splendidly enthusiastic welcome. Owing to a dense fog which settled down on Port Phillip on the morning of the arrival, H.M.S. "Renown," on which the Prince was travelling, was unable to enter the Heads in time for the official reception. The Prince and his suite, therefore, transferred to H.M.A.S. "Anzac" and were brought by that vessel to the landing stage at the St. Kilda pier. As the *HERALD* very well said: "It was singularly significant and a most happy augury that the King's son should be brought to the capital of the Commonwealth in an Australian destroyer bearing that immortal name." The paper dealt with the great event in a fitting manner, as indeed it did with all the Victorian functions; but naturally reserved its finest efforts for the occasion of the Prince's arrival at Sydney. This took place on the 16th of June, and the day was a memorable one in the annals of Sydney. The "Renown" arrived while the harbour was half-shrouded in a veil of mist, but by the time of the official landing the sun had conquered the greyness, and the whole function was completed in the full splendour of a glorious day.

The city had been very elaborately decorated; and at night the illuminations attracted enormous crowds into the streets. On every occasion of the Prince's appearance

he was greeted with immense enthusiasm, and the many official functions which marked his stay in the State were successful to a degree.

The Storey Government rose to the occasion in a way that surprised everybody and drew from the *HERALD* more than one approving article. The Prince also expressed his gratification in the most complimentary way and became very friendly with the Premier during his visit. John Storey, indeed, was a most likeable man, as well as a most able politician. He was generally known as "Honest John," and the adjective was both significant and appropriate. His death, on the 5th of October, 1921, at the comparatively early age of fifty-two, was regarded by all parties as a great public loss, and the *HERALD* paid an eloquent tribute to his memory.

The Prince of Wales left Sydney, and the State, after a tour of some of the country districts, on the 25th of June; and his departure was again made the occasion of a remarkable demonstration of loyalty and affection. In August, on his way to and from Brisbane, he again passed through Sydney and visited some of the northern and western townships; but so far as the official visit to the capital was concerned, it ended on the date already mentioned. The "Renown" waited in Sydney Harbour for the Prince's return, and left finally with her Royal passenger on the 19th of August. That the visit was an unqualified success in every way, and that it did more to strengthen the Imperial ties than all the eloquence of the statesmen, is universally admitted; and the years have shown how deep an impression the heir to the British throne then made upon his Australian subjects.

On the day prior to the Prince's departure the Australian delegates to the second Imperial Press Conference, to be held in Canada in August, also left Sydney. Mr. Geoffrey Fairfax, who had been appointed the Chairman of the Australian Section of the Empire Press Union, headed the delegation, as the representative of the *HERALD*, and the great majority of the other leading papers of Australasia were also fittingly represented. Of that conference it is sufficient to say here that it was received with fine hospitality, that it accomplished a great deal of work of practical value and that it worthily upheld the great traditions of British journalism. In his capacity of Chairman of the Australian Section, it fell to the lot of Mr. G. E. Fairfax to speak on many occasions for the Press of the Commonwealth, and the efficiency with which he carried out this duty was publicly acknowledged, not only by his colleagues from Australia, but by the leading Canadian journals. Referring to this Conference, when speaking at the third Conference at Melbourne in September, 1925, Lord Burnham, the President, said that it had devoted more attention than the London Conference had done to the practical conditions of newspaper life and the intrinsic values of the newspaper trade; and that the work which it had accomplished in this connection had been of the utmost value, not to the newspaper world alone, but, through that world, to the community in general. The official sessions of the Conference were held at Ottawa on the 4th, 5th, and 6th of August; but some days before, and several weeks thereafter, were spent by the delegates in visiting a number of Canadian centres, and they were able to see for themselves the many evidences of the growth and magnitude of the Dominion. The delegates finally met at Quebec on the 10th of September, and on the 15th of that month they left for their respective destinations.

In January, 1921, the proprietors of the *HERALD* instituted that school for the benefit of their younger employees to which more detailed reference is made in a later section of this history.

The building occupied by the *HERALD* since 1856 had by this time clearly become far too small and far from sufficiently up-to-date in its equipment. As a matter of fact,

the pressure upon its space had become so great that, for several years past, the literary, and a large portion of the technical, staff of THE SYDNEY MAIL had been accommodated in Warwick Buildings, in the neighbouring Hamilton Street. This was a large ten-storey brick building erected by the firm in 1915-1916 to be leased for factory purposes; but the growing value of city property caused most of it to be let as offices. One entire floor of the building was devoted, rent free, to the uses of the Red Cross during the war and as long thereafter as that body had need of it. In 1920, moreover, an additional area adjoining the office in Pitt Street, and known as "Dixson Buildings" (which ran through from Pitt Street to O'Connell Street) was acquired by the firm, and its O'Connell Street portion partially utilised. The proprietors had long come to the conclusion that new office buildings must be erected, but the war years had delayed the project. Now, however, in 1922, with the newly-acquired area available, it was decided to defer the new office no longer, and accordingly the work was put in hand. The new building was to be on a scale, both as regards magnitude and facility of equipment, equal to anything in the Southern Hemisphere, and Messrs. Manson & Pickering were the architects entrusted with the drawing of the plans. The result was the noble pile which now houses the HERALD and the MAIL on the same fine site whereon John Fairfax originally built in 1856. Messrs. Stuart Bros. obtained the contract for the building, and a commencement was made in July with the demolition of that portion of the "Dixson Buildings" which faced O'Connell Street. The entire work was divided into three sections. First, as we have said, the O'Connell Street portion of the "Dixson Buildings" was demolished, the necessary excavations made, the basement completed and the machines installed therein. Then that portion of the new building which was to take its place was erected. This was completed by June, 1924. The building on the triangular block facing Hunter Street—the actual HERALD office itself—was then taken down and rebuilt in accordance with the new plans; and, finally, the Pitt Street section of the "Dixson Buildings" was treated in the same way. While the first section was in progress the paper was published—under great inconveniences—in the Hunter Street section, and a portion of the advertising and clerical work was transferred to the Pitt Street section of the "Dixson Buildings," while the Hunter Street section was receiving attention, operations were conducted mainly in the new O'Connell Street building, but still partly in the "Dixson Buildings"; and it was not until the Hunter Street portion was almost completed that the paper was able to get back into its old home. The actual date of this completion was April, 1927; but the transfer from the O'Connell Street and Pitt Street sections was made on the 28th February. The third and last section was completed in July, 1929. Of all these dates certainly the 28th February was the most important; for it marked the re-instatement, as we have said, of the old home, a fact which naturally caused the HERALD to devote considerable space to an account of the event and of the building. A full description of the new office and its equipment will be found in Section XVIII. of this history.

The present home of the HERALD fronts, as did the old one, three streets—O'Connell, Hunter and Pitt—the main frontage (though the smallest) containing the gracefully-rounded entrance, being situated in Hunter Street. Over this entrance, but a little higher up than formerly, is preserved the only remnant of the old building—the historic Caxton head to which a detailed reference has already been made. As before, the head looks out upon the never-ending activities of one of the most congested corners of the city; but to-day, instead of forming the keystone of the old entrance arch, it is incorporated in the second-storey frontage. One wonders what Caxton thinks of the vast changes which have left him the sole survivor of the old order! What a transition has

he not witnessed! And what transitions still may he not be destined to survey! But the grave old face gives not a hint of admiration or surprise—it stares, inscrutable, into the future as it has stared so long into the past.

As we have said, the third section of the building was not handed over as completed until July, 1929, but on the 12th of October, 1928, the last stone—*viz.*, that which forms the coping stone at the junction of Pitt and Spring Streets—was placed in position, and at the small ceremony which accompanied the event a copy of the issue of the paper for that day, printed upon the special rag-made paper to which reference will be made later, was placed beneath the stone. The date of the event very happily synchronised—almost to the day—with the thirtieth anniversary of the General Manager's first association with the *HERALD*; and it was therefore peculiarly fitting that Mr. Conley should have assisted in laying the stone.

In February, 1923, the friction in the Federal Parliament between the representatives of the Country Party, led by Dr. Earle Page, and the Nationalists, under Mr. Hughes, came to a head. Page made it an absolute condition of his party's further support that Mr. Hughes should no longer be leader of the Ministry, or even a member of it; and as it was clear that without that support the Government could no longer carry on, Mr. Hughes, after a lengthy conference had brought no better result, was forced to resign. For nearly eight years he had been continuously Prime Minister, and during that eight years Australia had passed through one of the gravest crises in history and its Prime Minister had become a world-figure. Mr. Hughes's career has been likened, not inaptly, to that of Mr. Lloyd George; and certainly, in the manner of their leaving office, there is something strangely similar. Mr. Hughes made it a condition of his resignation that his nominee should be accepted by the two parties as their joint leader; and the man he named was that "Captain Bruce"—or, as he is best known, Mr. S. M. Bruce—to whom the *HERALD* had referred. Mr. Bruce was at this time the Treasurer in Mr. Hughes's Cabinet, and had already distinguished himself in that office and as the representative of Australia on one occasion at Geneva. Educated at Melbourne Grammar School and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, a rowing blue, and the winner of a fine reputation in the war; calm and almost cold in his demeanour; immaculate in dress, and all his life accustomed to the comfortable conditions which affluence can bring, Mr. Bruce was in almost every way the direct antithesis of his chief. Their only common characteristic was political capacity.

At one time in the negotiations between the two anti-Labour sections it seemed as if even the retirement of Mr. Hughes would not be sufficient to satisfy the demands of the Country representatives. Though the smallest party in the House, they insisted that, if any joint Ministry were to hold office, their own leader, Dr. Page, should be Prime Minister. In the end, however, saner counsels prevailed, and the Governor-General, having sent for Mr. Bruce, that gentleman formed a Cabinet which, although generally known as the Bruce-Page Government, was definitely under the leadership of Mr. Bruce. Dr. Page became Treasurer, and, during Mr. Bruce's absences from the country, Acting Prime Minister; but for the six years which were to elapse before Labour again held the reins of power in the Commonwealth, the leadership of Mr. Bruce was never questioned.

The attitude of the *HERALD* on this involved matter was consistent all through. While recognising the great services of Mr. Hughes, the paper could not fail to see that his further leadership of the Nationalist Party—which had developed almost into a "one-man show"—could only result in such friction that the country, which had recently emerged from a general election, would be put to the expense and trouble

of another appeal to the electors. The probable result of this would be that, not only would the Federal Government pass into the hands of the Labour Party, but that the repercussions of the strife and bitterness thereby engendered in the anti-Labour sections of the community would bring Labour into power in some of the States which up till that time had remained solidly Nationalist. It therefore counselled the retirement of Mr. Hughes, and an agreement between the two sections of the anti-Labour representatives, whereby Mr. Hughes's nominee should take the leadership of a joint Ministry. This, as we have seen, was exactly the course which events finally took, and the *HERALD* received the news of the settlement of the trouble with an expression of relieved satisfaction. When Mr. Hughes announced his resignation and the way seemed thereby made clear for the ultimate settlement, the paper (in its issue of the 3rd of February, 1923) under the caption of "A Great Imperialist," thus congratulated him upon his action:

Mr. Hughes, in tendering his resignation yesterday to the Governor-General, did his duty to the country and to his party. There was no other honourable course left to him, and he makes it possible to-day for every good Australian to pay a tribute to him, at the end of a long period of service, with unalloyed gratitude. He would be a bold critic who would say that Mr. Hughes's work for Australia is yet finished, and a mean and ignorant one—even among the bitterest of his political enemies—who will not spare a moment of reflection upon what the little man from West Sydney has done abroad for the honour and the proud name of Australia. His life's history is well known to great numbers of men and women, who can recall him as the umbrella-mender and the wharf-labourers' leader of little more than a generation ago. They will tell all their stories over again, and discover an admiration that cannot be denied for his sheer, dogged pluck during a long political fight, from the day when some of them bought him a pair of boots to grace his appearance as an election candidate in Sydney to the day when he stood up for justice to Australia before all the Powers of the world at Versailles. The peace negotiations of early 1919 marked the zenith of his career. He believed, and with good reason, that the earlier proposals of President Wilson meant but a tempered chastisement of Germany, and a denial of their just rights to those who had fought Prussianism from the beginning of the war. He won his point, and that point was the adequate recognition of the Australian effort. . . .

After the smothering tidal wave of Wilson's Fourteen Points, Mr. Hughes was one of the first to lift his head and proclaim something which his people could understand. He demanded separate representation at the Peace Conference for Australia as a belligerent nation, on a footing of equality with any other. The achievements of the Australian army had given us, he said, a right to sit there, than which no other people had a better. That point finally won, he carried through at Versailles our claim to the Pacific mandates of New Guinea and Nauru, and a world-wide recognition of the doctrine of a White Australia. . . .

The acclamation of him for this work by the Diggers in London was repeated and endorsed by the people of Australia on his return home. In the popular mind he had personified our whole national aspirations. As the *HERALD* said of him in a welcome home tribute, he was "our only possible representative at the Peace Conference. It was the inherent ability of the man which enabled him to grasp the opportunity presented, and to return to us a notable figure in world politics." That also he was and remained till yesterday. He is as well known in London as in Melbourne. In the capital of the Empire he ranks as one of the foremost modern leaders of the British people. His has been the supreme honour of presiding at a meeting of the Imperial Cabinet. . . .

Whatever his future may be, his countrymen will remain under no illusion that such a man, just turned 58, is about to retire for good and all into obscurity.

When the new Ministry, which, according to the compact between the two sections, contained five members of the Country Party, was announced, the *HERALD* (12th February, 1923) thus signified its approval:

Mr. Bruce's task was no easy one. In selecting his Ministry he had to observe far more than the convention which requires each State to be represented. The governing special condition was the compact made with the Country Party that it should supply five of the new Ministers, four of

them to be in the House of Representatives. Nor did the special limitations of the case end there. Besides special considerations of States, of parties, and of the Houses in which Ministers were to be selected, there was yet another—personal, and that not, by reason of quality, but of other things. From the outset, the ablest member in Parliament, Mr. Hughes, was barred. He was, we may believe, not alone in that category. Already, since the names of the new Ministry were published, there has been sufficient personal criticism here and there of some of those names to suggest that the ultimate compromise was not easily reached. Neither party has been solidly behind its leader during the negotiations, and some of the insurgents have been less than scrupulous in concealing their aims and views. Mr. Bruce was confronted, therefore, with every possible difficulty. It is the cheapest sort of criticism now to declare that his team is not particularly strong, and might have been much stronger. The truth is that, under the limitations explained, it could not have been greatly different. What weaknesses the Bruce-Page Cabinet possesses are weaknesses either inherent in the general situation or deliberately countenanced within the parties. The obviously wrong thing would have been for Mr. Bruce to resign the task as impossible and thereby precipitate another election. A further appeal to the country would have produced a situation not different in the relationship of the parties from that ruling to-day, and the feeling of the public was clearly against another election. If the new Ministry should not last, its downfall will be due to the spite and self-seeking of individual members elected on policies which the Government has more or less merged into one. Against the few who are discontented, Mr. Bruce may set the bulk of the parties, and the bulk of the public, who are satisfied that he has done his best, and wish him well at the outset of a regime which has much hard work before it.

The HERALD's implied doubt that the Ministry might not last was not justified by the result, the Bruce-Page Government remaining in power until the closing months of 1929.

The year 1924 was marked in the history of the HERALD, as we have already said, by the completion of the first section of its new home; but, apart from that, the year is memorable as that in which a Special Service Squadron of the British Fleet visited Australia. The squadron, consisting of the two battle-cruisers "Hood" (then the most powerful warship afloat) and the "Repulse," and the five light cruisers, "Delhi," "Dunedin," "Dragon," "Danae," and "Dauntless," was making a world-voyage, and arrived at Sydney from New Zealand on the 9th of April. Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Field was in command of the combined squadron, and Rear-Admiral the Honourable Sir Hubert Brand of the light cruiser section of it. Immense enthusiasm was displayed by the citizens of Sydney upon the occasion, and the welcome accorded the ships and their personnel was by no means lessened in sincerity by the fact that the "Dragon" and the "Dauntless" had both rendered assistance to a Japanese steamer, during a storm off the southern coast, which had threatened to send her to the bottom a few nights before. The day of the arrival was magnificently fine, and the foreshores of the harbour were crowded with what was admittedly the largest crowd of sightseers that had ever gathered there. The streets of the city were finely decorated, and the various functions that were held during the visit were triumphantly successful in every way. The HERALD, in its issue of the 10th of April, thus welcomed the squadron and commented upon the significance of its visit:

Henceforth, April 9, 1924, will be a memorable date in the annals of Sydney. The conditions testified to the proverbial luck of the harbour city. . . .

Sydney presented a unique sight. The city itself filled with the ordinary morning crowds and then emptied as though by magic. The festoons of flags waved over untenanted streets. Scarcely a sign of life was visible. All and sundry, employer and employed, men, women, and children, were off to welcome the fleet. The roads leading to points of vantage were packed with a solid mass of traffic. Trams, cars, and 'buses could hardly cope with their load. The approaching fleet was the magnet which drew the whole of Sydney. The headlands were thronged with eager spectators. The harbour was alive with gaily-bedecked craft. Never in the history of Sydney has

so great an assembly gathered together in such auspicious circumstances to greet a guest, and seldom has an event so deeply touched our hearts and our imaginations. Warm as was our greeting of the American fleet sixteen years ago, yesterday's demonstration exceeded it in enthusiasm and spontaneity. These men we acclaimed are our kinsmen; these ships, representatives of that stout buckler which has protected us down the years, and upon which, but lately, the sword of the aggressor was shattered.

The battle-cruisers remained in Port Jackson until the 20th of the month, but the five members of the light-cruiser squadron left for Brisbane on the 12th. And when leaving they participated in one of the most moving and most impressive incidents with which any vessels of the Royal Navy have ever had occasion, perhaps, to be associated. As the outcome of the Washington Treaty a number of allied warships had to be "scrapped"; and among them was the "Australia"—that "first and greatest of the ships of our infant Australian Navy," as the *HERALD* aptly termed her—whose arrival shortly before the war had so impressed the thousands who thronged the cliffs to see her enter the harbour, and whose services during the years of Armageddon had been so constant and so honourable. Considerable discussion had centred round the method of her final disposal; but eventually it was decided that her most fitting end would be to sink her some miles off the coast in the waters she had so well preserved. An appropriate ceremonial was arranged and, after all the paraphernalia and fittings that could be removed from her had been taken off, her despoiled, but honourable, hulk, flying the Australian flag, and manned by a selected party to administer the *coup de grace* at the appointed time, was towed to its last resting place on the morning of the 12th of April. It was followed by those ships of the Australian Navy which were in port and by a fleet of steamers and yachts crowded with those who desired to participate in the ceremony. And just as the end came the light cruisers of the visiting British squadron appeared upon the scene and saluted the "Australia's" last moments with a farewell salute from their guns. The scene was a sad one, and markedly impressive.

The *HERALD's* special correspondent on H.M.A.S. "Brisbane," which attended the "funeral" of her elder sister, thus described the final scene, when, after a hole had been blown in her side and the special duty party had left the dying ship, she shivered to the final plunge:

Under a perfect Australian sky, on a calm summer sea, and with the ships of the Royal Australian Navy alongside her, the old flagship had been delivered eternally to the waters of the Pacific. She was no more. The Pacific, in which she drove Von Spee eastwards to Coronel—and to the Falklands—is her Valhalla, just as the sea has been the last resting place of so many great ships.

It was the simple, yet deeply impressive, passing of a ship which had filled a great and honoured place in our national life. The passing away of the great ship, like the passing of great men, had left upon those who beheld the scene the consciousness of a sad void. Of the flotsam and jetsam that sunken ships give up there was practically nothing. The sea just passed placidly over her as she gracefully dived into the deeps. And, like pilgrims that had come to bow their heads at the passing of a great figure, the ships of the Royal Australian Navy turned in stately single file towards home in the setting sun.

On the 10th of February, 1925, there appeared in the columns of the *HERALD* a short notice of an invention in telegraphy which may be briefly referred to here for its special interest. The paragraph particularly pertinent to this history runs thus:

The era is beginning when typewriter keyboards in the offices of business men will not merely type letters, but will type and transmit telegrams to correspondents in any part of the world.

It will be possible to send a message from a British factory to San Francisco or any other American city, and get a reply within ten minutes.

Cables to America will carry messages at the rate of 300 words a minute in each direction simultaneously.

The teletype exchange will in time effect a complete revolution in telegraph methods and organisation, especially in large cities, which will be provided with automatic telephone exchange equipment for the teletype exchange.

The general public will continue to write out their telegrams and hand them in at the nearest telegraph office. There a call will be put through to the place indicated in a message, and a telegram will be teletyped direct to its destination. Hotels and public places will have teletypes for the delivery and reception of telegrams, and it will be possible to use the teletype on similar terms to the telephone—namely, the payment of a sum according to time and distance.

Such are some of the possibilities of telegraphy in the future, foreshadowed in a paper read recently by Mr. Donald Murray, M.I.E.E., before the Institution of Electric Engineers in London, on "The New Telegraphy: What the Teletype Will Do."

Although the teletype has not come into the general use that its inventor prophesied, its services have been largely availed of in many countries, and the London postal service in particular has used it for some years. But the principal interest of this reference lies in the fact that Mr. Murray, the inventor of the machine, was for some time on the literary staff of the *HERALD*. He had always exhibited a mechanical turn of mind, and his special application of his gift had ever been towards the improvement of telegraphic instruments. In 1898 he designed and constructed a machine for recording telegraph messages direct on to a tape in printed form, and, taking it to England in 1902, the immense value of the invention was quickly recognised, with the result that it is now used almost everywhere. As we have now seen, his ingenious brain evolved the teletype some twenty years later.

On the 25th of March of this year—1925—the foundation stone was laid of the bridge—one of the great engineering feats of the world—which is to join the northern and southern shores of Port Jackson. The event was made the occasion for an impressive ceremony on the site of the southern abutment of the bridge at Dawes Point. For very many years the North Shore Bridge had been "in the air." It had played a part in politics for at least half a century, being one of the standard promises of almost every Government—or of those candidates, at any rate, who desired to win the electors of the northern suburbs. But it had never escaped from the domain of the projected into that of the actual until, in 1923, the Government of Sir George Fuller (the successor in office of Mr. Dooley, the Labour leader who, in turn, had stepped into the shoes of his dead chief, Mr. John Storey) had placed an Act upon the Statute Book authorising the construction. The occasion, therefore, was one to be marked with a red letter in the calendar of the city.

The bridge and its girder-span approaches on both sides are now (January, 1931) practically finished; but the earthwork approaches and the city underground railway with which the bridge is to connect and which it was hoped would be ready at the same time as the bridge, are still far from being completed. The bridge covers the strait between Dawes Point, upon the south, and Milson's Point, upon the north of the harbour, in one great arch of 1,650 feet—the greatest single-span arch in the world—and from this arch the roadway connecting the two sides of the harbour is suspended at a height of 172 feet above high water, thus allowing the largest liners to pass beneath. The arch itself was completed on the 20th August, 1930, the ceremony of the joining of the two arms being fittingly observed by the builders and chronicled by the *HERALD*. The top of the arch is 437 feet above sea-level, and it thus forms a conspicuous landmark for twenty miles around; indeed, it will be one of the first signs of Sydney which the traveller by sea discerns as he approaches the coast. The contractors for the erection of the bridge are Messrs. Dorman, Long & Co. Ltd., of England; and its designer was Mr. Ralph Freeman, M.I.C.E., consulting engineer to that firm. Dr. J. J. C. Bradfield, of Sydney, is the officer charged by the Government of



How the news of the Armistice was received. Demonstrations of unrestrained joy and relief in the city.



A group parading up Pitt Street (the old Herald office beflagged in the background) to join in the Martin Place demonstrations



Honour Roll, in bronze, at the head of the main stairway in the "Herald" office. The 96 members of the "Herald" and "Sydney Mail" staffs who enlisted for active service worthily upheld the honour of their country, and nearly a score of them lie in soldiers' graves.



The Vickers Vimy aeroplane in which Sir Ross Smith and Sir Keith Smith, accompanied by Sergeants Bennett and Shiers, made the first flight from England to Australia in November-December, 1919.



The tri-motor Fokker monoplane "Southern Cross" at rest at Mascot, Sydney, on completion of the great flight across the Pacific from San Francisco to Australia by Kingsford Smith, Ulm, Warner and Lyon in June, 1928.



Arrival of the Prince of Wales at Farm Cove, Sydney, on June 16, 1920. On the Prince's left is the then Governor-General (Sir Ronald Munro Ferguson, since created Viscount Novar), and on his right the then State Governor (the late Sir Walter Davidson), and Admiral Halsey.



His Royal Highness at Jervis Bay, inspecting a naval guard of honour, provided by the men of H.M.A.S. Brisbane.

New South Wales with the supervision of the work on behalf of the State; and to him also is due the conception of the bridge project in its present form and the decision as to the type to be built. The *HERALD*, in its issue of the 26th of March, naturally devoted considerable space to recording the ceremony of the previous day; and to a description of the bridge as it would appear when finished.

The latter half of the year 1925 was distinguished by two memorable events. The first occurred in July, and took the form of a visit by an American squadron to the various ports of the Commonwealth. The squadron, as it approached the Australian coast from New Zealand, divided into two sections, the one, under the command of Admiral Coontz, the Commander-in-Chief of the whole squadron, and, indeed, of the whole American Navy, going to Port Phillip and Melbourne; the other, under the command of Admiral Robison, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Battle Fleet, coming direct to Sydney. The vessels, which arrived in Port Jackson on the 23rd of July, 1925, consisted of eight battle-ships, a hospital ship, and a tanker. Admiral Robison flew his flag on the "California," and the spectacle, as the eight great ships, followed by their two smaller sisters, came slowly into Port Jackson was a fine one. The day was grey, but the foreshores were thronged with the usual crowds of spectators, for whom the cliffs and bluffs of the harbour form so magnificent and so popular an amphitheatre. The functions which marked the visit were carried out with the customary élan and success; and the visitors contributed not a little to the enjoyment of the whole affair by the procession which they staged with picturesque completeness through the streets of the city.

The *HERALD* covered the visit thoroughly, and in this connection the contrast between the efficacy of its illustrative work and that which it had shown upon the visit of the other American fleet seventeen years before, was particularly notable, as marking the immense stride in process work, as applied to high-speed news-print presses, which had been taken in the interval.

On the morning of the 6th of August, the paper thus sped the city's parting guests:

To-day Sydney bids God-speed to the American Fleet after a fortnight which will linger long in our recollections, and which, we hope, will leave agreeable memories in the minds of our visitors. It is the part of a courteous guest to appear to be pleased, even though he is feeling bored; but if the enjoyment of our American cousins was simulated, the illusion was perfect. They take with them our warmest wishes for a prosperous voyage. They also take with them assurance that the spirit of cordiality and goodwill which exists between the English-speaking peoples flourishes in Australia. . . .

We may be permitted to congratulate the fleet upon the exemplary behaviour of the sailors. Here, fresh from a protracted cruise and weeks of hard work, were some 12,000 men, in the full vigour of life, charged with vitality, intent upon having a "good time."

Although four or five thousand of them were on leave simultaneously, unpleasant "incidents" have been conspicuous by their absence. . . .

The public has been struck by their good nature and good manners, by their genuine gratitude for any services rendered or entertainments provided. They have been a credit to their country; the favourable impression they created will long be remembered.

As a final reference to this historic visit we may quote the graceful message of Admiral Robison to the citizens of Sydney, on the occasion of his farewell:

"It is with deep regret that I find the day for the departure of the Sydney detachment of the United States Fleet has arrived. No words can portray the feelings that surged within us when we saw the shores of your wonderful harbour from the Heads to the anchorage, masked with welcoming throngs, and realised that it was all in honour of the flag under which we sail.

"Every moment since we passed under your symbolic welcoming arch we have felt a true welcome, magnificently expressed by the Commonwealth, the city, the surrounding communities,

and the people individually. We are proud that the opportunity came to us to represent the United States Fleet in New South Wales, and to share in this welcome.

"We trust that our visit here will more firmly cement the ties of race and language which bind the people of the United States and of Australia, and now we pass under the arch again, regretfully outward bound."

The second great event of the latter half of the year 1925 was the holding of the Third Imperial Press Conference at Melbourne on the 29th and 30th of September and the 1st of October. Mr. J. O. Fairfax, as the Chairman of the Australian Section of the Empire Press Union, under whose auspices the Conference was held, was naturally particularly interested in seeing that the delegates, who came from every part of the Empire and who numbered among them representatives of the leading journals of the world, were suitably entertained and that every possible arrangement was made for their comfort and assistance. Mr. C. T. Harris, the assistant General Manager of the *HERALD*, who had been elected honorary secretary of the Australian section, was also appointed organising secretary for the whole Australian tour; and the marked efficiency with which he carried out the very onerous duties of this office added immensely to the success of the visit. In his hands the tour became a triumph of organisation, and the delegates were not slow in recognising the fact and in gratefully testifying to it. Every delegate was presented with a specially printed book full of general information about Australia, with splendid illustrations. A set of excellent maps and a copy of the "Australian Statesman's Year Book"—a vest-pocket compendium of statistics compiled by the Government Statistician, Mr. H. A. Smith—were also included in the initial equipment of the Conference delegates for their study of the Commonwealth. Upon arrival successively in the various States this was supplemented by more detailed information, and an immense quantity of literature was finally collected, all of a most informative and useful character.

Some of the delegates arrived in Sydney as early as the first week in August; but the main body arrived, by way of New Zealand, on the 1st of September. The importance of this visit and the immense field of journalism the delegates collectively covered may best be gathered from a remark passed by Sir Emsley Carr, editor and part proprietor of *The News of the World*, to a *HERALD* reporter on the day of his arrival. "This," he said, "is the most influential deputation that has ever left the old country, and it includes representatives of every class of newspapers, as well as a Labour representative of the printing trades. The combined circulation of the papers we represent is more than twenty millions. It will be our duty, and it will give us pleasure to inform that vast constituency of our world-tour experiences."

The head of the delegation was Lord Burnham, the President of the Empire Press Union and the chief proprietor of the London *Daily Telegraph*, and with him were the representatives of the leading journals of Great Britain and the Dominions. A number of ladies were also included, some of them accompanying their husbands as visitors, others being present in their own right as delegates. The complete list of those who attended may well be given here, as evidence of the range and importance of the delegation. Its personnel, then, was as follows:

GREAT BRITAIN.

Viscount Burnham, President of the Empire Press Union and proprietor of *The Daily Telegraph*, London.

Viscountess Burnham, representing the Society of Women Journalists.

Major the Hon. J. J. Astor, M.P., Chairman of *The Times* Publishing Co.

Lord Apsley, M.P., *The Morning Post*.

Mr. R. J. H. Shaw, *The Times*.

Capt. Anthony Eden, M.P., *The Yorkshire Post*.
 Mr. J. R. Findlay, *The Scotsman*.
 Mr. N. B. Graham, *The Express and Star*, Wolverhampton.
 Mr. A. P. Herbert, *Punch*.
 Mr. W. Turner, Reuter's Agency.
 Mr. H. T. Cadbury, *The Daily News*.
 Sir Edward Iliffe, M.P., Periodical Trade Press and Weekly Newspapers Proprietors' Association.
 Sir Emsley Carr, *The News of the World*.
 Sir Frank Newnes, George Newnes, Limited, C. Arthur Pearson, Limited, also Periodical Trade Press and Weekly Newspapers Proprietors' Association.
 Sir Harry Brittain, M.P., Chairman of London Council Arrangements Committee.
 Sir William Davies, *The Western Mail*.
 Mr. David Davies, *The South Wales Daily Post*.
 Sir Joseph Reed, representing the Press Association.
 Mr. E. Woodhead, *The Huddersfield Daily Examiner*.
 Mr. C. Bowerman, P.C., M.P., President National Printing and Kindred Trades Employees' Association.
 Sir Percival Phillips, *The Daily Mail* and Associated Newspapers Limited.
 Mrs. A. W. Moore, *The Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, *The Review of Reviews* and *T.P.'s Weekly*.
 Mr. F. J. Higginbottom, *The Daily Chronicle* and United Newspapers Limited.
 Mrs. Henson Infield, *The Sussex Daily News*, Brighton.
 Mr. H. E. Turner, Secretary of the Empire Press Union.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. B. K. Long, Editor, *The Cape Times*.
 Mr. G. A. L. Green, Editor, *The Cape Argus*.
 Mr. U. Sargent, Editor, *The Natal Mercury*.
 Mr. D. M. Ollemans, Managing Director, *The Friend*, Bloemfontein.

INDIA, CROWN COLONIES, AND DEPENDENCIES.

Mr. A. W. Moore, *The Statesman*, Calcutta.
 Mr. H. Smiles, *The Rangoon Gazette*.
 Dr. Augusto Bartolo, *The Daily Chronicle*, Malta.
 Mr. Welham, *The Straits Echo*, Penang.

NEW ZEALAND.

Sir George Fenwick, *The Otago Daily Times*, Dunedin (Chairman, New Zealand Section, Empire Press Union).
 Mr. H. Horton, *The New Zealand Herald*, Auckland.
 Mr. Cecil Leys, Editor, *The Auckland Star*.
 Mr. W. Dinwiddie, *The Hawke's Bay Herald*, Napier.

CANADA.

Mr. J. W. Dafoe, *The Manitoba Free Press*, Winnipeg.
 Mr. J. H. Woods, *The Herald*, Calgary.
 Mr. W. A. Craick, *Industrial Canada*, Toronto, and representing Weekly and Periodical Press.
 Mr. C. F. Crandall, British United Press Limited, Montreal.
 Mr. J. Bassett, *The Gazette*, Montreal.
 Mr. Grattan O'Leary, *The Ottawa Morning Journal*.
 Mr. Hugh Savage, Canadian Weekly Newspapers' Association.

The delegation spent a fortnight in New South Wales and then, after a visit to Queensland, they proceeded to Melbourne for the serious business of the Conference. This completed, they visited Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia, and finally left the Commonwealth at Fremantle on the 16th of November.

The HERALD devoted an immense amount of space to the proceedings of the Conference and the doings of the delegates generally. The leading article of the 1st of September—the day of their arrival—thus welcomed them to Australia:

It has been suggested that the Press is the Archimedean lever which moves the world. May we say, then, that for the next two months Australia is the fulcrum within the Empire upon which that lever rests? To-day, with the exception of the South African and English representatives, who have preceded their fellows, the whole of the delegates who are to attend the third Imperial Press Conference in Melbourne at the end of the month will arrive from New Zealand. From every continent these delegates come, more than two score of them in all; and in their number and in the range of their domicile they present impressive evidence of the ever-widening ambit of the Empire and its Press.

Many of the papers whose representatives will be with us to-day are famous the world over; their names are as familiar in our mouths as household words; they are, and have been for decades, in the very forefront of all that stands for greatness in journalism; and it is good for us to meet the men and women who bear their banners to-day, and to make with them a mutual acquaintanceship. There is matter of technical and general importance to discuss at the Conference, which is the cause of the visit; but we believe that what is of greater importance than anything else is that our visitors should see and know Australia, that they should learn what kind of men and women we are who inhabit it, and how closely we are to ourselves in breed and aspiration. . . .

When the Conference was actually sitting in Melbourne the *HERALD* devoted many columns to reporting the speeches of the delegates; and the same may be said of all the many and varied functions at which they were the honoured guests in every State. At the opening of the Conference Mr. J. O. Fairfax presided. He welcomed the delegates in a cordial speech, and then called upon the Governor-General—Lord Forster—to declare the Conference open. Subsequently Mr. Fairfax proposed Lord Burnham as President of the Conference, and, the motion being carried with acclamation, Lord Burnham occupied the chair during the rest of the proceedings. It may be added that Mr. Fairfax, together with Mr. Harris, the Organising Secretary, accompanied the delegates throughout the whole tour of the Commonwealth.

During the whole time that the Imperial Press Delegates were in Australia, and for some time both before and after their visit, the seamen's strike was playing havoc with the industries of the Commonwealth—a strike, which for the violence of the passions that it aroused and the wholesale maleficence of its effects, both social and political, almost paralleled the railway employees' strike in New South Wales of 1917. The ambit of its reactions, however, was very much wider than that of the railway strikers referred to, since the Seamen's Union is a Federal organisation whose ramifications extend to every State, and, therefore, affect all classes and all quarters of the Commonwealth. The strike began in the middle of December, 1924, when the Waterside Workers' Federation, also a Commonwealth Union, was just bringing to an end a strike of its own in support of which the Seamen's Union had come out in sympathy. The cause of the Waterside Workers' strife does not affect the story. It is sufficient to say that members of that organisation objected to returned soldiers being preferred to members of their own union, when the services of wharf labourers and so forth were required. Unfortunately, their claim was largely supported by the Bruce Government, a matter at which the *HERALD* was very rightly annoyed; and this result doubtless influenced the seamen in persisting in their own strike when that of the waterside workers was concluded. For some time past the seamen had shown signs of unrest, and under the influence of certain extremist leaders had pursued a policy of "irritation tactics" and "job control"—that is, the holding up of single and separate jobs over some small detail, instead of stopping the whole industry by a general strike. They had refused to man ships on the most trivial excuses; but their main reason for continuing to strike now was that they objected to the owners utilising certain picking-up places which had been appointed for that purpose by an award of the Federal Arbitra-

tion Court. Despite the award, they insisted upon a location of their own choice being used for this purpose, a demand which the owners naturally refused, not only because it was against the award of the Court, but because the picking-up places appointed by the Court were very much more suitable both by their position and amplitude of space than that insisted upon by the seamen. The General President of the Australian Seamen's Union was Thomas Walsh and the Secretary of its Sydney Branch was Jacob Johansen (or Johnson, as he subsequently declared his name to be), and these two men for very many months directed the activities of the strike and became almost as prominent in the public eye as any political leader of the day. On 15th January Walsh was arrested for inciting the waterside workers to strike in sympathy with the seamen, and was subsequently fined £150 for the offence. The Union was also cited through its leaders to show why it should not be de-registered and thereby deprived of the benefits of its award. Walsh, however, gave a pledge that the seamen would man the ships, some thirty of which on the Australian Register were now lying idle, and these proceedings were dropped for the time.

Tasmania was at this time the main sufferer by the strike, since under the Commonwealth Navigation Act no vessels other than those on the Australian Register, and manned in accordance with the seamen's award, were permitted to convey passengers or goods between colonial ports; and the island colony, whose fortunes naturally depend very largely upon its communications with the mainland, was in consequence very severely handicapped. Despite Walsh's pledge, the seamen shortly afterwards again refused to man several ships, and the strike was resumed with full intensity. Fresh trouble arose in the waterside movement through the New South Wales Government refusing to recognise the Commonwealth agreement with the union that returned soldiers should not have preference unless they were members of the union, and by the combined activities of the two unions the whole inter-State trade of the Commonwealth was obstructed. Consequently, a further application for the de-registration of the Seamen's Union was made by the owners on 1st May, 1925, and on the 6th June the union was de-registered, the Court stating that the union was acting in defiance both of the principles of arbitration and of the law. It may be added that it was also acting in defiance of the decisions of the Arbitration Court itself.

The Commonwealth during the Prime Ministry of Mr. Hughes had purchased a number of ships, both cargo and passenger, which traded between the Commonwealth and outside ports, including Great Britain. These ships had for some time been outside the ambit of the dispute, since the seamen had obtained in regard to them certain privileges which they were loth to lose. But they now included these ships in their strike campaign and so hampered the business of the authorities that the Commonwealth Government decided to sell all the vessels as soon as possible. Owing to the fact that the purchasers would be compelled to man and conduct them under the Australian awards, however, no buyer was forthcoming, and Mr. Bruce, making a virtue of necessity, decided to carry on and, in his own words, "tighten up our industrial machinery." Unfortunately this was a decision more easily arrived at than kept. The seamen refused to man the ships except under the old conditions of the award at the date of de-registration. This offer the owners, both Commonwealth and private, refused at once, since, owing to the de-registration of the union, there was really no such award in existence. But they announced themselves agreeable to run the ships on such conditions as the Arbitration Court might decree. This reasonable proposal the seamen, in turn, declined to accept. In June the Marine Transport Group of Unions, representing all water-front organisations, decided to support the seamen, and the Federal Ministry thereupon de-

cided to maintain the essential services of the Commonwealth by volunteer labour. The Navigation Act was suspended, thereby rendering it possible for vessels which were not registered under Australian conditions to call at colonial ports.

By this time nearly 100 vessels were lying idle in various ports of the Commonwealth, and shipowners called for volunteer labour. The seamen responded by declaring all the shipping companies "black." A conference called by the Arbitration Court was held without avail. The seamen rejected all terms, and it was estimated that the strike had by this time brought enforced idleness upon 20,000 men.

The Bruce Government now decided to amend the Immigration Act so as to enable undesirable immigrants to be deported, hoping thereby to get rid of the two men who, by general consent, were mainly responsible for the serious position of the industry. On 24th July, 1925, the United States Fleet, on its visit to the Commonwealth, arrived at Melbourne. A steamer had been chartered by the Commonwealth Government to take some 1,700 official guests down the harbour to meet the Fleet off Port Phillip Heads. At the last moment, when all the guests were on board, the firemen, who were affiliated with the Seamen's Union, and were associated with them in most of their activities, walked off the vessel, their leader informing the captain that, unless and until a written apology from Mr. Bruce for his "malicious attacks" on the union was placed in his hands the vessel would not be allowed to leave. The Prime Minister, as it happened, was not on board; but several members of his Cabinet were. They naturally and indignantly refused this impertinent demand, and, the firemen remaining firm, the trip had to be cancelled.

On 1st August it was announced that job control was to be abandoned and the strike was to be settled, but once again the hopes in this regard were disappointed; for by the middle of the month job control was again in evidence and the old conditions were resumed. It was just at this time that British seamen in Australian and South African waters also struck against the decisions of their employers, refusing to acknowledge the actions of their leaders in England or the agreement with the owners into which these leaders had entered. Several of the British seamen were arrested for refusing to obey orders, and this action was seized upon by the Australian seamen as a fresh pretext for their own refusal to carry on. On the 24th of August all the British ships in Australian waters, with one exception, had been added to the idle Australian fleet. The Commonwealth Government had so far been singularly patient—too patient, the *HERALD* declared—in its dealings with the strikers; but it now took decisive action by arranging for the Governor-General, Lord Forster, to issue a statutory proclamation that there existed a serious industrial crisis threatening the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth. This step was a necessary preliminary to any action towards deportation under the Immigration Act. Mr. Lang, the new Premier of New South Wales, refused the request of the Commonwealth Government to assist in taking such steps as might be rendered necessary under the Immigration Act, and the main centre of the disturbance being Sydney, the Federal Government, seeing that it was necessary to have a sufficient force in that city to carry out the contemplated action under the Act, passed a "Peace Officers Act," whereby a sufficient force of Commonwealth police were appointed to enable deportation proceedings to be carried out effectively. At the same time, the Federal Government appointed a Deportation Board and Walsh and Johansen were arraigned before it. The proceedings lingered on till 21st November, 1925, when the Board found that both men were immigrants whose actions had been injurious to the peace of the Commonwealth, and recommended their deportation. Walsh and Johansen were accordingly placed in confinement on

Garden Island, but a writ of Habeas Corpus was immediately applied for on their behalf; and on the application being heard before the High Court their release was ordered on various grounds, the main ones being that the Commonwealth did not possess the power under the Constitution to deport the applicants, and that, even if it had possessed that power, certain necessary preliminary formalities had not been complied with.

Meanwhile, on 18th September, 1925, Mr. Bruce advised the Governor-General to dissolve Parliament; and, having obtained that dissolution, he announced to the country that he would go to the polls on the question of "Orderly Government *versus* Industrial Chaos." This action of the Federal Government roused the strikers to fury and, unfortunately, their action not enlisting any expressions of disapproval from the Labour leaders of the various States, they not unnaturally took silence to signify approval. On 3rd October a body of strikers seized the steamer "Demodocus" at Fremantle, drew the fires, injured the furnaces, and threatened the officers. A few days later they did the same thing at the same port with the "Trelyon," while at Brisbane, on the other side of the continent, the official pilots were threatened that if they ventured to take to sea any ships declared "black," they would be dealt with. Mr. Justice Powers, at this stage of the proceedings, again intervened and called a conference of both parties of the dispute under the provisions of the Commonwealth Industrial Arbitration Act. But his well-meant efforts proved as vain as all previous attempts at settlement had been. The seamen refused absolutely to resume work on any of the vessels until all the men who had been imprisoned for their participation in various offences were released. On 26th October a violent fracas occurred in Melbourne, when a party of strikers savagely assaulted voluntary workers who were engaged on the wharves. At Gladstone and Townsville, in Queensland, similar scenes were enacted, and, indeed, for a time, the whole trouble seemed to have come to a head in the north Queensland ports. The farmers there found themselves unable to ship their produce, and were forced to see it rotting on the wharves. They therefore formed a Defence Committee and arranged to load the ships themselves. In consequence of this decision several serious clashes occurred between the farmers and the strikers, but in the main the farmers were successful in their efforts and the vessels were loaded, manned and despatched. In November a very serious struggle between the strikers and the volunteers, in which revolvers were drawn, occurred at Brisbane, and was only stopped by a mass charge of the police.

The Bruce Government, however, were returned to power at this juncture with a majority expressive of the general indignation against the forces of reaction, an expression of public opinion which was confirmed at the general elections of 1928; and although sporadic instances of job control and other ugly incidents continued for some months, it was evident that the heart had been taken out of the factionists responsible for the whole trouble. The strike fizzled out and there followed a period of comparative peace in Australian maritime affairs.

It only remains to add in this connection that when, some time later, the waterside workers again began to cause trouble by a resumption of their former tactics, Mr. Bruce, strengthened and enheartened by the result of the elections, very promptly met the situation by gazetting a regulation whereby it was made incumbent upon every waterside worker to be registered and to obtain a license before he could obtain employment. As the license could be withheld, or withdrawn, if the conduct of the holder, or applicant, warranted such action, the result of the promulgation of the regulation was both effective and immediate. His action brought against Mr. Bruce a perfect tornado of abuse;

and there can be little doubt that "the dog-licenses"—as they came to be called—helped largely towards his defeat at the polls in 1929.

But we must now return a little upon our tracks and consider the political position in New South Wales. In May, 1925, the general elections for that State were held; and, as a result, Sir George Fuller's Government was defeated by a narrow margin. The leadership of the Labour Opposition having now passed from the last Labour Premier, Mr. J. Dooley, to Mr. J. T. Lang, the latter was sent for by the Governor and formed a Ministry which although its majority was very small, yet not only managed to hold office for considerably over two years, but to permit Mr. Dooley to occupy the Speaker's chair. This Parliament of 1926 was notable in our political history for the fact that it included the first woman who was ever elected by a New South Wales constituency. Miss Preston Stanley, the lady in question, proved herself a useful member and a fluent speaker. It may be added, however, that at the next election Miss Stanley was defeated, and the experiment which the electors of the Eastern Suburbs made in 1926 has never since been repeated—either by them or by any other constituency in the State.

In December, 1926, the Lang Government imposed a tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per copy upon every issue of a newspaper whose circulation exceeded 15,000, and the charge for which was less than threepence per copy. The Act came into force on the 1st of January, 1927; and its immediate result, of course, was that the proprietors affected increased the price of their papers by the halfpenny which the Act imposed. From the very first the HERALD had believed the Act not only to be unjust and wrong in principle, but to be beyond the powers of the State to pass, in that it was an Excise Act, and under the Federal Constitution Act, the sole authority to deal with matters of Customs and Excise was the Commonwealth. Acting on this belief, the proprietors of the paper, together with the proprietors of the other metropolitan journals affected, immediately took the necessary legal steps to challenge the validity of the tax. In the meantime, of course, it had to be paid; but a careful computation of the extra halfpennies which the sale of the paper brought in was kept, in order that if, as was anticipated, the tax was declared illegal by the Courts, the amount collected might be donated among the charities of the State, it being clearly impossible to return it to the actual payers. The case came on before the Full Bench of the High Court on the 3rd of March, 1927, by way of an application for an injunction restraining the State of New South Wales from enforcing the provisions of the taxing Act. After hearing argument the Bench of five judges decided unanimously that the tax was an Excise Duty within the meaning of the Commonwealth Constitution Act, and was therefore not within the competency of the New South Wales Parliament to impose. The result of this decision was that the proprietors of the HERALD immediately brought the price of their paper down to the price of one penny per copy again, and a little later paid over to a number of charities and educational establishments the total sum which the tax had brought in during the period of its imposition.

When Mr. Lang brought in his Bill for the imposition of the tax the HERALD naturally had something fairly vigorous to say about it. And this is what it said—the quotation being from the leading article of the 22nd of December, 1926:

The tax which Mr. Lang intends to impose upon publications is a tax upon knowledge, and therefore conflicts with one of the elementary rules of political science. Any measure which hampers the diffusion of information or which penalises the instruments of education is repugnant to the principles of sound legislation. In some countries the Press is subject to disabilities in the shape of a censorship or other restrictions. In none, as far as we are aware, is it taxed. New South Wales will enjoy the unenviable distinction of being the one community in the world

which has reverted to a mischievous and thoroughly discredited expedient. And for that distinction we shall have to thank the head of a Government which, with supreme effrontery, pretends to represent enlightened opinion. A tax upon newspapers was first introduced into England in the reign of Anne by one of the most reactionary Prime Ministers that England has ever had. He feared the growing power of the Press, and hoped thus to stifle its voice. The tax was retained because the later Hanoverians, wishing to re-establish the ascendancy of the Crown, did their utmost to silence the Press, the champion of popular liberties. It continued to be exacted after their day because long-standing evils are difficult to eradicate. Seventy-one years ago, however, it was abolished after W. E. Gladstone had denounced its iniquity in a memorable speech which Mr. Lang might with advantage read and ponder. He would be embarrassed, but he would at any rate learn that a tax of this sort is anathema to democratic sentiment. In his attitude to the Press, Mr. Lang is the apostle of reaction. He takes his stand among the most inveterate Tories.

At first sight it may seem incomprehensible that a Labour Government, of all possible Governments, should be associated with the proposal. Yet the explanation is quite simple. Mr. Lang bears the Press a grudge, and this is how he satisfies it. Although the impost is described as a tax on publications, it is, as everyone knows, aimed primarily at the metropolitan journals, which are for the most part critical of the policy of official Labour, especially in its more recent manifestations. They have not seen eye to eye with Mr. Lang. That is the head and front of their offending, and this, forsooth, is to be their punishment. . . .

Mr. Lang professes a lofty indifference to criticism which he is far from feeling. Actually, he is acutely sensitive to it, and resents it bitterly. This is his revenge. . . .

Anything which may injure the newspapers commends itself to Mr. Lang. The proposal is to be deprecated the more strongly because, in addition to discriminating between industries, it discriminates within the industry. There is much to be said for the exemption of free newspapers and religious journals, but there is no logical ground for the exemption of newspapers whose circulation does not reach a certain figure. That these should be let off is a confirmation of our contention that Mr. Lang is carrying on a vendetta against the metropolitan journals which have had the temerity to oppose him. . . .

When the tax was declared invalid, the *HERALD* contented itself with printing above the title on the leader page of the 4th of March, 1927, the following notice to the public:

The Newspaper Tax has been pronounced unconstitutional by the High Court of Australia. THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD will therefore cease to collect the tax, and the price of the paper will be One Penny on and from this date.

The closing months of the year 1926 were made memorable by the visit to Australia of a delegation from the various branches of the Empire Parliamentary Association. The delegates, who numbered nearly forty in all, represented the Parliaments of Great Britain, the Irish Free State, Canada, South Africa, Newfoundland, New Zealand and Malta; and were headed by the Marquess of Salisbury. Other notable delegates were Mr. Arthur Henderson, at that time the General Secretary of the British Labour Party; Sir Howard D'Egville, the Secretary of the United Kingdom Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association; Mr. Ian MacPherson, a Scottish M.P., and the only representative, among the visitors, of the Liberal Party; Mr. James Stewart, the Labour Member for St. Rollox, one of the divisions of Glasgow; Sir Frank Nelson, Sir Sydney Henn and Sir Edward Cecil, all members of the House of Commons; Major Bryan Cooper, Sir Edward Bigger, Senator O'Hanlon and Mr. Osmond Esmonde, of the Parliament of the Free State and Senator L. Schaffner, the one representative of the Dominion of Canada. A certain humorous interest attached to the visit of Mr. Osmond Esmonde, arising from the fact that, some few years before, when Irish affairs were at their worst and the island was a welter of blood and horror, he had come to Australia as an alleged emissary of the *Sein Fein*, and, the local authorities not regarding him as a desirable visitor, refused him permission to land, with the result that he was forced to spend a few mournful weeks cooped up in Sydney Harbour until his ship was ready

to take him back again. There was something Gilbertian about his appearance now as an honoured guest, and Mr. Esmonde's Irish sense of humour was not slow to appreciate the situation.

Although the majority of the delegates reached Sydney in the middle of September, it was not until the first week of October that they had all arrived and were ready to settle down to serious work. Conferences were held in Sydney with the members of the Association in the Federal and State Parliaments of Australia, and a number of important subjects were discussed. Particularly notable work was done in connection with the problems of economic and trade development, and Empire marketing. A few days later the delegates assembled at Canberra, and there, at the recently completed home for the Federal Parliament, the Marquess of Salisbury presented the Commonwealth with a splendid replica of the Speaker's Chair in the House of Commons, as a gift from the United Kingdom Branch of the Association. The ceremony was a brilliant one; and may well be regarded as the impressive climax to an important tour. The HERALD gave its customary attention to the various functions which marked the visit of the delegates; and in particular reported the ceremony at Canberra with the fullness that it deserved.

On the first of January, 1927, an innovation of interest and value was introduced by the proprietors of the HERALD, in the shape of that index to the paper, to which detailed reference is made in the last section of this history.

In February of this same year (1927) another innovation appeared in the columns of the HERALD itself. This was the first of the series of annual financial supplements which have become so valuable a feature of the paper. The HERALD has always been notable for the comprehensive and careful accuracy of its commercial and financial intelligence. Even in the 'fifties and 'sixties this was so; and the importance and reliability of its services to the community in this regard have constantly increased, until, to-day, it is the recognised authority on such matter, both in respect of its information and its comment. Although from the moment John Fairfax took over the paper the possibilities of this feature and the importance of it were recognised and furthered in every way, it was not until the 'seventies that it was placed in the sole charge of a specialist. Early in that decade Mr. W. L. Langley, a man of great experience in his particular province, was engaged for the supervision of this department of the paper's activities; and from that time onwards the position has always been filled by specialists. The Financial Editors of the HERALD have ever, indeed, been noted for the possession of that rare combination of faculties—a fine knowledge of their difficult subject and an ability to express that knowledge with clarity and discrimination. Although, as we have said, Mr. Langley was the first of them, he was known rather as the "Commercial Representative" of the HERALD than as its "Financial Editor," the latter title not becoming officially recognised until the advent of his successor, Mr. Peter Proctor, in 1880. Mr. Proctor's qualifications for his position were outstanding. He had already proved them at the time of his appointment by his services to the HERALD during a period of eleven years, for the major part of which he had been engaged in financial work as assistant to Mr. Langley. For twenty-five years thereafter he remained in occupation of the Financial Editor's chair, and during the whole of that lengthy period his editorship was marked with the sincerity, the wide knowledge and the clear-headedness which were characteristic of him. He raised the financial page of the HERALD to the status it has ever since maintained, and when he retired in 1905 he had long gained for it a public appreciation as general as it was deserved. Mr. Proctor died ten years later. The vacancy which his resignation created upon the staff of the HERALD was filled by

the appointment of Mr. F. M. Gellatly, a gentleman who worthily sustained the reputation of the paper in financial matters for thirteen years. He resigned in 1918, to take up the office of Director of the newly-created Commonwealth Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, a post which had been offered to him by the Federal Government, and for which his experience and wide knowledge made him admirably suitable. His successor was the present holder of the office, Mr. H. K. Williams; and it was now, some nine years after the appointment of Mr. Williams, that the Financial Supplement to which we have referred was instituted. It consisted, and still consists, of a comprehensive review of the commercial and financial activities of the State, and, indeed, of the Commonwealth, during the past year; and the figures and facts which it compiles, and the informative comment which it passes thereon, have already made it, although it has made but four appearances, one of the most valued and popular publications known to the commercial world of Australia.

In March, 1927, the Duke and Duchess of York visited Australia for the purpose of opening the first session of the Commonwealth Parliament to be held in the Federal Capital; and the occasion, for many reasons, was one of the most important and significant in the history of Australia. After the founding and naming ceremony at the Capital in 1908, very little was done towards its construction for many years. Many causes operated to effect this delay. In the first place there was the consistent opposition of Melbourne, which, holding the honour of being "the seat of government" under the Constitution Act until the Federal Parliament should be transferred to the official capital, was not in the least anxious to see that transference made, and the honour thereby taken from her. Secondly, there was the natural opposition of all the Federal Civil Servants, both high and low, to be transferred to what they regarded as the "out-back," a result which must necessarily synchronise with the removal thereto of the Parliament. Thirdly, there was the not unnatural opposition to such a move of the Federal Members themselves—or the majority of them; since they had no great desire to be put to the inconvenience of attending at such a remote spot, and one which, in comparison with Melbourne, was so sadly lacking in the amenities of social life. And, finally, there was the interposition of the war. Transfer during the period of hostilities was almost unthinkable—or, at any rate, the few who were brave enough to think of it found so poor a support that they promptly abandoned the idea. And when the war was over it was long enough before anything material was done. So small indeed had been the preparation to make the site suitable for the inauguration of civic life up to the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1920, that he was moved with a humour not inapt to refer to the capital as a "city of foundation stones." But, shortly after that visit, the Bruce-Page Government determined that the delay had gone beyond all decency; and, in spite of an opposition none the less serious because it was largely latent, proceedings were instituted to make the capital a city in something more than name. A Commission was appointed to supervise the work of laying out the necessary streets and buildings; the Federal Parliament House was built—not, indeed, to the elaborate design required by the original plan of the city, but on a more modest and "temporary" scale—business centres were laid out and erected; water supply and drainage schemes were evolved and carried out; and, generally, by the middle of 1926 the place was in a sufficiently forward state to enable the Government to fix the ninth of the following May as the date on which the Federal Parliament—and the Federal City—should "come into its own." This particular date was decided upon as peculiarly appropriate, since it would be the anniversary of the day, twenty-six years before, when King George—then Duke of York—had opened the first Federal Parliament at Mel-

bourne. An invitation was extended to the present Duke of York to perform the similar ceremony at Canberra, and the King was pleased to permit him to accept it. On receipt of this intelligence the Government made every preparation for the great event; and when it was further announced that the Duchess would accompany her husband, the satisfaction of Australians everywhere was complete.

Although the ceremony which was to be the main event of the visit was not to take place until May, the Royal visitors, who naturally wished to see as much of the Commonwealth as possible while they were here, arranged to arrive in Sydney in March. A tour was planned which would enable them to see every State (with the exception of Western Australia), and return to Canberra by the ninth of May. After the ceremony they would leave Australia by way of Western Australia, and thus complete their tour of the continent. In accordance with this plan the Duke and Duchess, travelling on H.M.S. "Renown," arrived in Port Jackson, *via* New Zealand, on the morning of Saturday, the 26th of March. In the meantime, the Federal Parliament had held its last session in its old location at Melbourne, and the Victorian Parliament was enabled to return to the Chamber from which it had been absent for so long. On the occasion of the completion of this last Federal session in the Victorian capital, the HERALD thus briefly commented (25th March, 1927) on the incident:

For the last time members of the Federal Parliament sat in deliberation yesterday in the capital of Victoria. Henceforth their work will be done in the capital city, not of a State, but of the nation. These were the closing hours of a memorable session, marking an historic point in the development of Australian nationhood. The Commonwealth legislators will govern for the future, not merely in a new place, but in a new atmosphere. It is not too much to hope that changed and better conditions will induce in them a clearer and fuller understanding of their responsibilities as a national Parliament, and of the spirit that should characterise such an assembly.

The following day the "Renown" arrived at Sydney and the city welcomed its Royal guests with a wonderful demonstration of loyalty. A splendid round of festivities had been arranged to mark the occasion; the streets and public buildings had been lavishly decorated and every possible arrangement made to ensure the comfort and satisfy the interest of the illustrious visitors. The weather was on its best behaviour; and the harbour had never presented in all its long history of spectacle a more glorious one than that on which the thousands who crowded its foreshores looked that day. Unfortunately, on the second day of the visit the skies turned grey, and from thence onwards the weather grew worse and worse, until towards the end of the visit it was as wretched as it could possibly be, with winds of gale force and driving rain doing their utmost to spoil the enthusiasm of the public. But they could not altogether spoil it—thousands of people, men, women and children, lined the streets whenever the Royal pair appeared, and despite the rain and the cold, cheered them with undiminished vigour. Particularly hearty were the expressions of good-will that were lavished on the Duchess. Partly as the result of her own radiant personality, but largely, also, through the remembrance of the hospitality she and her family had shown to our soldiers during the years of the war, the "little lady in pink" captured everyone from the moment of her first appearance. All Australians recognised the honour the Duke had paid them by travelling so far to open their Parliament in the name of the King, his father. But throughout Australia, although it was the Duke who evoked loyalty and admiration by the keenness of his interest and the thoroughness of his observation, it was the Duchess who won hearts. As the impressionable reporter of the HERALD very aptly put it, in his account of the first day's ceremonies: "Sydney was hers to do what she liked with, from the moment of her arrival."

The HERALD made a very special effort to cope with the importance of the occasion. Each day of the visit it published an enlarged edition, filled with a detailed description of the proceedings of the previous twenty-four hours, and lavishly and interestingly leavened with process-blocks picturing every important incident. In its issue of the 26th of March—the day of the arrival—its leading article appropriately welcomed the Duke and Duchess, and struck a note of consideration for them which was certainly subsequently justified by the extraordinary demonstrations of regard with which they were received. Thus ran the article:

As we have already suggested, a Royal tour is a strenuous business for the protagonists. The programme is a long and exacting one; little time is left for rest, and the physical tax involved in the proceedings must be immense. The ordinary citizen might well shrink from the ordeal that is before the Duke and Duchess. . . .

We owe it to Australia no less than to the Duke and Duchess to spare them as far as possible. After all, they are just at the beginning of the tour, and the visits to Sydney and the other State capitals are only incidental to the main purpose of their journey, which is to open the Federal Parliament in Canberra next May. . . .

It would be most gratifying if on their return to England they could think that nowhere in the course of their travels had they encountered a more considerate public than in the City of Sydney.

The leading article of the following day, commenting on the wonderful spectacle of the arrival and on the enthusiasm which it evoked, was appropriately eloquent. Said the writer:

It was evident long before the actual date set for their arrival that the Duke and Duchess of York would receive from the citizens of Sydney a welcome which would lack nothing in heartiness and sincerity. But even the most optimistic could hardly have been prepared for the splendid demonstration which characterised the whole of Saturday's eventful proceedings. From the moment when the "Renown" entered the Heads until the Royal visitors had returned to Government House after the last great function of the day, no slightest trifle marred the expression of the public enthusiasm. Everyone who was in any way officially associated with the proceedings, from the humblest functionary to the most highly-placed, it is to be congratulated upon the day's success. Everything went with a swing, and without a hitch. But, without desiring to lessen by an iota the credit due to officialdom, it was undoubtedly the whole-hearted enthusiasm of the citizens themselves—literally, in this case, the "man in the street"—that made the day the memorable occasion that it was. The Duke of York, in a message sent to the Lord Mayor after the procession through the city had been completed, declared that neither the Duchess nor himself would ever forget the happenings of the day. We feel sure that the message was more than "official" in its terms. No one could have failed to be moved by the spontaneity of the reception accorded the Royal visitors, not only during the whole course of that procession, but—perhaps even more markedly—on the occasions of their appearances later in the afternoon and evening.

To make the day complete, the weather was ideal. Sydney and her harbour were at their best, and it was a poor heart which did not thrill at the beautiful spectacle which the combination presented. . . .

It is easy to sneer at sentiment. But he is a poor judge who fails to estimate sentiment's real practical value. Sentiment has moved more mountains than cold reason will ever do, work the scientists ever so devotedly. And it was undoubtedly a wise recognition of the practical value of sentiment that led to the present visit. Such visits do more to strengthen the Imperial ties than all the arguments of the Press, and all the glowing periods of the statesmen.

A visit to the Royal Agricultural Society's Show a week or so later had been specially arranged in order that the Duke and Duchess might have a brief glimpse, while passing through Sydney on their way to Hobart, of an annual exhibition which is acknowledged to be one of the largest and most efficiently organised displays of a country's products that can be seen anywhere in the world. Unfortunately, the weather, bad as it had been during the latter part of the week of the original visit, completely eclipsed all previous records in that regard. Drenching rain and furious gales made the

Show almost an impossibility; indeed, in the end it ruined it. But nothing could deter the citizens of Sydney if there was a possibility of seeing again the Duke and Duchess—especially the Duchess. In spite of the rain and wind, they turned up at the Showground in thousands; and were sufficiently rewarded by a hurried glimpse of the Royal pair as they were driven round the ring in a closed car and were subsequently escorted through the main pavilions. The Show was spoiled, but thanks to the courtesy of the visitors in keeping their appointment in such weather, the enjoyment of the public was not spoiled, nor their dreary wait wasted.

After their visit to the Show the Duke and Duchess almost immediately went aboard the "Renown" and left for Hobart and a tour of Tasmania. Still later they visited Victoria, where their arrival in Melbourne was unhappily marred by a terrible disaster in which four airmen were dashed to death before the horrified eyes of ten thousand spectators. It was also marred by rain; but, later on, the weather clearing, the Victorian public were given the same opportunities to display their enthusiasm—and took them—as had been offered to the citizens of the other States. The greatest and most impressive spectacle of the Melbourne visit—indeed, the Duke declared it to be the most impressive of the whole tour—was the demonstration of loyalty and patriotism which filled and thrilled the city on Anzac Day—the 25th of April. Later on, in South Australia—and later on again, in Western Australia, too, for that matter—similar demonstrations of loyalty were accorded to the visitors.

But the great event of the tour was the ceremony at Canberra on the ninth of May; and for that ceremony every arrangement which good organisation could effect was made by the authorities. Happily the weather had quite repented of its previous churlishness; and the day was brilliantly fine. Canberra is beautifully set among its hills; and to the natural magnificence of the surroundings were lent the colour and excitement of the brightly-dressed ceremony. Nearly every celebrity in Australia was present, together with a great number of notable guests from all parts of the Empire. The proceedings were brief, but full of significance and interest. The Duke read his opening speech clearly and with an evident sense of the importance of the occasion; and his voice, broadcast by the magic agency of wireless, was clearly heard by a myriad listeners throughout the Commonwealth.

The speech was couched in the following terms:

His Majesty the King, my dear father, desiring to mark the importance of the opening of this first meeting of the Federal Parliament in the new Capital City of the Commonwealth of Australia, and to show his keen interest in all that concerns the welfare and advancement of his loyal subjects in Australia, has granted me the special commission which has just been read. Unable himself to be present in person, his Majesty has, by that commission, charged me as his representative, to perform to-day's ceremony, which inaugurates the new capital of Australia.

I am commanded by the King to say that his thoughts are with you in this hour. To-day's historic occasion brings back vivid memories of that other 9th May, twenty-six years ago, when, as Duke of Cornwall and York, his Majesty opened the first Parliament of the Commonwealth. Both he and the Queen retain the happiest recollections of that great event, and of their visit to Australia, of which it formed so memorable a part. They will never forget the manifestations of loyalty and affection with which they were everywhere received. The Duchess and I are proud to be following in their footsteps, and we thank you with full hearts for the welcome we have received and the kindnesses that have been showered upon us in every part of Australia which we have visited.

How much has happened in the quarter of a century since the opening of the first Commonwealth Parliament! What changes in the world! What revolution in human life and thought! What marvellous progress in the means of communication and locomotion! For Australia and the whole Empire it has been a period of extraordinary evolution and development. It has been a testing time when, under the stress of the greatest war of our history, the Empire has found

new meaning and new strength. Quickened by all these influences, without and within, the British Empire has advanced to a new conception of autonomy and freedom; to the idea of a system of British nations, each freely ordering its own individual life, but bound together in unity by allegiance to one Crown, and co-operating with one another in all that concerns the common weal.

It is the King's earnest prayer, in which I fervently join, that, under Divine providence, the future years may see the same advance in the development and prosperity of the Empire and all its parts, the same spirit of mutual understanding and sympathy, and the same determination to support one another to the uttermost, should the need come.

It is, perhaps, peculiarly fitting that we should celebrate the birth of this new capital city just after the close of an Imperial Conference, which represents the beginning of another chapter in our Empire's story. May this day's ceremony mark the rededication of this Commonwealth to those great ideals of liberty, fair dealing, justice, and devotion to the cause of peace, for which the Empire and all its members stand. We turn to-day a new page of history. May it be a page glorious for Australia and the whole Empire.

The HERALD's accounts of the various phases of the ceremony were elaborate in detail and illustrated by a very finely reproduced photograph of the scene at the moment when the Duke was reading his speech. Other good examples of process work completed an extraordinarily interesting number. But the issue of the day before—the actual date of the ceremony—was the one in which the paper devoted itself specially to the occasion. A "Canberra Supplement" on the story of Federation and of Canberra, comprising eight pages, copiously illustrated and including a number of articles by prominent Australians, such as the Prime Minister and Mr. Hughes, on various topics suggested by the event, was published as a memorial. It contained, moreover, an Ode specially composed for the occasion by Miss Dora Wilcox, the Australian poet who had been successful in winning with it the prize of £25 given by the proprietors of the paper. This Ode is quoted in a later section of this history. The leading article of this issue also naturally took for its theme the great event of the day.

This ceremony was indeed the climax of the Royal visit. Thereafter there remained only the tour of Western Australia. This was at once entered upon, and the Duke and Duchess, having completed it, left Australia on the 23rd of May, 1927. With his Royal Highness's farewell message to Australia we may fitly close our reference to this historic and significant visit. The message is quoted from the HERALD's report in the issue of the 24th of the month, and runs as follows:

"With very great and genuine regret the Duchess of York and I must now say good-bye to Australia. I find it difficult to express in words our gratitude to the Government and people of the Commonwealth for the wonderful welcome everywhere accorded us, and the countless kindnesses we have received.

"The demonstrations of loyalty and whole-hearted affection and devotion to the Throne have far surpassed anything we had imagined, and have most deeply moved us. That loyalty to the British ideals, for which the Throne and Empire stand, found its highest expression in the commemoration of Anzac Day, at which it was our privilege to be present.

"We have been greatly impressed by the general appearance of virility and well-being of the people of this great continent. The strong, healthy children, whom we have seen everywhere, inspire a profound faith in the future. We have been no less struck by the marvellous development and progress of the country which has taken place within a period of three generations, and is still making rapid strides.

"A land so rich in natural resources cannot fail to achieve its high destiny if her people continue to display those qualities of courage and perseverance which they showed in the war.

"The purpose of our mission has been fulfilled, and it will always be among the proudest memories of my life that I was called upon as the representative of his Majesty the King to perform the ceremony of the inauguration of the new capital city of Canberra. That event marks the opening of a new, and, I am confident, glorious chapter in the history of Australia.

"We shall always take the keenest interest in the progress of this land, which we have learned to love so much, and we pray that under Divine Providence its people may continue to be blessed with happiness and prosperity."

Early in the morning of the 5th September, 1927, as the result of arrangements entered into by and between the *HERALD*, Amalgamated Wireless (Australasia) and 2 F.C. Broadcasting Station, Sydney, an Empire wireless telegraph, telephone and broadcasting experiment was successfully carried out in Sydney. For the first time in our history a programme of speeches and musical items was broadcast throughout the Empire, the various participants speaking, singing or playing in Sydney and the items being relayed through 2 L.O., London, to British listeners. Mr. Bruce, the Prime Minister, who was among the speakers, provided an exception to this rule, since he telephoned his address over 600 miles of land wire from his residence in Victoria, before being put "on the air" at Sydney. The Governor (Sir Dudley de Chair), the Premier (Mr. Lang), and the Lord Mayor of Sydney (Alderman Mostyn) spoke on behalf of the State and the City; and the late Sir James O. Fairfax, as Chairman of the Australian Section of the Empire Press Union, and on behalf of the *HERALD*, sent the opening message to the Press of the British Empire. Dame Nellie Melba and Mr. Joseph Hislop, the English tenor (who both happened to be in Australia at the time), together with many local artists of prominence, contributed to the programme. The reception in England on the whole was good, especially in respect of the earlier items, Sir James O. Fairfax and Mr. Bruce being heard particularly clearly. The experiment was repeated a little later on, and messages from Sydney were successfully relayed to the United States, Canada, South Africa, India, and many European countries.

PART II.

Much of the legislation placed upon the Statute Book by Mr. Lang during his term of office was of that strictly class nature which the extremists of his party had advocated. Such measures, for example, as the Act which restored the 44-hours week (first instituted by the Labour Government of 1921); the Act which restored their status and rank to those men who had been dismissed or degraded by the National Government for participating in the State railway strike of 1917; the Fair Rents (Amendment) Act, which inflicted a severe handicap upon landlords in their relation to their tenants; and others of a like nature, come clearly within this category. It is only fair to add, however, that some of Mr. Lang's legislation, such as the Family Endowment Act, was humanitarian in theory, although in practice its effects were unfortunate. As this Family Endowment Act was the first of its kind to operate in the Commonwealth—with the single exception of an Act passed by the Federal Government in 1920, which applied only to certain officers of the Commonwealth Public Service—and as its repercussions have supplied the political fires of the State with much fuel since its provisions came into force, it is necessary to devote a little space to a consideration of its history and nature. The earliest attempt made in Australia to institute the Child or Family Endowment system occurred in New South Wales in 1919, when a Bill was introduced into the State Parliament, during the regime of the Holman Government, to provide a flat basic wage for a man and his wife, and an allowance of 5/- per week for each child, subject, of course, to certain provisions as to the income earned. This Bill was rejected, however, and the matter dropped for some years. In 1923 Mr. A. B. Piddington, K.C. (now Mr. Justice Piddington), evolved a scheme of Family Endow-



Parliament House at Canberra, officially opened by the Duke of York on May 9, 1927. Previously, for over a quarter of a century, Melbourne had been the temporary seat of the Commonwealth Government.



W. M. HUGHES
1915-1923



S. M. BRUCE
1923-1929



J. H. SCULLIN
1929- —

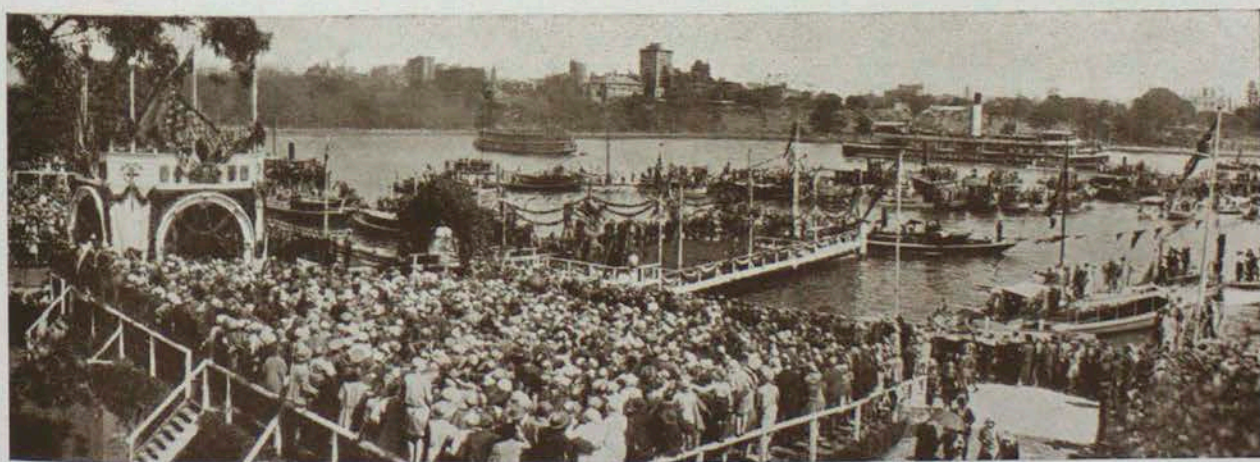
AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTERS IN POWER DURING THE WAR PERIOD AND SINCE.



The Duke of York opening Federal Parliament House at Canberra on May 9, 1927. Beside His Royal Highness is the Duchess.



Visit to Sydney, in April, 1924, of the British Special Service Squadron, commanded by Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Field. The view from the deck of H.M.S. Hood shows the Repulse. The four light cruisers that followed her are not in the picture.



The arrival at Farm Cove, Sydney, on March 26, 1927, of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York. The Royal barge has brought them from H.M.S. Renown and their landing was marked by tremendous enthusiasm.



The cult of the surf in Sydney dates back to less than 30 years ago. There are upwards of a dozen ocean beaches within easy distance of the city, and to-day surfing is the most popular of all summer pastimes. A view of Bondi Beach (January, 1929).



Surf boat races in a good surf are full of thrills. The boats are used for rescue work by the voluntary life saving clubs established on each beach.

ment, whose acceptance he urged upon the Government by voice and pen during the course of the next three years. His articles and speeches eventually attracted the attention of the Labour leaders of the day; his scheme gained their support, and the Lang Act of 1927 was brought in largely as the result of his persistent advocacy.

This Act, in brief, provided for the payment of an allowance of 5/- each for every dependent child under the age of 14, provided that where the total income of the family exceeded the aggregate of the amount of one year's living wage (based on the requirements of a man and wife without children) and £13 for each child in the family, the allowance was not to be paid. The basic wage was thus made an integral part of the scheme, and the Act, which was introduced early in 1927, did not come into effect until the basic wage had been declared. This declaration was made by the Industrial Commission, a body constituted by the Lang Government with Mr. Piddington (holding the status of a Supreme Court Judge) as President, for this very purpose, and to administer the Industrial Arbitration Acts generally. In carrying out its duties the Commission in July fixed the basic wage at £4/5/- for all male workers except those associated with the rural industries, for whom a separate rate was declared a little later at £4/4/- per week. This last decision greatly perturbed the farmers and graziers of the State. The President of the Farmers' and Settlers' Association of New South Wales asserted, indeed, that the declaration would be as maleficent in its effects as a drought. The HERALD also was strongly opposed to the decision of the Commission and was under the impression that the Commissioner, in making it, was not entirely unprejudiced. Accordingly, on the 29th July it published an article by Mr. J. W. Allen, Secretary of the Graziers' Association, which asserted that Mr. Piddington owed his appointment to the Lang Government, that, by his decision on the basic wage, he had acknowledged his duty to that Government, and that the administration of the industry was therefore being dictated not by justice but by political influence. Upon the texts supplied by these statements of Mr. Campbell and Mr. Allen the HERALD, in its leading article of 4th August, said:

The callous indifference of this Trades Hall Government towards farmers and their industries is easily enough explained. It is the militant urban industrialists who are for a brief space ruling this State, and they recognise no interests but their own. Rural workers are not blind; they know the stern reality behind the farmers' protests against the award of an Industrial Commissioner who has said himself that he is not so much a Judge as the voice of a Parliamentary majority, and that his procedure in fixing a rural basic wage was to make an award first and hear evidence later. If this is not an invitation to State-wide rebellion against such awards, then it is the most shameless pronouncement ever made by one who is by the public regarded as a judge on a bench, even if not by himself.

Shortly after the publication of this article the Lang Government appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the statements made by Mr. Allen and the comments thereon published by THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, so far as they related to the Industrial Commissioner. The Commission consisted of Mr. Justice Edmunds, a former Senior Judge of the State Industrial Arbitration Court, as Chairman, Judge Bevan, a former District Court Judge of New South Wales, and Mr. E. J. Loxton, K.C. Mr. Piddington, Mr. Allen and the HERALD were all represented by counsel, and counsel was also appointed by the Crown to assist the Commission generally. The first public sitting of the Commission took place on 5th September, 1927, and, after hearing evidence at great length and the addresses of counsel, the Commission concluded its sessions on Friday, 30th September. Its report was published on the 5th October. The wording of that report is naturally too long to give in full, but we may summarise its effect by stating that the Commission disagreed with the HERALD's view of Mr. Piddington.

ton's activities, and found that he was not only an able and upright judge in discharging his judicial duties, but an able and upright officer of the Crown in discharging duties of a legislative or administrative kind. The report contained, however, a statement (from which Mr. Justice Edmunds dissented) that, in determining the living wage, the Industrial Commission had acted upon a wrong principle and had exceeded the powers conferred upon it by the legislation of 1927. The HERALD, in its issue of 6th October, based its leading article upon this decision and declared, "without in any way wishing to impugn the verdict," that:

The relations of the Commissioner and Press have been complicated by a feature in our industrial laws to which the report alludes. "It is largely due to the fact," it declares, "that in our industrial legislation the executive functions of the Executive, the Judiciary, and the Legislature have been confused that Mr. Piddington's conduct has been subject to adverse criticism." It is not always easy in this case to tell whether it is the Judge, the public officer, or the plain citizen that has incurred criticism. In view of all these things, we contend that we should be acquitted of deliberate unfairness. We may say, without fear of contradiction, that the HERALD is not given to reckless or irresponsible statements. Mr. Piddington has been absolved by the Commission from the charges directed against him, but they were based upon inferences which, on the material then available, seemed to be reasonable, and they were made in the public interest.

It may be added, before leaving this vexed question of Family Endowment, that Mr. Lang's Act was amended in December, 1929, by the Bavin Government to provide that, where the total income of a family did not exceed the amount of the basic wage, the endowment of 5/- per week should be paid in respect of each child, *except one*; the basic wage having a few days previously been determined by the Industrial Commission at £4/2/6 per week for a family unit consisting of a man, his wife, *and one child*.

A series of political and constitutional crises made the latter portion of the Lang regime notorious in our annals. The trouble began when the Legislative Council, towards the end of 1925, rejected or vitally amended a number of measures which the Government, despite all opposition, had pushed through the Lower House by sheer force of a disciplined majority. The most notable of the measures thus rejected or amended by the Council were a Bill to provide adult suffrage in Local Government elections; an amendment to the Industrial Arbitration Act, providing for compulsory preference to unionists; and the Government Railways Amendment Bill and the 44-Hours Week Bill already referred to. As a result of this action by the Legislative Council, Mr. Lang, who had long threatened to abolish that Chamber (although he had not specifically included such a threat in his policy speech) applied to the Governor (Sir Dudley de Chair) for the appointment of 25 nominees to the Upper House, on the grounds that his Government, although it had a majority in the elective House, could not get its measures passed into law. Sir Dudley at first refused to appoint so large a number; but, subsequently, under pressure from Mr. Lang, he consented, under protest, and in the belief that no measure for the abolition of the Council would be introduced. The new appointees were sworn in during the last week of December; and on January 20th, 1926, a Bill for the abolition of the Council was introduced into that Chamber by Mr. A. C. Willis, the representative of the Government there. But Mr. Lang's nominees failed him. When the Bill came on for the third reading, so many of them were absent that a motion to adjourn it indefinitely was carried; and when, a little later on, it was reintroduced and brought to a vote, not only were some of the new Councillors again absent, but two of them voted against the measure, with the result that it was defeated.

This was on the 24th February, and for some weeks thereafter Mr. Lang made no further move beyond securing the passage through the Upper House of the measures

which had previously been rejected there (with the exception, of course, of the Abolition Bill itself). In March he applied to the Governor for the appointment of a further batch of nominees; but Sir Dudley de Chair refused to grant the request, and a constitutional difficulty at once arose. Threats were made to have Sir Dudley recalled by the Home authorities, and Mr. McTiernan (now Mr. Justice McTiernan, of the High Court, but then Mr. Lang's Attorney-General) sailed for England to interview the Secretary of State for the Dominions on the matter. His mission was entirely fruitless, the British Government declining to interfere in a matter which they rightly regarded as being entirely local. While on his return voyage, however, friction which had arisen between Mr. Lang and several members of his party suddenly developed into an open breach; and so serious became the position for Mr. Lang that, on a motion in Caucus to remove him from the leadership, the voting was made equal only by the cabled vote in his favour of his homeward hurrying Attorney-General. Parliament was prorogued shortly afterwards, Mr. Lang refusing the Governor's offer to grant him a dissolution if he would appeal to the country on the abolition question.

In May a further crisis developed, and this time within the Cabinet itself. This disagreement was based on two grounds. In the first place, the majority of Mr. Lang's Ministers objected, for various reasons, to Mr. Willis retaining his portfolio as Vice-President of the Executive Council, and in the second place they objected to the Premier's appointment of a Mr. Treble to the newly-created post of Family Endowment Commissioner. Mr. Lang refused to part with Mr. Willis or to review the appointment of Mr. Treble; and, the dissension continuing, he dramatically met the situation by tendering his resignation to the Governor, together with those of all his Ministers. He then asked Sir Dudley to commission him to reform his Ministry from the other members of his party, asserting that a sufficient number of them remained loyal to enable him to carry on the business of the House. Sir Dudley agreed to the request, but only on two conditions—the first being that the House should be dissolved as soon as possible; the second, that only formal business should be conducted in the interim. To these conditions Mr. Lang was forced to agree; but by various means he succeeded in eluding them and in staving off the inevitable dissolution for nearly four months. Eventually the elections were held in October, 1927, and resulted in the defeat of the Government and the return to power, by a small majority, of the Nationalist-Country combination.

Sir George Fuller, the former leader of the coalition, having recently abandoned politics, was offered and accepted the position of Agent-General for the State in London; and Mr. T. R. Bavin, who had been his Attorney-General in the last National Government, was elected leader of the Nationalists in his place. The Governor accordingly commissioned Mr. Bavin to form a Government, and this he succeeded in doing with the aid of the Country Party, to whom four seats in a Cabinet of fourteen Ministers were allotted.

The HERALD was very naturally gratified at the return to power of the anti-Labour forces, the paper having fought strongly for such a result. The final returns, though not complete by the 10th of October, were yet sufficiently so to make it clear that the Lang Government had been defeated; and the paper devoted both its leading articles of that date to a consideration of the anti-Labour victory. The second commented on the result as a whole, the first scrutinised the results in some of the more interesting and important electorates. From these two articles we cull the following extracts:

It was the general impression before the polling that the election fight would be a close finish; and so it will be till the last figures in certain electorates are counted. The whole State voted magnificently and the attendances at the polling booths indicated a great popular interest in the

issue. It is no exaggeration to say that on Sunday morning the State breathed a great sigh of relief. . . . In the circumstances the verdict of the country is eminently satisfactory. . . . The country voters especially turned down the Lang appeal resolutely and . . . the small farmers, believed to be gullible, have voted solidly against the wiles of the revolutionary extremists. . . . The verdict has been delivered and "finis" has been written to the most extraordinary chronicle of misgovernment that has ever disgraced the annals of the State. . . .

During the preceding three years the methods adopted by the Civic Authorities for the conduct of the affairs of the city had become so scandalous that, as the *HERALD* put it, "the Town Hall administration was an offence to every decent citizen." Corruption and patronage were rampant; employees could only be engaged by having their application forms endorsed by an alderman; favouritism of a most open kind was shown in the letting of contracts, and two Royal Commissions had each reported that aldermen had been guilty of receiving bribes. In consequence of this maladministration the finances had gone from bad to worse, changing a surplus of over £90,000 in a little over two years to a deficit of over £80,000. One of the principal planks mentioned in the new Government's policy speech had been a promise to put an end to these Tammany exploits by abolishing the City Council and placing the city under the control of a Commission. No plank had been more determinedly opposed by the Labour Party than this; an opposition which is easily comprehended when it is remembered that the majority of the aldermen of the Council had been members of that Party and had been responsible for the very acts which had called forth the condemnation of the country. The *HERALD*, which had repeatedly drawn attention to these scandals and scathingly condemned them, accordingly called upon Mr. Bavin to carry out his promise in this regard as speedily as possible; and this Mr. Bavin did by one of the first measures he placed upon the Statute Book. The City was placed under the government of three Commissioners—Messrs. E. P. Fleming, H. E. Morton and John Garlick—for a period of two years, with, as it turned out, very gratifying results. At the expiration of the two years, it may be added here, the Commission was extended for a further term of six months; and then, in June, 1930, the old order was permitted to be resumed. The municipal elections held in that month resulted in nine members of the Citizens' Reform Party being returned, together with six Labour aldermen—a majority for reform sufficient to make it clear that the old order had given place to new, and that the representatives of the section which had been so directly concerned with the scandals of the past would have no chance of repeating them.

Mr. Bavin had also promised in his campaign addresses to introduce a measure which would so amend the Constitution as to ensure that the Legislative Council should not be left to the mercy of any temporary majority in the Assembly, and which would, in addition, so reform the methods of electing and maintaining the Council that the present objections to the powers of obstruction which it undoubtedly possessed should be minimised, if not entirely eliminated. Now that he was returned to power, the *HERALD* called upon Mr. Bavin to redeem this promise also; but although two measures to give effect to it were actually introduced and carried through both Houses at his instigation, the Premier was unable to carry it into practical effect, since he had also promised that, before doing so, he would submit the question of reform to a referendum of the people for their final approval or repudiation—and no opportunity to do this occurred during the three years of his administration. The *HERALD* recognised the difficulty Mr. Bavin was in, and the risk of defeat he ran in submitting the reform measure to the people at a period when circumstances over which he had no control had necessitated the passing of financial measures which were bound to provoke bitter hostility against him in quarters where he could formerly have counted on support; but nevertheless the

paper was disappointed at his failure to redeem his promise in this regard, and did not hesitate to voice its feelings. As it very aptly pointed out, there had been no need for the Premier to promise a referendum, since the very fact of his having placed Reform of the Legislative Council in the forefront of his policy speeches during the election campaign and having thereafter been returned to power, was sufficient proof that he had the authority of the people to carry that policy into effect.

It is important, however, to note that the earlier of the two Acts which Mr. Bavin had placed upon the Statute Book contained a provision that neither should the Legislative Council be abolished, nor the Act itself repealed, without a direct vote to that effect having been first obtained at a referendum. For it was precisely this provision that proved the stumbling block in the path of Mr. Lang when, having been again returned to power in October, 1930, he renewed almost at once his efforts to abolish the Council. His first step was to ask the Governor to appoint a sufficient number of his nominees to the Chamber to ensure that his abolition legislation would be carried there. The Governor (Sir Phillip Game, who had only recently taken over the office) declined to make the appointments on the logical ground that, no legislation sent up by the new Government from the Lower House to the Upper having so far been rejected, there was no evidence that such appointments were required. Thereupon Mr. Lang—despite the protests of Mr. Bavin, now Leader of the Opposition, that such a course was not in accordance with the law, and that a referendum must first be taken—rushed through the Assembly a measure to abolish the Council forthwith. When this was received in the Upper House the majority of the anti-Labour members contented themselves with protesting that the proposed Act was illegal and declined to vote upon it. The measure, together with an accompanying machinery Bill, therefore formally passed the House; but before the President of the Council (Sir John Peden) could present them to the Governor for his assent, application was made to the Equity Court by a number of Councillors for an injunction restraining Sir John from taking any such action, on the grounds that the previous Parliament having decreed that proceedings for abolition should be taken in a certain way, and that way not having been followed, the measures could not properly be regarded as having been passed. The Judge who heard the application—Mr. Justice Long-Innes—deeming the matter sufficiently important, transferred it to the Full Bench of the Supreme Court to deal with, and the application came on before that tribunal in the last week of December, 1930. After hearing argument the Court, by a majority of four to one—Mr. Justice Long-Innes being the dissenting judge—decided in favour of the applicants and granted the injunction. After some consideration, the Government decided to appeal to the Federal High Court, and, permission to take that course having been granted by the Court, the appeal came on for hearing on the 20th January, 1931, the day to which the New South Wales Parliament had been adjourned over the Christmas holidays. The decision of the High Court is still awaited at the time of writing these lines; but it is probable that, whichever way that decision goes, the parties against whom it is given will carry the matter to the Privy Council.

But this reference has carried us a little too far ahead of our main story. Let us return to 1927, a year which was not to close without an addition being made to the list of notable visitors to Australia which had already distinguished it. In November, Mr. L. S. Amery, then Secretary of State for the Dominions in the Baldwin Government, arrived. He was making a tour of the Empire and he landed in Sydney, after a visit to Victoria and Canberra, on the 5th of November. Considerable interest was manifested in his visit and considerable preparation had been made properly to entertain him; but unfortunately on the day before his arrival, the greatest disaster that had

ever occurred on the waters of the harbour filled every heart with pity and horror and turned what would have been a day of welcome into one of gloom. At half past four o'clock in the afternoon the "Tahiti," a mail steamer of 7,900 tons, steaming down the harbour en route to New Zealand and San Francisco, rammed the little ferry-steamer "Greycliffe" and sank her almost immediately. The "Greycliffe" had a number of passengers on board, and, as a result of the collision, nearly fifty people were drowned and a large number injured. The only fortunate item in the whole tragedy was that it did not occur half an hour later; for then the boat would have been crowded with the home-returning residents of Vacluse, to which harbour suburb the "Greycliffe" was bound. But it was dreadful enough, as it was; and without a precedent in the history of the harbour traffic of Sydney. The *HERALD*, in its leading article of the 4th of November, referred to the disaster in the following terms:

Sydney people, who have seen their harbour traffic growing steadily with the years, have become accustomed to narrow escapes on the busy ferry lanes. They have become accustomed even to remarking that there is bound to be a bad accident some day, but were electrified early yesterday evening with the swift-running news of the disaster near Garden Island. The old Watson's Bay boat, "Greycliffe," was familiar to tens of thousands of daily ferry passengers. She was run down from astern in clear light, according to eye-witnesses, by the ocean mail ship "Tahiti," and foundered almost immediately. . . .

It seems hardly credible that an outward-bound ocean ship going down that reach could ram a ferry steamer travelling in the same direction without either vessel being able to avoid the collision. . . .

Mr. Amery, whose visit followed immediately on top of this tragedy, was entertained in a manner befitting his station. The discussions which he was enabled to hold with the authorities, combined with the good work he had already accomplished in other centres of the continent, were productive of much benefit. In particular they very valuably increased his personal knowledge of the Australian people and their affairs. And that was really the main object of his visit, as the *HERALD*, in its issue of the 5th of November, thus appropriately pointed out:

In the year 1696 was established in England a Board of Trade and Plantations, among the duties of which was the general supervision of the colonies. . . .

During the French Revolutionary War, colonial questions became important in connection with the prosecution of hostilities, and in 1794 a Secretaryship of State for War and Colonies was created, to which in 1801 the colonial functions of the Board of Trade were transferred, and subsequently the portfolios were separated. Since then the post of Secretary for the Colonies has had many incumbents, good, bad, and indifferent. But the most enterprising and conscientious of them would have been shocked at the suggestion that he should make a personal inspection of the regions whose interests were in his keeping. . . .

It was left for Mr. Amery to lay down a new and admirable precedent. We hope that it will be freely followed. . . .

Mr. Amery has told us that his errand is not to teach, but to learn. This attitude illustrates the change in the outlook upon oversea affairs. Not so very long ago the Colonial Office would have been reluctant to admit that it had anything to learn. "The mother country" was infallible. Downing Street may have had rather hazy ideas about the geographical position of this Colony or the other, George the Third's advisors may have been astounded to learn that Cape Breton is an island. But these trifling misapprehensions were of no consequence. They did not detract from the omniscience with which Downing Street credited itself. Nowadays, however, not only the office of which Mr. Amery is chief, but the British Government as a whole, is eager to acquire a thorough acquaintance with the dominions, their problems, their necessities, and their aspirations. Britain takes the dominions into council, not as an empty form or as a meaningless gesture of courtesy, but because she believes that they can render valuable aid in shaping Empire policy, and that the development of the Empire can best be promoted by co-operation.

On the 23rd of February, 1928, the *HERALD*, which had followed his wonderful flight from England with great interest, was able to report the arrival at Darwin, on the previous day, of the Australian aviator, Mr. Albert Hinkler. He had flown alone in a "Baby Avian-Cirrus" machine; and had accomplished the journey in sixteen days, a feat which so easily left all previous time records behind that it was a case of "Eclipse first and the rest nowhere!" The flight excited admiring attention all over the world, and the press and public everywhere united in a chorus of praise. The tribute of *Punch* was probably the happiest of them all. That paper published a cartoon showing Hinkler swooping down upon the Australian coast, and being greeted by a kangaroo with the words: "Hinkle, Hinkle, little star; sixteen days and here you are!" The Commonwealth Government rewarded the aviator with a grant of £2,000; and congratulatory messages poured in from all sides. The *HERALD* paid Hinkler the well-deserved compliment of a leading article, an extract from which runs as follows:

This is an age of aviation; and almost every week sees some new advance in the romantic story of the conquest of the air. But, living as we do even in such an age, and learning each day of the establishment of some new record, the feat which now stands to the credit of "Bert" Hinkler, the Australian, will surely more than hold its own among them all for sheer audacity and skill. . . .

This brilliant achievement would in itself have established, and easily established, a record; but when it is remembered that the aviator was unaccompanied, and that he alone was responsible both for the navigation and the upkeep of his machine, the true remarkableness of the feat becomes apparent. . . .

Magnificent as was this feat of Hinkler's, the year was to witness another of the same kind in which two Australians again played a leading part. This was the flight across the Pacific from San Francisco to Australia which Captain (now Air-Commodore) Charles Kingsford Smith, Lieutenant C. T. P. Ulm and two Americans, Messrs. Lyons and Warner, completed on the 9th of June, in a three-engined Fokker 'plane. The gallant adventurers made the crossing—a total distance of 7,713 miles—in four "hops." The first took them from San Francisco to Honolulu, 2,420 miles, which they accomplished in a little under 28 hours; the second, from Honolulu to Barking Sands, on the island of Kauai, 122 miles away, where they flew in under two hours and re-filled their tanks; the third from Barking Sands to Suva, in Fiji, a distance of 3,290 miles—the longest trans-ocean flight ever accomplished—which took them 34½ hours; and the fourth, from Suva to Brisbane, 1,881 miles, a flight which, owing to their being carried out of their course by a violent storm, took them nearly 22 hours to complete. From Brisbane the now-famous "Southern Cross," with her no less famous crew, flew to Sydney the next day, arriving at the Mascot Aerodrome on the afternoon of Sunday, the 10th of June, thus adding a further 586 miles to the flight, making the total distance flown no less than 8,299 miles.

The plaudits of the world were bestowed upon the gallant crew of the "Southern Cross"; both Kingsford Smith and Ulm were decorated and promoted; and the Government of their country recognised the greatness of the feat by a grant of £5,000. The *HERALD*, in its leading article of the 16th of June, thus commented on the flight and its significance and congratulated the men who had accomplished it:

With the safe arrival of the "Southern Cross" at Brisbane, one of the most wonderful feats of aviation yet accomplished virtually ended; but it was only fitting that it should be continued to Sydney, which is the home town, not only of Captain Kingsford Smith, the organiser and chief pilot of the flight, but of Mr. C. T. P. Ulm, his friend and colleague. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the merit of this great achievement. The mere figures themselves are sufficient to amaze the world. . . .

In the years to come, when feats like this are the commonplace of the age, history will record, and all men will acknowledge, the great effect upon world communication and transport for which these pioneers of trans-Pacific flight were responsible. For they have proved that, with careful organisation and finely applied skill and stout hearts, the widest ocean may be traversed and the fury of its storms outstayed and conquered.

It should be added here that Kingsford Smith's later flights from Australia to New Zealand and back; from Sydney to Perth non-stop and back; from Australia to England in twelve days; across the Atlantic from West to East in June, 1930 (perhaps the most difficult feat of all, as the sad list of fatalities among those who have attempted it has proved); and, finally, his "solo" flight from England to Australia in a single-engined Avro-Avian bi-plane in 10½ days (whereby he shattered the long-standing record of his fellow-Australian, Hinkler) in October, 1930—all these fine adventurings have received the same close attention and the same appropriate congratulation from the *HERALD* as the one which first brought this great Australian aviator so prominently before the public. And the same may also be said of the feats of those other riders of the air, who, though not Australian-born, have gathered almost as much admiring attention in Australia as her native sons—Sir Alan Cobham, the Marquis de Pinedo, Miss Amy Johnson, and the rest; the *HERALD* has in every case followed the accomplishment with descriptive comment and paid to the accomplisher its tribute of praise.

In July, 1928, occurred the death of Sir James Oswald Fairfax—the first of that series of fatalities which was to make the last three years of the decade so tragically sorrowful in the annals of the *HERALD*. The death of Sir James was followed in February, 1929, by that of Mr. W. G. Conley, the General Manager; and on April the 4th, 1930, by that of Mr. Geoffrey E. Fairfax, the last survivor of the third generation of the family as a newspaper man and an active director. On his death Mr. W. O. Fairfax became Managing Director. Mr. Conley's place was filled on the 28th of February, 1929, by the appointment thereto of Mr. Charles T. Harris, the present General Manager. Mr. Harris has been a member of the *HERALD* staff since 1891, and owns the distinction of being the first occupant of the General Manager's chair to have been entirely trained in the *HERALD* office. Born in Kent, in 1874, and educated at Manchester, Mr. Harris came to Australia in 1891 and, a few months after his arrival, joined the *HERALD* staff. He was employed at first in the business department, and thence passed to the computing branch, of which he was eventually placed in charge. In this capacity he became closely associated with the then General Manager, Mr. Samuel Cook, and with his successor, Mr. Conley. In 1912 the latter, having aptly gauged Mr. Harris's capabilities, and realising the need of a lieutenant, selected Mr. Harris as his confidential secretary, and the appointment led to a constantly increasing responsibility being laid upon the shoulders of the latter. With such success did Mr. Harris carry the burden that he was a little later on appointed Assistant General Manager. In the circumstances it was only appropriate that, on the death of Mr. Conley, his assistant should be promoted to the position held by that gentleman. Mr. Harris was for many years the Secretary of the Sydney Daily Newspapers Employers' Association, and almost from its inception until 1929 he was Honorary Secretary of the Australian Section of the Empire Press Union. He resigned the post on his appointment as General Manager of the *HERALD*. The fine success of his labours as Honorary Organising Secretary of the Third Imperial Press Conference in 1925 has already been referred to.

The latter half of this year (1928) was rendered noteworthy by two events of great interest, not only to Australia, but to the world at large, which happened in New South Wales. And in both of them the *HERALD* played a more than usually conspicuous part. The first was the holding of a Prohibition Referendum in the State of New South

Wales, and also in the Federal Territory of Canberra (where for some time the principle of Prohibition had been in force); the second was the great Eucharistic Congress which the Roman Catholic Church had arranged to be held in Sydney in September. The Prohibition Campaign was conducted with the greatest energy on both sides, and with no little heat. The *HERALD*, consistent in its advocacy of temperance and reform, opposed the application of prohibition with every ounce of its strength and every argument in its armoury. It poured forth leader after leader on the subject; it published a series of special articles pointing out the evils of the system in the United States and its apparent inefficacy there; and it threw the whole of its weight into the cause of the "Noes." As a result, it incurred a considerable amount of obloquy from a section which usually had supported it—namely, the Churches. Not all churchmen, of course, were in favour of prohibition; and certainly the majority of them, even of those who advocated prohibition as the only possible cure for the all-acknowledged evils of drunkenness, appreciated the sincerity and the consistency of the *HERALD*. But a section of the prohibition party could, and did, speak out and often in their anger at the attitude of the paper. They did not, indeed, hesitate at times, even to suggest that reasons other than sincere were behind its action and that it had besmirched its great traditions. How far from the truth these insinuations were, and how consistent the policy of the *HERALD* has been in fact throughout the years, may be gathered from a perusal of two articles which the paper published on the 6th and 8th July, 1841. The occasion for the articles was the endeavour of the local Total Abstinence Society to prevent by petition to the Legislative Council of the day not only the consumption, but also the manufacture and importation of "fermented and spirituous liquors." Thus, then, the writer of the articles in question:

Zeal, untempered by discretion, runs riot and degenerates into crazy fanaticism. . . . Of the Temperance cause we have ever been the strenuous advocates, convinced as we are that it is the cause of humanity and the cause of patriotism. . . . For no light cause, therefore, would we take up the pen to censure its organised supporters; under no ordinary circumstances would we permit our journal to lend its influence, even for a moment, to their avowed antagonists. But when we see the official advocates of Temperance departing so widely from their own principles as to become its practical and most mischievous enemies, we must not hesitate to expose their conduct. . . . We surely need not stop to prove the impossibility of legal prohibition. To all but such purblind fanatics as these petitioners it is as plain as a self-evident proposition can be that, so long as the vast majority of the people are wedded to any particular article of daily consumption, the legislature can no more stop the supply of that article than it can stop the people from shutting their eyes when sleepy. . . . While men retain the appetite they *will* have the means of its gratification; and no legislators but those immured within the walls of Bedlam would ever dream of combating, by direct physical force, this passion of free and intelligent men. . . . Government is intended to protect the interests of the community, not by wresting from the subject his free agency . . . but by punishing the wrongdoer when the wrong has been done and thereby deterring others from a similar delinquency. It prohibits murder; but it does not therefore make it penal to make or sell daggers, pistols or gunpowder. It prohibits arson, but it does not therefore prohibit the use of fires or enforce the ancient law of curfew. . . . In like manner the law prohibits drunkenness; but it neither does, nor could, nor should, prohibit the drinking of wines, spirits and malt liquors . . . and in this distinction between freedom to *do* and responsibility for doing *wrong* lies the very essence of civil liberty. . . .

Under the unhappy influence of bad counsels the Total Abstinence Society is becoming the hot-bed of political strife and dissension. . . . Its heaven-dictated motto, "Peace on earth; goodwill towards men," is marred by the apocryphal interpolation. "Water-drinking on earth, or bonds, imprisonment and death to men." . . . It is ceasing to deal with man as an intelligent and free agent—and beginning to treat him as a truckling slave. . . .

The paper's reason for opposing Prohibition in 1928 can be gleaned from a brief quotation from an article which appeared in the issue of the 1st of September, the day

upon which the referendum was to be taken. After considering the question of the expense which prohibition would entail upon the State, the writer thus went on:

After all, the question is reform. The referendum campaign has already emphasised the need for reform. Reform will be insisted upon, and the HERALD's traditional attitude on the side of temperance will guarantee its support of reform.

But prohibition is not reform. It is chaos. It breeds dissension between neighbours and in families. It cuts the community into embittered sections. It is as bad as any sectarian strife, and there are no two opinions among the majority of the public about the indecency of that sort of strife.

Prohibition will not abolish drink. It has never abolished drink yet. It opens the door to illicit manufacture of drink. And the attempted strict enforcement of compulsory abstinence, against possession of liquor in the home, will lead to the greatest infringement of individual freedom.

The referendum was held on the 1st September, 1928, and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the anti-prohibitionists. Eighty-eight out of the ninety electorates in the State voted "No," and in Canberra the defeat of the prohibition party was even more decisive than in the State. The HERALD, in its leading article of the 3rd of September, thus commented on the result and its significance:

In New South Wales Saturday's vote defeated prohibition by a proportion which represents five people in every seven. The industrial constituencies of Sydney were especially emphatic in rejecting it; and their vote may be taken as resentment against the attempt of the prohibitionists to deprive the working man of the only club where, generally, he can meet his fellows and offer hospitality. . . .

If the prohibitionists to-day, surveying the wreck of their campaign, ask in bewilderment why the ordinary labouring man has spurned them, they will probably find the answer in just that regard for "the poor man's club." The public inn is an English institution, and the social custom it represents is one of the oldest in the history of our race. That reforms are required in the regulation of its trade is admitted, and control under State license itself implies the need for watchfulness, but the HERALD has insisted that abolition, so far from bringing reform, would arouse widespread resentment and unrest, and the labouring population of this city, and of the State beyond it, has endorsed that view beyond all misunderstanding. . . .

The Eucharistic Congress was held in September, 1928; it lasted a week, and the colour, the pomp and religious enthusiasm displayed during that week provided the city with one of the most effective spectacles that it had ever witnessed. The HERALD made great preparations to "cover" every phase of the Congress; and that it succeeded an inspection of the files would certainly prove, even if the evidence of a thousand witnesses were not available. Every one of the great ceremonies was fully reported and finely illustrated; and the issues of the paper for the week during which the Congress was in session provide a complete and colourful picture of the whole event.

But the one thing above all others by which the HERALD's association with the Congress will be best remembered is the attitude of toleration which it assumed towards a festival and a creed from which its own ideas and the beliefs of its proprietors were wholly alien. A good deal of fanatical but mischievous nonsense had been uttered by a number of people—some of them holding positions of considerable responsibility in the city—the trend of which was that the proposed public processions would be an insult to a Protestant community; and even that the Congress itself should not be permitted to be held. Fortunately the authorities had no time to listen to such futilities; and, indeed, Mr. Bavin, the Premier—himself a Protestant and the son of a Wesleyan clergyman—very wisely accepting an invitation to address the Congress from the pulpit of St. Mary's Cathedral, delivered himself of an address there which for its eloquence and toleration rightly commanded the general approval of the community. But it was the HERALD which, both at the beginning of the Conference and at its close, struck the note

of toleration at its best and happiest. In the issue of the 1st of September the leading article on the subject, referring to the completion of St. Mary's, was written in these terms:

To all the Roman Catholics of Australia, the crowning of this great work must surely be a matter of the most sincere rejoicing and of justifiable pride; to Archbishop Kelly, in particular, the aged prelate who has laboured so unceasingly and so devotedly in the great cause of the cathedral's completion, it may well bring thoughts that are too deep for tears. When, to-morrow, he attends that solemn service, and sees his hopes fulfilled and the cause for which he has worked so long brought to splendid fruition, he will well deserve the reverent and heart-moving reward that will be his. And to every citizen of the State and the Commonwealth, whether he be a member of the Roman Catholic faith or not, the completion of the cathedral must be a matter for congratulation, too; for it adds a grandeur to our architecture and a glory to our nation's name. . . .

The Roman Catholic Church, by reason of its wonderful traditions and its immense importance in our history, must command the respect and the admiration of even its most bigoted opponents. . . .

Again, in the issue of the 10th, the paper thus commented editorially on the functions of the week just closed and on the general significance of the Congress:

The eight-day period that ended last night has been a memorable one for Sydney. Never before has a religious celebration of such magnitude been held in Australia. Never before have the representatives of so many countries assembled here on the one errand. Never have so many eminent divines been in our midst. And those who are not members of the Roman Catholic Church deem it a privilege to offer their felicitations to the gathering. They appreciate the honour that has been conferred upon Sydney in making it the scene of a Eucharistic Congress, a distinction enjoyed by few cities. They cannot but be impressed by the devotion of the scores of thousands who have come to Sydney for this solemn occasion. . . .

There can be no question as to the sincerity of Sydney's greetings. It is the first time on record, we imagine, that a Protestant has spoken in St. Mary's Cathedral. Our visitors have been welcomed from Protestant pulpits, and this is as it should be. Men may feel strongly and disagree profoundly on matters of doctrine, but simply because they do so they must concede the right to others to cherish their own beliefs. We live in a spacious land in which there should be no place for narrow-mindedness and bigotry. . . .

In the year 1928 it had become clearly evident that, unless some effective means of reorganising the coal industry of New South Wales (or at least that portion of it represented by the northern collieries) were instituted, it could not carry on. While local demand was fairly well sustained, the enormous advance in the cost of production had made it impossible for the mine-owners to sell their products overseas, or even to the other States, at a rate which would compete with outside suppliers. The overseas trade, indeed, had shrunk alarmingly, and both Victoria and South Australia were threatening to abandon the New South Wales market; while the actual figures showed that during the last three years the production of coal in New South Wales had decreased by 1,700,000 tons per annum. Even if the industry had kept at the highest pitch of efficiency at this time it would have found it difficult to hold its market against the changed economic conditions of the outside world. But with the constant strikes and other exhibitions of industrial unrest, and the general rise in all costs within Australia, added to the burden, the handicap had become altogether too much. The facts being brought to the notice of Mr. Bavin he formulated, towards the end of 1928, a scheme for the reorganisation of the industry, based mainly upon the following conditions:

(a) A reduction in price sufficient in magnitude to check the diminution in external trade and to stimulate consumption within the State.

(b) A full investigation into the industry with a view of promoting essential reforms and regularisation of supply and to ensure that the price reduction actually reached the consumer.

(c) A reduction by 4/- per ton in the selling price of coal sold at Newcastle, with an additional reduction of 1/- per ton in the price of coal sold overseas or inter-State—the latter reduction to be effected by a bounty from the Federal Government.

(d) The State Government to bear the cost of remitting 2/- per ton.

(e) The colliery proprietors to bear the cost of remitting 1/- per ton.

(f) The employees to contribute sufficient by a periodical reduction in their earnings to cover the cost of 1/- per ton.

These terms were agreed to by the owners and the Federal and State Governments; but they were rejected by the Miners' Federation and the allied Unions, which refused in any circumstances to consider a reduction in wages. Constant negotiations and constant strikes produced no better results, and by the beginning of January, 1929, the associated owners of the northern collieries, finding it impossible to carry on any further, decided to close down their mines. Early in February this decision was carried into effect and 12,000 men lost their employment.

Threats of a general strike were almost immediately made, and though they never materialised into action, a constant series of minor strikes kept the industries of the State in a condition of irritation. The unions argued that the closing down of the pits was not the result of their action, but was a lock-out on the part of the owners, and in April the Federal Government decided to prosecute one of the owners for having in this way violated the provisions of the Arbitration Court. But a Round Table Conference being arranged shortly after the prosecution had been launched, Mr. Bruce decided to withdraw the charge in order that proceedings might not interfere with a prospect of settlement. This withdrawal inflamed the miners, who declared that it provided further evidence of the Government's tenderness towards the owners. As a result the conference came to naught, the representatives of the miners refusing to accept any terms save the re-opening of the mines on the old rates and conditions. A Royal Commission was then appointed to report upon the whole matter, and after hearing evidence it produced an interim report of no particular value, reserving its final report for a later date. The Federal Elections coming on about this time, the Unions decided to maintain their attitude of hostility in the hope that a Labour victory at the poll would result in a victory for themselves as well. In fact, it was the promise of Mr. Theodore, one of the leading Federal Labour politicians, that if the party were returned to power "the mines would be opened in a fortnight," that largely helped towards Mr. Bruce's defeat. But the new Labour Government found it impossible to carry out its promises, and the position went from bad to worse. In November, 1929, Mr. Bavin's renewed offer of a settlement on the original terms was again rejected, and he then announced that his Government would take over and work a number of the mines with voluntary labour. A few days later, however, a conference between the owners and representatives of the miners agreed upon a compromise, whereby the miners would accept a reduction of 9d. per ton and the employers would reduce the price by 1/- per ton, provided, of course, the Governments would keep their share of the agreement as originally made. This agreement was subject to the approval of the two Governments concerned, of the Owners' Association, and of the various Unions represented at the conference. The Governments agreed and the Owners agreed, but when the matter was submitted to a vote of the Unions, the militants managed to induce a majority of the members to refuse. Matters, therefore, became as bad as before, and on December 13th Mr. Bavin carried out his decision. The Government took over the Rothbury Mine, in the northern coalfields district; and, having obtained sufficient volunteers, proceeded to work it. Violent outbreaks occurred almost at once, and in a struggle between the out-of-work unionists and the police sent to protect the free labourers, one of the former

was killed by a revolver shot fired—so the miners said—by the police. This allegation was hotly denied, and at the subsequent inquest an open verdict was returned. But the incident made an ugly situation all the uglier, and for many weeks the Rothbury Mine and the northern colliery district generally were aflame. Although many disturbances occurred, however, the organisation of the police was remarkably efficient, and there was fortunately no further loss of life.

A further conference, held in March, 1930, was no more successful than its predecessors, and on the last day of that month the Royal Commission's reserved report was made public. It recommended the appointment of a Coal Board with powers (*inter alia*) to issue licenses to mine coal, to fix wages and conditions of the industry, to license coal-miners, to fix the selling price of coal, to eliminate uneconomic mines and, generally, to take complete control of the industry. The HERALD commented upon the report as follows:

Owners will see in it confirmation of their allegations about the causeless selfishness of the miners in their political attacks upon the prosperity of the industry and about the need for reducing production costs. The miners will see in it justification for their demands that the capital assets should be revalued and profits fixed. The public will see in it convincing evidence that the costs of the product are fantastically too high and that the amplest measures should be taken to preserve a key industry and a leading public utility.

It is significant to note that as these lines are being written the Lang Government has announced its intention of appointing such a board as the Commission recommended; and it will be a matter of intense interest to all Australians to witness the result of its labours.

It only remains to add that for some weeks after the publication of the Commission's report the trouble in the northern coalfields continued unabated, but towards the end of May wiser counsels—and probably the belief that the men were longing for re-employment—at length prevailed, and the Unions agreed to a settlement upon the terms of the compromise agreement which had been reached by the owners and the representatives of the industry in November. Some of the more militant miners still desired to hold out, but a vote which was taken throughout the Federation was so largely in favour of returning to work that a rush for the available positions at once set in. By the middle of June the HERALD was able to announce that the majority of the mines were again at work, and that the volunteers were being withdrawn from the Rothbury Mine. Employment was found for these free labourers elsewhere, but it is regrettable to have to add that one of the first acts of the Lang Government, on coming into power a few months later, was to hunt out these men and dismiss them from the employment that had been found for them.

On the first of June, 1929, the HERALD, to put it in non-technical terms, appeared in a new suit. The old light Roman type which it had worn for so many years was laid aside and the whole paper was printed in Ionic. The difficulties of such a complete "change-over" must be evident, even to the layman. But they were successfully overcome, and the result was a notable improvement in the appearance of the journal, while the gain in clarity was the subject of general comment.

On the tenth of the same month the HERALD was moved to comment editorially on the inauguration of an air-mail service between Adelaide and Perth, an innovation which speeded up the transit of mails between the Western and Eastern States—as the opening of the trans-Continental railway had done in 1907—by several days. Another HERALD innovation of this year was the appearance in its columns of the first picture-grams. This event occurred on the 10th of September, and the subjects of the illustrations were a portrait of the Director of Posts and Telegraphs, a photograph of an opera-

tor placing a print in the cylinder of the transmitting machine, and a picture of a heavy snow-fall near Melbourne. All three had been transmitted to the HERALD from the Victorian capital the previous afternoon. Lodged for the purpose at the sending office in Melbourne at eighteen minutes past six, the picturegrams were received at the HERALD office at a quarter to eight. An article descriptive of the process also appeared in the columns of the paper.

The vexatious problem of Industrial Arbitration provided the pivotal theme of the Federal General Elections of 1929; and the course of events which culminated on the 11th of September in the defeat of the Bruce Government throws a curious and somewhat sinister sidelight upon Australian politics. As we know, the exploitation of the various Arbitration Acts by the Labour Unions had been for years very largely based upon the opportunities provided by the overlapping of the Federal and State awards. How bad affairs had become, even by 1924, we have already shown, but the following extract from the HERALD's leading article of the 17th June of that year may well be quoted as very definitely setting out the paper's point of view. It was written on the occasion of the holding of a conference between the representatives of the employers and the various industrial organisations for the ostensible purpose of discussing, and, if possible, suggesting a remedy for the evil. After stating that action of some kind must be taken at an early stage by the Federal Government, on whose shoulders the responsibility for the continuance of the scandalous position of affairs clearly rested, the article continued thus:

We do not discuss now the judicial decisions which assume that the Constitution does give the Commonwealth the powers that its Courts are exercising. But we do challenge the wisdom of the policy which throws upon those Courts the onus of entertaining or rejecting claims presented to them for hearing, whether or not those claims relate to inter-State disputes of the nature originally contemplated. If an industry already has its affairs fairly regulated by a State Court, it is highly improper that it should be competent for strifemongers to seek for more liberal regulation by the Federal Court. . . . Reform is a matter of urgency. A few months ago the Central Council of Employers of Australia pointed out that the overlapping of awards, either wholly or in part, extended to over sixty industries. As a consequence, there was "unceasing litigation, recurring turmoil, and baffling uncertainty." Temptation was offered, it was pointed out, to the restless elements in the community to treat the Federal and State Courts as "rival shops" which they were entitled to play off against each other. It is to discuss this scandalous position of affairs that to-day's conference has been convened.

It is almost unnecessary to add that the total results of the conference were practically negligible; since, however greatly the employers might desire a change, the industrial representatives were, in their own words "on too good a thing" to agree to any alteration of it.

The exploitation of the position, indeed, increased to such an extent that early in 1929 Mr. Bruce, the Prime Minister, decided that it was imperative to cut the Gordian knot, if it were politically possible to do so. There were only two methods by which this major operation could be performed. The one was for the States to abandon the field of arbitration altogether to the Commonwealth (except, perhaps, in respect to those few industries which could not by any ingenuity be brought within the ambit of the Federal jurisdiction); the other was for the Commonwealth to abandon it to the States in the same way. The Commonwealth Government was loth to adopt the latter course; the States were even more determined against the former. Indeed, a referendum submitted by Mr. Bruce to the people, asking that the Federal Government should be granted an extension of its powers in this direction, had been decisively turned down shortly after the elections of 1925. Moreover, at a conference of the State Premiers in February, 1929, they had considered the whole question; had, with one accord, refused

to permit their "sovereign rights" to be curtailed in the way suggested; and had equally unanimously come to the conclusion that the Commonwealth Government should do what they themselves refused to do. In May, 1929, then (with about half the Parliamentary term still unexpired), the Prime Minister crossed the Rubicon and burned his boats. He invited the State Premiers to a further conference at Canberra, and announced to them his decision to abandon the field of arbitration—with the exception of that small area of it represented by the maritime industries—to the States. The Premiers were naturally pleased at the announcement; and the *HERALD* in an article (29th May, 1929) which chronicled the gradual debasement of the arbitration principle at the hands of the unions, approved the decision as the only way to preserve Australian industries from the chaos into which they were rapidly being driven. It said:

The intrusion of politics into industry is economically a curse, and the Federal compulsory arbitration system, which makes of the parties in industry everlasting litigants, also threw the door for that intrusion wide open. The worst things anticipated for it have long since come true. It is bad enough for industries to have to carry on, as some have contrived to do, with dozens of awards affecting their various employees, but when some of these are Federal and some State awards, the confusion is farcical. The Federal Court has been granted sovereignty in the States' undoubted domain, so that some States have practically lost control of their railway finances. Federal interference with the coal industry has so piled up the cost of essential industrial fuel that many industries face strangulation. Prices of commodities are so high that an overtaxed public simply cannot buy. Wool is to-day the only Australian primary export which does not rely upon one form or another of Government assistance. The speech by the Prime Minister to the conference in Canberra yesterday is an unimpassioned statement of the truth of the economic position throughout the Commonwealth. His review of the general situation was unanimously endorsed, and the proposal with which he concluded his diagnosis of the trouble was received with outright approval by every State leader. Mr. Bruce's proposal was that the Federal Ministry would ask Parliament to repeal the Federal arbitration legislation, save for the retaining of Commonwealth jurisdiction over shipping and waterside labour. The change proposed is momentous and drastic, and on that account there may be many at first sight inclined to hesitate. But such hesitation cannot withstand a study of the 25 years' history of Federal industrial legislation, raked as Bills in Parliament with every evil insinuation, and latterly so flagrantly defied by the unions as to become utterly useless. Mr. Bruce's part yesterday was but to bury Federal arbitration; the Labour Party had already killed it.

The Labour organisations throughout the whole Commonwealth were up in arms at once. Strongly as they might curse industrial arbitration and all its ways before the public, they were well aware of the immense advantages they had been able to gain by the exploitation of it to which we have referred, and they were determined that they would not lose those advantages without a desperate struggle. But they would not have been able to carry the day if it had not been for the dramatic intervention of Mr. Hughes. When Mr. Bruce brought in a measure to carry his decision into effect, that irrepressible politician, who had been for some years the Nationalist member for North Sydney (and, as such, generally regarded as a staunch, though candid, supporter of the Bruce Government), announced his intention of opposing it. His real reasons for this decision (for he had on more than one occasion spoken bitterly of the very evil that the measure was intended to remove) were, of course, best known to himself; but to a very large section of the public—and to the *HERALD*—it appeared that they were, partly, his personal feeling against Mr. Bruce, partly that he had never forgiven the Nationalist Party for having accepted and made fruitful a leadership other than his own. But, whatever his reasons were, his emphatic opposition to the measure was sufficiently eloquent to gain the support of at least two other members of the Nationalist Party in the House of Representatives. He then proposed an amendment to the Bill which Mr. Bruce declared was of so destructive a nature that, if carried, it would be equivalent to

a Government defeat and would entail the resignation of the Ministry. However, with the aid of the direct Labour Opposition, a few "Independents" and his two converts, Mr. Hughes carried his amendment, and Mr. Bruce at once resigned. During the debates on the original Bill and Mr. Hughes's amendment, the *HERALD* had expressed itself unequivocally in favour of the former; and equally frankly upon the demerits of the latter and the motives of its mover. On the 6th of September, for instance, its leading article ran thus:

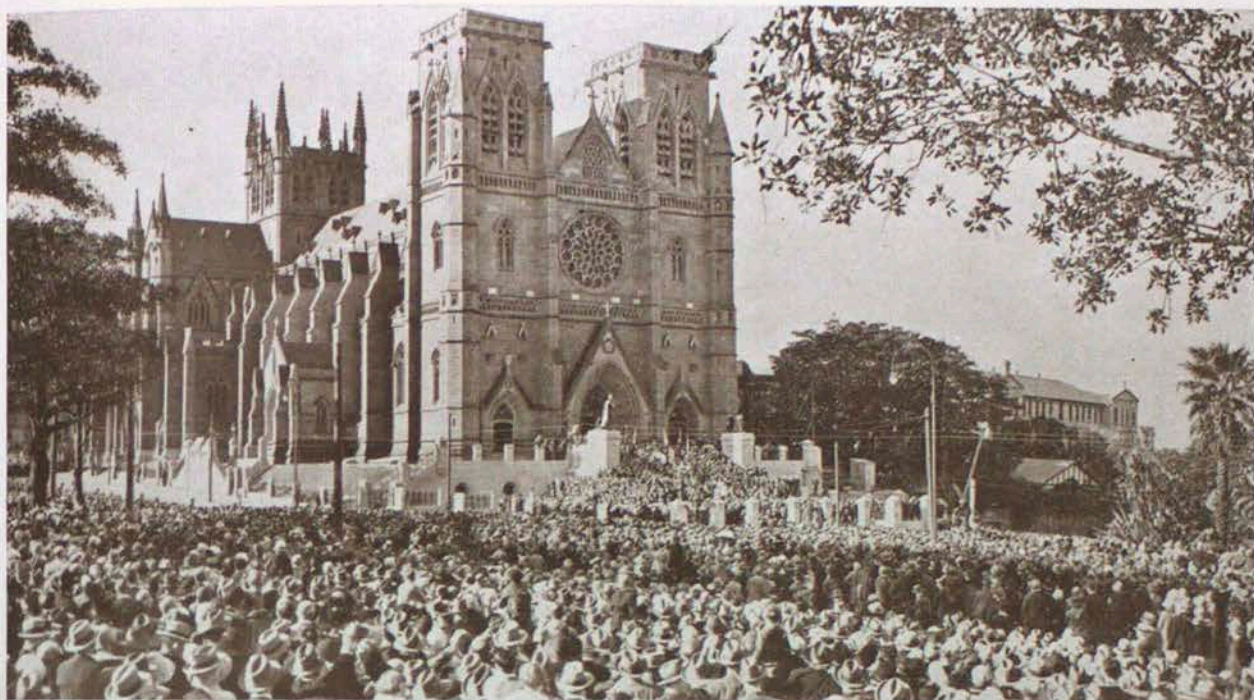
When an experiment has failed after the most exhaustive and patient efforts to make it succeed, and when to pursue it involves grave menace to the vital principles of representative government, retreat is not only excusable but obligatory. Some of the weaker trade unions which have obtained Federal awards may be placed at a disadvantage, but since they, too, have refused to play the game by the arbitration experiment they must blame only themselves. Within trade union circles there has been no corrective influence for the disloyal violence of those strong, militant organisations which have refused to accept the awards and orders of the Court when they were regarded as disadvantageous. The tacit if not the overt policy of the whole of them has been to accept all the advantages that arbitration could confer, but shoulder no obligations when it was thought that by direct action they might be avoided. Trade unionism has sown the wind in its treatment of Federal arbitration, and is now reaping the inevitable whirlwind.

Again, on the 9th of September, the paper spoke its mind in these terms:

Mr. Hughes is no longer simply independent and asserting a right to vote against the party himself. He is actively working with the Labour Party to win, by such arts as his position and experience afford him, all the Ministerialists he can persuade to desert their parties and bring the Government down.

Desperate efforts were made by the new "Australian Party"—as Mr. Hughes had named the little band of three or four who now regarded him as their leader—to induce the Labour Party to support a Hughes Government, if, as that gentleman seemed to believe was probable, the Governor-General should send for him, as the mover of the amendment which had caused the crisis, to form a Ministry. But these efforts failed, and on the 13th instant Mr. Bruce was able to announce that Lord Stonehaven had granted him a dissolution.

The campaign which followed the dissolution was as brief as it was virulent. Mr. Hughes and the members of his new party, although claiming to have no affinity with it, were actually united with the regular Labour Opposition in a mutual effort to destroy the Government. Mr. Scullin and Mr. Theodore, the Labour leaders, believed that their turn had come to gain the reins of power; Mr. Hughes, though he could not believe that he would obtain a majority of the House, probably thought that his new party would be returned with sufficient strength to enable him to hold the balance of power between direct Labour and direct Nationalism. And with these aims in view the united attack was made with vigour and hope, all parties to it recognising that it was to that section of the community which, being neither very bigoted nor very wise, is easily stampeded—the "silent vote"—as it often is called—and which so often swings the victory in an election, that the main appeal should be made. This section was accordingly told, day in, day out, from every platform and poster, that the Government's proposals regarding Arbitration meant nothing less than the abandonment of the whole principle of arbitration "which we have won for you with agony and tears"; and, with it, the "basic wage" and every other of the many privileges which the arbitration courts and boards, by mountainous labour, had produced. This statement was, of course, a deliberate perversion of the facts, Mr. Bruce's proposal being merely to reserve the handling of all such matters to one set of authorities, and not to leave them, as they were at present, to the varying and often contradictory judgments of two. Unfortunately, he could not persuade the wage-earners to believe this; they were



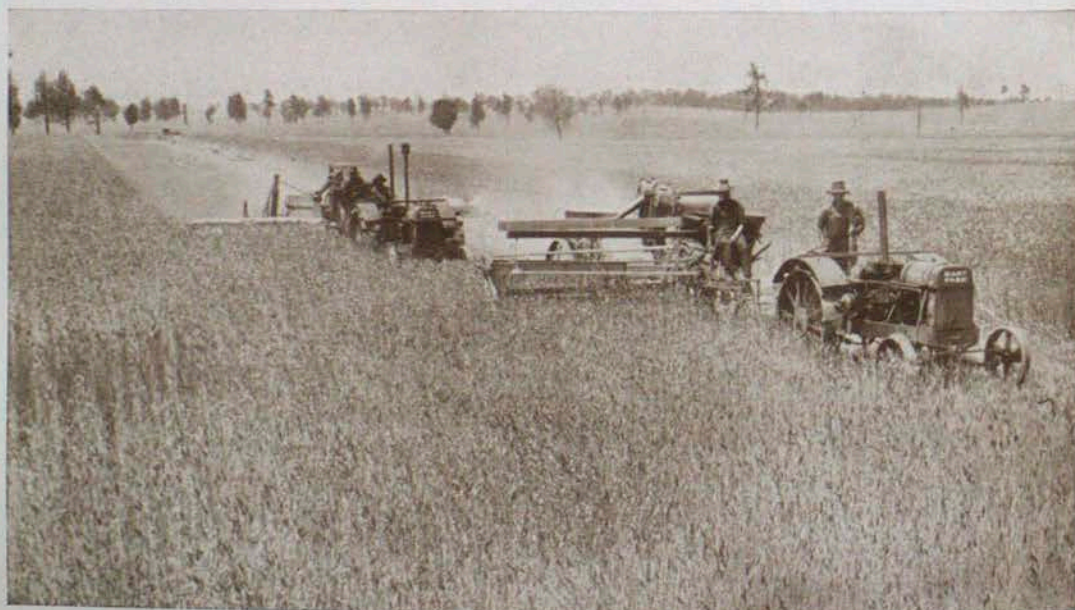
A section of the vast crowds that attended the ceremonies at St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, during the Eucharistic Congress in September, 1928. The gatherings were marked by enthusiastic and picturesque scenes.



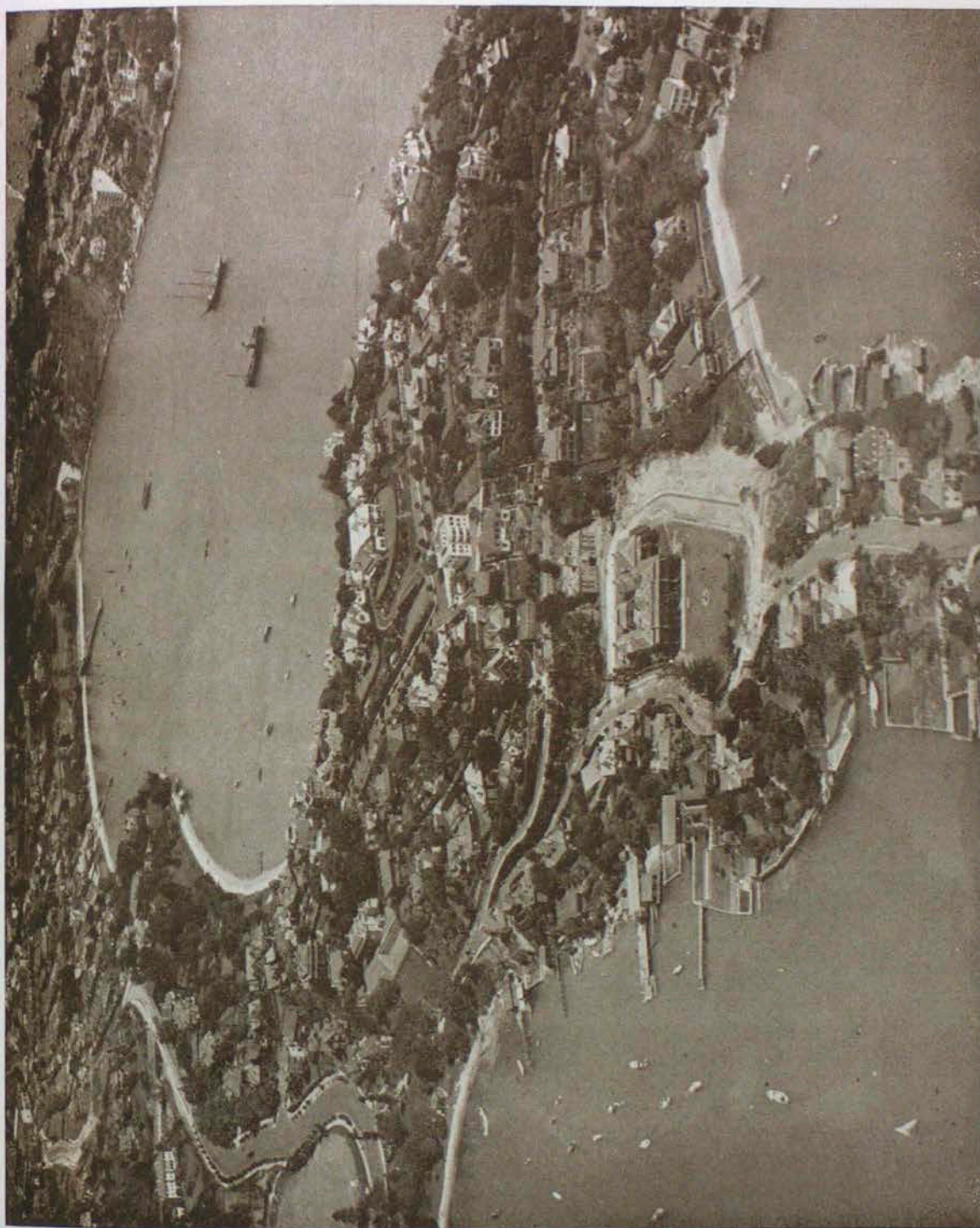
A happy snapshot of the late Sir James Oswald Fairfax, Chairman of the Australian Section of the Empire Press Union (on the left), and Viscount Burnham (President), on the occasion of the Imperial Press Conference in Australia in 1925.



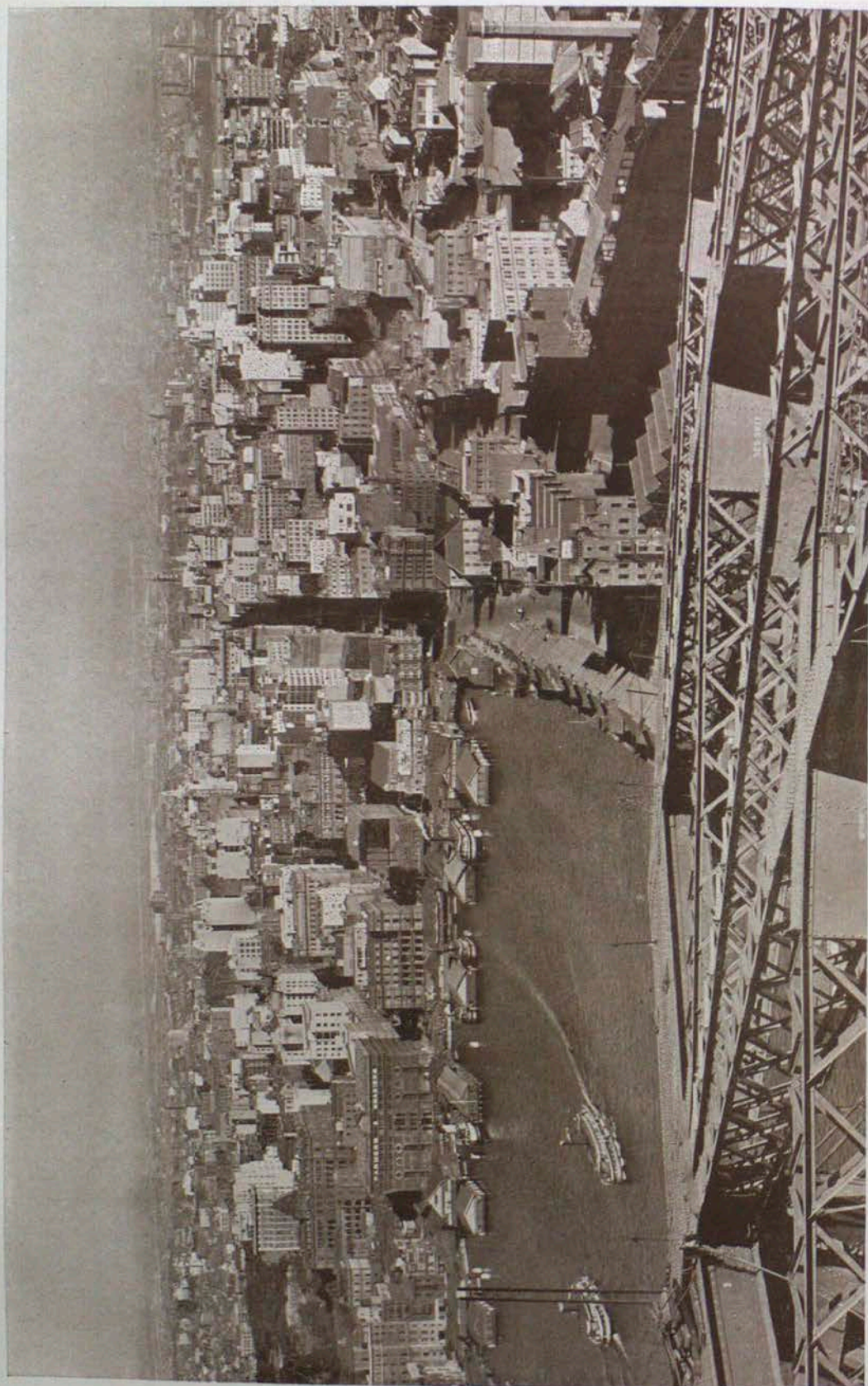
Fruit picking and packing at Leeton, one of the irrigation areas in Southern New South Wales. These areas have provided homes and reasonable prosperity for a large number of settlers.



Harvesting in New South Wales, showing the reaping machines drawn by tractors. Horse-drawn machines are still in use in most of the farming districts.



This fine aerial view from the Sydney Mail is typical of the beauty of Sydney Harbour. In the right-hand top corner is Rushcutters Bay and portion of Darling Point, and the large inlet is Double Bay. Portion of Point Piper is on the right centre, and old Woolahra House, since demolished, is in the centre foreground, with Rose Bay on the left.



Sydney (August 21, 1930) as seen from the top of the arch of the Harbour Bridge. Circular Quay and the ferry wharves are on the left; Pitt Street is shown in the centre. The view stretches away to the south, and in the far distance on the left is the suggestion of Cook's River winding its way into Botany Bay.

alarmed unnecessarily at the suggestion that their privileges were to be tampered with; and their unreason and their unbelief were as recklessly exploited by his Labour opponents as they had formerly recklessly exploited the arbitration principle itself. Several other matters helped to fight the battles of the opposition. In the first place, Mr. Bruce proposed to raise considerable revenue by imposing a tax upon the gross takings of the big cinema interests (the great majority of them American) which operated in Australia. This project at once brought against him the wrath of these powerful institutions; and the alliance already in existence received into its ranks a third and very wealthy member. The cry was raised that the Government intended to "tax the poor man's theatre"; although such intention had been specifically denied by Mr. Bruce, and his denial substantiated by the very method he had evolved of raising the tax. He had also to contend against the fact that a disastrous stoppage of work had occurred in the New South Wales mines some months before, and its usual accompaniments of distress and bitter hatred were still raging there; that great feeling had been roused against the Nationalist Government of that State in consequence, and that that feeling was naturally deflected against the Nationalist Government of the Commonwealth. This particular section of the opposition was, moreover, very cleverly manipulated by the Labour leaders, who promised, if they were returned, a removal of all the grievances complained of by the miners and the re-opening of the mines within a fortnight. There was also the inevitable "swing of the pendulum" to be reckoned with. The Nationalists had been in power too long not to recognise that their hour must soon strike. The combination of all these forces was a powerful force indeed, and was so recognised generally. But no one was prepared for the veritable debacle that it was to effect upon the fortunes of the Nationalist Party.

October the 19th was polling day, and it was indeed a black day for the supporters of Mr. Bruce and the things his Government stood for. When the final returns were in, it was found that, not only was the Government defeated, but that two members of Mr. Bruce's former Cabinet had bitten the dust, and, most surprising result of all, he himself, whose seat had been deemed impregnable, had been beaten by a Labour opponent who, almost at the last hour and as a forlorn hope, had been nominated for the seat.

Mr. Bruce had well deserved a better fate. During his long term as National leader, he had placed much good legislation on the Statute Book and had worked hard to combat the disruptive elements that sought to wreck the ship. Particular mention should be made of the formation, under his guidance, of the Loan Council, a body on which, not only the Commonwealth, but all the States, are represented and into whose hands all arrangements for the borrowing of money and for its subsequent allocation are entrusted. By this means the whole security of the Commonwealth is behind every State loan (which indeed becomes, for all outside purposes, a Commonwealth loan), and the gain in security and facility of working are immensely increased thereby.

An even more important measure which was due to Mr. Bruce's Government was the Financial Agreement Act of 1928, whereby the old problem of finance, whose difficulties had so nearly prevented the accomplishment of Federation and had been the cause of so much friction ever since that accomplishment had been effected was solved and the position of the various States, both *inter se* and in respect to the Commonwealth, was placed upon a clear and workable footing. The Act was the outcome of negotiations which had been carried on for some years. After its provisions had been agreed upon in 1927 by the Federal and State Governments, they were ratified by a referendum of the Commonwealth electors in November, 1928, and thereafter incor-

porated in the Constitution. The provisions of the Financial Agreement Act were, briefly, that the Commonwealth should take over on 1st July, 1929, the unpaid balance of the public debt of each State and should contribute a sum amounting to a little over seven and a half millions per annum for fifty-eight years thereafter towards the interest charges thereon; that the Commonwealth should contribute 2/6 per cent. and the States 5/- per cent. per annum, into a sinking fund to extinguish the existing debts in fifty-eight years; that future debts should be extinguished in fifty-three years from their respective dates of issue by the establishment of a sinking fund to which the Commonwealth and the States should each contribute 5/- per cent. per annum; and that all future borrowing should be arranged by the Commonwealth according to decisions of the Loan Council.

It stood further to the credit of Mr. Bruce that he had greatly restored the Royal Australian Navy, which since the war had become of almost negligible strength. He had arranged for the building in Great Britain of two fine cruisers—the new “Australia” and the “Canberra,” sister-ships of the very highest efficiency and of the maximum 10,000-ton type permitted by the Washington Conference—and two submarines; and in Australia (at the Cockatoo Island docks, Sydney) of the seaplane carrier “Albatross.” To his exertions in the industrial field and in opposing the Communistic forces arrayed against him we have already referred at length; but it was, as we have also seen, these very exertions which were now responsible for his overthrow.

The *HERALD* of October 14th commented upon the result as follows:

Labour's utmost hopes were realised at the polls on Saturday, and the Ministerial parties suffered a debacle. . . .

The “swing to Labour” has at last happened. It was sooner or later bound to come, for no one party can remain forever in power, and the Bruce-Page Government has held office for nearly seven years. . . .

It is nearly thirteen years since a Labor Ministry sat on the Federal Treasury benches, and never before has Labour been so emphatically approved at an appeal for the popular confidence. That verdict is remarkable not only in the vote for the Labour Party itself, but also in the huge majorities accorded to those Nationalist members who, in this State and Victoria, rebelled against the Government, and the Party, and fought the Government's policy in the electorates as strenuously as outright Labour men. . . .

For one matter, the defeated Ministerialists, and the whole country, may be supremely grateful. There will be no chance for those rebels from the late Ministerial parties to hold a balance of power. The Government of Australia, of whatever party, will be the better for not having to depend on their whims in a vital division. They will not dictate any policy, and the country will not be dependent upon their construction of their independence. Labour has used them to get what it wanted, and can now fling them aside.

On the 23rd of October the paper was able to publish the personnel of the new Labour Cabinet which, with Mr. Scullin as Prime Minister, had been chosen by ballot of the caucus. And in the same issue it editorially welcomed the new Ministers—somewhat wryly, perhaps, but nevertheless with a characteristic willingness to give them a fair opportunity to prove their mettle. Thus runs the article in question:

Mr. Scullin will take over office to-day. His colleagues, elected yesterday by the Labour caucus, after its custom, will have fought their first battle within their own party. . . .

There will be no real industrial peace in Australia without goodwill in industry; and if it shall prove to have been necessary that Labour—whatever the avowals of extreme measures from some sections of the party—must hold office before it will recognise the need for industrial goodwill, then the result of the late elections will have been well worth while. From the *HERALD*, or probably from any other quarter, there will be no lack of help and encouragement to the new Government if it can bring about that goodwill and resist any pressure to administer in the interests of what the militant Labour element has proclaimed as “the class war.”

On the 27th of April, 1930, Mr. Geoffrey Fairfax died, and three days later there was instituted one of the most impressive of the many modern applications of science to the transmission of news, and one in which he would have taken a deep and curious interest. This was the inauguration of the direct telephone service between England and Australia. The Prime Ministers of Great Britain and the Commonwealth—Messrs. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Scullin—conversed together for some fifteen minutes with the greatest ease and clarity over twelve thousand miles of the ether, Mr. MacDonald sitting in his office at Downing Street, and Mr. Scullin at Canberra. This historic conversation was followed immediately afterwards by another between the Editors of the oldest existing daily newspapers of England and Australia respectively, *viz.*, *The Morning Post* and *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*. A report of this conversation appeared in *The Morning Post* of the 30th April, and runs as follows:

"Your call to Sydney."

These four words, spoken briskly by a girl operator of the Australian Telephone Service in London, brought the chiefs of the oldest newspapers of Great Britain and Australia into conversation across 12,000 miles of land and sea yesterday—the birthday of the Australian service.

They sounded in the ear of the Editor of *The Morning Post* as he lifted the receiver of the telephone in his room in *The Morning Post* offices in Tudor Street.

"Is that *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*?" he asked.

And a voice from the Antipodes, clear and undistorted, answered: "Yes, Mr. Williams, the Acting Editor, speaking."

An historic conversation had begun. Without form or ceremony oral communications between the peoples of two kindred nations—communications by which business will in future be transacted and friendships strengthened—had opened across the breadth of the earth.

Those conventional greetings and solicitations which the cabled word cannot convey were exchanged, and then the Editor of *The Morning Post* spoke of the recent death of Mr. Geoffrey E. Fairfax, the father of Australian journalism, and chief Director of *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*.

"Will you convey to the family of the late Mr. Geoffrey Fairfax and to the staff of *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*," he said, "the sincere sympathy which we feel with them and you all on the death of Mr. Geoffrey Fairfax."

Though the sunshine of early afternoon was streaming through the windows of *The Morning Post* offices, it was midnight in Sydney, and Mr. Williams was seeing succeeding editions of *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD* to press when he came to the telephone.

The Editor of *The Morning Post*, therefore, gave him a piece of late news from London. "At the present moment your team is playing its first match at Worcester," he said. "The Australians are in the field, and Worcester is not doing very well against them up to the present."

"As to the prospects of the Test matches, we think here that we shall beat you this time; but, of course, it will be a good fight."

He spoke of the difficult times through which Australia is passing, and added: "But do tell Australia from us that her troubles are our troubles, as her joys are our joys, and we all hope that she will soon emerge from her difficulties and regain her old prosperity. This is the first time, so far as I know, that one newspaper here in England has spoken on the telephone to another in Australia, and I am very happy to be in communication with such a distinguished paper as *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*."

The cordiality of the greetings—which the written word, condensed for telegraphic transmission, cannot carry with it—showed itself again in Mr. Williams' answer:

"Thank you, sir. We thank you for the condolences which you have given, and they will be conveyed to the proprietors of *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*."

Then, as though incredulous that his voice could be traversing the ocean wastes and the wild places of the earth unimpaired, he asked: "Can you understand me?"

Only the most trivial of atmospheric interferences was audible on the line, and the answer was: "Yes, perfectly."

"Now I have got a message for the staff of *The Morning Post*," Mr. Williams continued. "The staff of the oldest newspaper in Australia sends greetings to the staff of the oldest newspaper in England."

"As to our troubles: we are passing through a troublous time, and we thank you for your sympathy. We can assure you that we shall overcome all our difficulties. On that we are resolved."

As he ceased to speak the voice of a telephone operator somewhere between the offices of *The Morning Post* and *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD* broke in with the familiar interjection, "Three minutes, please."

And with a final, "Good-bye and good luck!" the conversation ended.

The inter-Empire commercial telephone service thus inaugurated was the culmination—as *The Morning Post* was careful to remark—of those experiments in Empire broadcasting which had been instituted more than three years before by the proprietors of the *HERALD* in connection with Amalgamated Wireless Australasia Ltd. and 2 F.C. Station at Sydney, and to which reference has already been made. Since the opening date the service has been in constant use, and it may now be said to have become almost one of the ordinary amenities of social and business intercourse. For thus do the scientific marvels of yesterday become the commonplaces of to-day!

A further development of this method of news-gathering, it may be noted in passing, was made by the *HERALD* for the first time in its issue of the 3rd February, 1931. In order to obtain the latest and most accurate information concerning the earthquake which had wrought such devastation in the Hawkes Bay district of New Zealand the previous day, the agency of the radio-telephone service which had just been installed by the postal authorities was called upon, and the *HERALD* obtained its "story" direct from the lips of the editor of *The Manawatu Daily Times* across the Tasman Sea.

In June, 1930, the fourth Imperial Press Conference was held in London, and the Editor of the *HERALD*, Mr. C. Brunson Fletcher, attended it, as has been stated, as the representative of the *HERALD*. During his absence on this important mission, Mr. H. K. Williams, the Financial Editor, occupied the *HERALD*'s editorial chair. The Conference opened on the 2nd of June under the presidency of Major the Honourable J. J. Astor, M.P., and 150 delegates from every part of the Empire were in attendance. The various sessions were interspersed with the customary social functions and with visits to places of historic and industrial importance throughout the United Kingdom; and the Conference closed on the 1st July with a decision to hold the fifth of the series in South Africa in 1935. The *HERALD*, in its leading article of the 2nd of July, thus commented upon the significance of this important gathering:

The matters, mainly technical, with which the Conference has concerned itself in its business sessions, are of interest only to journalists. But the wider issues are obvious to all. . . .

The human factor outweighs all others. The delegates have done much more than visit historic spots and inspect industrial centres. They have come into contact, individually and in groups, with the men and women of the home country, both leaders and average citizens, contact of a sort that teaches two-sided lessons. Further, let it not be overlooked that they have met, and met closely, one another. When Canada, South Africa, and Australia and New Zealand meet, the family begins to know itself better. . . .

There are no tariffs which restrict the interchange of ideas and information. "The responsibility," as Mr. Baldwin told the Conference, "rests on all the Empire, not on this island alone." The responsibility he meant was of the widest kind, not to be limited by any definition. Ere long, the delegates will be back at their former posts, their sense of realities made stronger than ever. What gains they have made will not long remain hidden, for they work through a medium which touches all men.

In July, 1930, a series of articles, descriptive of conditions in the Western Division of New South Wales, written after a tour of the subject area by the Editor of the *HERALD*'s "On the Land" columns (Mr. P. G. Gilder), appeared in the *HERALD*. Like those on the same theme which had been published in the paper over the signature of

Senator Millen in October and November, 1899, these articles attracted great attention. They were subsequently published, by special request, in pamphlet form, and had an extensive circulation. A perusal of them shows how similar were the unhappy conditions they describe to those depicted by Senator Millen as existing in the same District a little over thirty years before.

The year 1930 will be long and painfully remembered in our annals by reason of the financial depression which fell upon Australia in that year and dismally wet-blanketed her fortunes. The experience was common, perhaps, to the greater portion of the civilised world, but there were reasons which made the crisis more maleficently effective throughout the Commonwealth than elsewhere. In the first place our primary products—and particularly wool, the greatest of them all—had suffered a severe setback. Prices had fallen to the lowest ebb for decades; to so low an ebb, indeed, that the returns could even at the best but barely meet the constantly increasing costs of production. Wheat, too, had become a drug in the market, and the cause of the wheat-grower provided in itself a most critical problem. These falls in world prices would have been bad enough at any time; they were rendered a thousandfold worse by the pernicious effect of the high cost of labour and materials which the constant increases in tariff and the labour awards between them imposed upon almost every section of our industrial life.

No one particular Government or party was responsible for these results. The Labour Party, it is true, had deliberately increased costs of industry by their exploitation of the industrial awards and the basic wage; but the National Government had for long enough failed to check the dangerous growth when the opportunity to do so had lain within its grasp. The tariff wall had been heightened by the financial experts of both sides in an endeavour to foster the very industries which they persisted in stunting, or permitting to be stunted, by a more than corresponding advance in wages and other costs of production; and after the Scullin Government had assumed the reins of government in October, 1929, this rage for increased protection became almost an obsession. The Labour Party had but one idea—to prevent by every means that reduction in the cost of production which was the only solution of the problem. Award rates must be maintained though the heavens fell! Financiers the world over had pointed out that it was impossible for Australia to compete with the world—and compete she must—if her production costs were founded on a vastly higher scale than those of her competitors. How could production, even for the home market, be maintained if local manufacturers were handicapped so unfairly against their outside competitors? The only answer to the question in the Labour view was to increase the tariff, and this the Scullin Government throughout 1930 proceeded to do. But these increases, while raising the prices of many commodities, had little effect, at a time of such severe depression, in stimulating industry.

The industrial position, as we have said, was complicated very seriously in Australia by many factors. The fall in the prices of primary products, the continuous strikes and other Labour troubles, the general financial depression throughout the world, the enormous growth in unemployment which was so pathetic a feature of industrial affairs everywhere—all these things combined to bring the position to a crisis by the middle of 1930. It seemed to the casual observer that the depression came with almost dramatic suddenness upon Australia. But the suddenness was apparent and not real, for the reaction had been long foreseen by many experts, whose prophecies had been carelessly disregarded as the pessimistic outpourings of "calamity howlers." The *HERALD* had for many years pointed out the inevitable result upon our industries of the

constant increases in the cost of production and the extravagant borrowing and reckless expenditure of the Government. Mr. Bruce had warned the country, as we have seen, early in 1929, and many other prominent authorities had spoken or written to the same effect. An artificial prosperity—or seeming prosperity—had been maintained by the methods we have endeavoured to describe, and it was only when at last the culminating effects of outside forces proved too strong for the complacent defences of those who affected not to believe the warnings of the experts that the “depression” came upon the country. Its arrival may have been sudden, but the signs which heralded that arrival had long been visible to those who were not wilfully blind.

In April, 1930, Mr. T. R. Bavin, then still Premier of New South Wales, had foreseen the impending storm and had suggested the formation of an Australian Financial Advisory Committee, on which both Commonwealth and the States should be represented, to take affairs in hand in an endeavour to escape its wrath. But the suggestion fell on barren ground; the Federal Labour Government looked at the proposal with a suspicious eye, and refused either to admit the trouble or to delegate any of its powers to any such body. Once more it endeavoured to stem the tide by issuing a new Budget whose tariff impositions were so patently and unjustly burdensome that a cry of protest against them was raised at once by almost every section of the community.

One of the new duties imposed at this time was a tax of £1 per ton, plus a primage of 4% on the f.o.b. cost, on all newsprint imported into the Commonwealth. The rate of exchange, too, was rising rapidly against Australia at this time. In consequence, all the leading journals in the State, which were still at 1d., were compelled to raise their price to meet the new liability. The proprietors of the *HERALD* announced the change, and the reason for it, in the following notice, which was prominently displayed on the “leader” page in the issue of the 4th August, 1930:

It is with great regret that we have to announce that, commencing to-day, the price of *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD* is increased to 1½d. per copy. We are reluctantly compelled to take this action owing to circumstances over which we have no control. For some years past the costs of production of the modern daily newspaper have been mounting in all directions. We are now faced with a Customs duty on newsprint paper as well as with other fresh imposts, and these additional burdens make it impossible to maintain the present standard of the *HERALD* without the increased price.

That *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD* holds a high place in the estimation of the newspaper reading public of New South Wales we are assured by our audited circulation figures, which are published regularly every month, and it is our constant aim to maintain and, if possible, to improve the standard of our journal, which incidentally is the oldest newspaper in the Commonwealth, and which celebrates its centenary in April of next year.

We can assure our subscribers that, if circumstances permit, we shall take the opportunity to restore to them what has been for so many years the privilege of newspaper readers in New South Wales—the penny daily newspaper.

JOHN FAIRFAX & SONS, LTD.

But ever since the date specified in that notice the price of the *HERALD* has been forced to remain at the higher figure.

Meanwhile, another sensational factor in the case had developed. Mr. E. G. Theodore, formerly the Premier of Queensland, had in 1925 resigned that position, and, having entered the Federal Parliament a little later, had, at the end of 1929, received the portfolio of Treasurer in the Scullin Administration. In that year Labour, which had held power in the northern State for well over a decade, was swept from office, and a National Government took its place. One of the first duties of the new administration was to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate certain mining scandals reflecting on the honesty of its predecessors. This Commission, known generally as the

"Mungana Commission," made its report on the 5th of July, 1930. It was a staggering indictment of Mr. Theodore and charged him with "fraud and dishonesty in procuring the State to purchase the Mungana mines."

Immediately upon the publication of this report, Mr. Theodore, although claiming that he had a complete answer to the charges, asked to be relieved of his portfolio. Mr. Scullin accepted his resignation on the grounds that it was clearly impossible for a Treasurer to remain in office while such grave allegations against his honour remained unanswered. The Prime Minister did not appoint a new Treasurer, but took over the discharge of the duties himself.

The Queensland Government at first announced its intention of following up the finding of the Commissioner by launching criminal charges against Theodore and McCormack, but finally decided to proceed civilly against him. Owing to various delays, these proceedings have not yet come before the Queensland courts, and, in consequence, the shadow of the Commissioner's finding still hangs over Mr. Theodore's name and reputation.

In the meantime, the financial position in Australia had been rapidly approaching a crisis. The Commonwealth had to find enormous sums in the near future to meet loans that were falling due, to say nothing of the moneys required to pay for current services, and for which, owing to a rapidly increasing deficit, there were not sufficient funds available in the Treasury. The most pressing problem, however, was a loan of some £28,000,000 which—or the greater part of which—had to be met in December; the other loans, though very much greater in the aggregate, did not fall due till well into the next year, and their incidence might be awaited in that truly Micawberish spirit which has so often proved the curse of Australian finance. In July the Bank of England, although not personally interested, nor even directly representing any Australian creditor, but appreciating the fact that a financial crisis in the Commonwealth would have serious repercussions throughout the Empire generally, suggested to the Federal Government that they should invite Sir Otto Niemeyer, a high official of the Bank and a famous financial authority, to come out to Australia to consult with the Government and advise them upon the whole position of affairs, not only internally, put in their relation to the world at large. The suggestion proved acceptable to Mr. Scullin, the Prime Minister, and, the invitation having been tendered to, and accepted by, Sir Otto, he arrived here early in August. He visited the various capitals, interviewed the heads of the various Governments, and, having collected all the data available, he drew up his report and presented it to the Government for consideration. The report was subsequently briefly summarised in the *HERALD* of the 22nd August in the following terms:

"Australia is off Budget equilibrium, off exchange equilibrium, and faced by considerable unfunded and maturing debts, both internal and external; in addition to which she has on her hands a very large programme of loan works, for which no financial provision has been made.

"The only alleviation of a gloomy picture is that, apart from the £36,000,000 of unfunded debt, Australia, by a great piece of luck, has no external maturities in 1930 and 1931. That means, in effect, that she has a maximum period of two years in which to put her house in order.

"Australian credit is at a low ebb on a 6 per cent. basis in Australia itself and rather more abroad. It is, in fact, lower than that of any of the dominions, not excluding India, and even lower than some protectorates.

"It is certain that the rate of increase of output per capita in other countries in recent years is much greater than that of Australia."

Sir Otto said that Australia could not wish to remain for ever under a regime of emergency tariffs, and rationed exchange. She must emerge from that position and show signs of progress towards an emergence.

Australian standards had been pushed too high relatively to Australian productivity and to general world conditions. If Australia did not face that issue she would not be able to keep even those standards which she might hope to carry by taking timely action.

The difficulty, he concluded, was not beyond control, but demanded considered progress and united action, and had to be squarely faced.

A conference of Premiers met in Melbourne in the latter half of August and discussed Sir Otto's report, the tenor of which was already familiar to them. The Prime Minister was unable to be present, owing to illness; but the Commonwealth was represented by two of his Ministers—Mr. Fenton, the Minister for Customs, who was to act as Prime Minister, and Mr. Lyons, the Post-Master General, who was to act as Treasurer, during Mr. Scullin's immediately forthcoming visit to England to attend the Imperial Conference. In addition, every State in the Commonwealth was represented by either its Premier or its Treasurer, and in some cases by both. It is important to note in passing that, in addition to the Commonwealth Government, the States of Victoria and South Australia were at this time under the control of Labour Governments. The members of the Conference carefully considered Sir Otto's report and unanimously signed an agreement between themselves, the main provisions of which were couched in the following terms:

(1) That the several Governments represented at this Conference declare their fixed determination to balance their respective Budgets for the financial year 1930-31, and to maintain a similar balanced Budget in future years; this Budget equilibrium will be maintained on such a basis as is consistent with the repayment or conversion in Australia of existing internal debts maturing in the next few years; further, if, during any financial year, there are indications of a failure of revenue to meet expenditure, immediate further steps will be taken during the year to ensure that the Budgets shall balance.

(2) That the Loan Council raise no further loans overseas until after the existing overseas short-term indebtedness has been completely dealt with; this decision to apply to overseas borrowing by large public authorities in controlling the operations of which the State Treasurer concerned will act in agreement with his colleagues on the Loan Council.

(3) That it is resolved by the several Governments, as regards such public works as it may be possible to finance by loans raised in the internal market, that approval will not be given to the undertaking of any new works which are not reproductive in the sense of yielding to the Treasury concerned within a reasonable period a revenue at least equal to the service of the debt (interest and sinking fund).

(4) That, in order to secure the regular service of the public debt from revenue, steps will be taken to provide that all interest payments shall be made to a special account in the Commonwealth Bank, to be used solely for the payment of interest.

(5) That the Commonwealth and State Treasurers will publish monthly in Australia and overseas a brief summary on uniform lines showing their Budget revenue and expenditure, the position of their short-term debt, and the state of the loan account; such statements to be drawn up after a uniform model to be agreed upon.

The Conference also appointed a standing committee, consisting of the Federal Treasurer and the State Treasurers of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, to watch—much on the lines suggested by Mr. Bavin four months previously—the operations of the agreement and to act in an advisory capacity generally. Mr. Scullin, though, as we have said, unable to be present at the Council, definitely instructed Mr. Fenton and Mr. Lyons to see that the agreement was honoured in every way. A few days after the signing of the Melbourne agreement, Mr. Scullin left for England, Mr. Fenton shortly afterwards announcing at Canberra that immediate steps would be taken to balance the Budget, that such retrenchments as were necessary to effect this would be made, and that the £28,000,000 loan required to pay the moneys due in December would be raised, if possible, within the Commonwealth by public sub-

scription. The Governments of all the States also publicly announced their intention to do everything to honour the agreement, among them, of course, being Mr. Bavin, Premier of New South Wales.

Fortunately, the illness from which Mr. Scullin was suffering when he left Australia, and which probably had been caused more by overwork and strain than anything else, left him before he arrived in the Old Country, and he was, therefore, enabled to carry out his work at the Conference with confidence and ability. He was associated in the Australian representation with Mr. Frank Brennan, the Attorney-General, and Mr. Parker Moloney, the Minister for Markets. It was not the fault of any of these three representatives that the results of the Imperial Conference were disappointing. There were two main questions upon which the discussions of the Conference turned, the one being, in a sense, academic or doctrinaire, the other eminently practical. The one was the attempt to place the exact relationship between the Dominions *inter se*, and in their association with the Mother Country, upon a settled and definite basis; the other was the attempt to induce the Mother Country to extend Imperial preference towards the Dominions. The first question troubled Australia very little, and her sister Dominions, Canada and New Zealand, were as little concerned to press the matter as she. But South Africa and the Free State made the issue a very prominent one, and their representatives did not hesitate to express their disappointment at their failure to have a position strictly defined which is generally recognised to be one of which indefiniteness is the very essence and the very strength. The Imperial Conference of 1926 had decided as closely as the matter probably can be decided for many years to come, the implications and the definitions of the Imperial connection, and any further attempt to dogmatise about it, or to reduce it to an exact formula is possibly futile and certainly dangerous. In the end the Conference of 1930 left it *in statu quo*.

The question of Imperial preference, however, is quite another matter. It is a matter of the strongest practical importance, and its value to all the Dominions was recognised by their representatives. It was felt that if an extension of the very moderate preferences which have existed between the Home Country and the Dominions for some years could be largely increased, the gain, not only to the Dominions themselves, but to Great Britain as well, would be immense. The chief spokesman on behalf of Imperial preference was Mr. Bennett, the Prime Minister of Canada, and Messrs. Scullin and Parker Maloney for Australia; but they were well backed up by the representatives of the other Dominions. Their eloquence and arguments went for naught, however, and fell upon the immovable rock represented by the free trade obsession of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer as ineffectively as a wave upon a cliff-side. At one time, indeed, it seemed as if not only would Mr. Snowden not concede any further extension, but that he would cancel those already in existence. Fortunately, at the last moment, he relented sufficiently to announce that his Government would agree to the existing preferences remaining for the time being. It was generally recognised that this concession was largely won by the arguments of Mr. Scullin, and to that extent, therefore, but to that extent alone, the Conference can be regarded from the Australian point of view as having been successful.

The Conference concluded in mid-November, and on the 15th of that month the *HERALD*, in a leading article entitled "Frayed Feelings," commented upon its discussions in the following terms:

It is easy enough to censure the tone and manner of the British Government's delegates to the conference, the tactlessness of its Mr. Snowden and its Mr. Graham, dogmatically announcing beforehand that changes would not be permitted. Certain of the dominion delegates are at this moment broadly hinting that their whole time has been wasted, and that they might just as well

never have attended. Yet they themselves are also open to criticism. The Canadian Prime Minister's early suggestion for a ten per cent. tax on foreign imports is now admitted to have been premature and indiscreet. Other delegates, while not committing themselves so definitely to details, announced from the first the principles for which they intended to stand quite as outspokenly as even Mr. Snowden did. On that score the balance between the opposing schools of thought is fairly even. The real ground of grievance is the evading of issues, the shelving of decisions. The delegates find themselves presented with at best an undertaking that existing preferences shall not be swept away at present. Yet even this reminds them that the final verdict has not been given. It may be reserved for a time when Britain will have in power a Government of widely differing views from those of the frigid Mr. Snowden, so strangely all-powerful to-day.

But this at least should be realised; it is useless to think of carrying the position by storm. Nothing could be more unreasonable than to suggest that Great Britain, so heavily burdened both from within and from without, should enter into any new system unless she is sincerely convinced that to do so will bring her fresh strength. Free trade opinion in Britain is still a very real and solid thing. It is not so strong and unchallenged as it was, but it still has to be defeated as a straight-out election issue before any Government can afford to set it aside, and this has not yet happened.

There is one other matter arising out of Mr. Scullin's visit and, incidentally, out of the Imperial Conference (though not that of 1930) to which brief reference must be made before concluding this section of our history. By the Imperial Conference of 1926 the independent status of the Dominions had been, as we have said, as closely defined, as such an elusive and indefinable thing can be defined at all. The Imperial Relations Committee appointed by the Conference had issued a report, permeated, as the *HERALD* said, with the doctrine that "every Dominion is now a self-governing member of the Empire and master of its destiny." *Inter alia*, it had also decided that the Governor-General of the Australian Commonwealth should be deemed no longer to be the representative of the British Government, but the direct representative of the King. The distinction may seem academic, but it was a real one, and was now to have a very real interpretation and effect. For one of the planks of the Labour Party was that, if, and when, the Australian Government had the right to advise His Majesty upon this point, they should advise him to appoint an Australian to the Governor-Generalship. Some time before leaving for England, inspired paragraphs had appeared in the Press of Australia to the effect that Mr. Scullin regarded the appointment of the Governor-General, under the conditions brought into existence by the decision of the Imperial Conference of 1926, as one upon which he should advise the King, without reference to the British Government, and that he intended to advise His Majesty to appoint the Australian-born Sir Isaac Isaacs, Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, to the position which was shortly to be vacated by Lord Stonehaven. That gentleman had held the office of Governor-General for four years, and, in common with the majority of his predecessors (particularly Viscount Novar, who, as Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson, had held the office during the years of the war, and his successor, Lord Forster) had not only carried out his duties with dignity, but had evinced at once a fine knowledge of constitutional practice and a deep and abiding interest in Australian affairs which it was felt with reason would render him in the years to come a valuable ambassador for the Commonwealth at the heart of the Empire. However, his term of office expired while Mr. Scullin was in England, and that the inspiration of the paragraphs referred to above was firmly founded was proved by the cabled announcement in November that His Majesty, on the advice of the Federal Prime Minister, had appointed Sir Isaac Isaacs Governor-General. The appointment caused comment both within the Commonwealth and without, and considerable criticism was directed at it. As the *HERALD* said, there could be no objection whatever to the personality of the appointee. Sir Isaac's

services to the Commonwealth in many capacities had fully entitled him to any honour which might be conferred upon him; but the paper felt that future appointments might not be so happily made and that the opportunity of rewarding party, or even personal, services by translation to an office wherein party and personal prejudice should be the very last characteristic of the incumbent, should not be given to any Government. Moreover, it considered that the tie which had long been in existence between the Commonwealth and the Mother Country, a tie which, despite its intangibility, was a very strong and indeed a very practical one, had been snapped by the precedent now made, and that a sentiment, which had for so long and so greatly proved its strength in inter-Imperial relations, had received an unfortunate and unforgettable blow. Shortly after Mr. Scullin's return to Australia, Sir Isaac resigned his office of Chief Justice, and on the 22nd January, 1931, he was sworn in as Governor-General. The following day Sir Frank Gavan-Duffy, the senior Judge of the High Court, was elevated to the Chief Justiceship in his place.

Let us return now to the events which followed Mr. Scullin's departure for England. The State election campaign in New South Wales began almost immediately, and Mr. Lang, the leader of the Labour Opposition, concentrated his whole attack upon the Melbourne agreement, which he repudiated, and the visit of Sir Otto Niemeyer, whom he declared to be the emissary of foreign capitalism sent out to dictate to Australia and to endeavour to destroy the hardly won fruits of Labour's humanitarian legislation by reducing wages "to a coolie level." This attitude at once placed him in opposition to the policy which Mr. Scullin, Mr. Fenton and Mr. Lyons—to say nothing of Messrs. Hill and Hogan, the Labour Premiers of South Australia and Victoria respectively—had publicly promised to support. But it had already been made evident that the very powerful extremist section of the Australian Labour Party was bitterly opposed to the Melbourne agreement, and indeed to any policy which would necessitate the lowering of wage rates by a single penny. Mr. Lang's policy speech was delivered on the 22nd of September, and on the following morning the *HERALD*, in its leading article, thus commented upon it:

Mr. Lang has at last spoken. His position was not easy, with Labour in the Federal Administration and two State Administrations already committed to a policy of deflation. He had made no comment upon the grave economic depression since he described it in Parliament as "a political trick" of the Bavin Government. He ignores it now. On past performances it was probable that his principles for the election platform would be those of extravagant promising. Misrepresentation of his opponents, and even of plain facts, has been the familiar currency of his political economy. That currency is coined to purchase votes. But few students of the industrial and trading depression as it is afflicting Australia could have anticipated the extent to which Mr. Lang in his policy speech last night "wrought so high the specious tale." Most citizens will have assumed that, if he could attain power, Mr. Lang would resume his former career of strangling the State's industries with taxation. His very bid for office now must tax their credulity no less. If the electors believe Mr. Lang in any particular—in his description of Sir Otto Niemeyer's visit, in the flagrant misrepresentation of what Sir Otto has plainly said, in his unparalleled distortion of the position of Australia's credit, in the stupendous pretence that he can restore prosperity by a ruinous programme of new expenditure, in his abuse of the efforts of political friend and foe to preserve the Commonwealth from bankruptcy—if the electors accept this offer of gold bricks at proffered value, then experience holds in store for them disappointment of unimagined bitterness.

The extremist section of the A.L.P. was unfortunately sufficiently powerful to prevent Mr. Fenton and Mr. Lyons from definitely denying Mr. Lang's allegations against Sir Otto, and from opposing his direct attack upon the Melbourne Conference. It was also sufficiently powerful to prevent the Scullin section of the Cabinet taking those steps towards balancing the Federal Budget that they had arranged to do. And

finally it was sufficiently powerful to prevent any steps being taken which would tend to interfere with Mr. Lang's success at the polls. This extremist section strongly supported, as a remedy for the financial crisis, a large inflation of the note issue. It is true that, as a rule, it preferred to use some such euphemism as "the release of credits" rather than the actual word inflation; but that inflation was what was actually intended was made abundantly clear as the days went by. The extremists managed to carry a proposal known subsequently as the "Gibbons proposal" (from the name of the member of the party who moved it) to the following effect:

"(1) That the Commonwealth Bank be required to create sufficient credit as and when required for the following purposes: (a) Finance the requirements of the Commonwealth Government in connection with all services covered by Parliamentary appropriations. (b) Meet that portion of the internal loans maturing during the financial year which has not been otherwise provided for. (c) Provide for financing State and Commonwealth loan works programme up to a limit of £20,000,000. (d) Provide financial accommodation through the Commonwealth Bank, trading banks, State financial institutions, and, if necessary, through insurance companies, to be used for productive purposes in primary and secondary industries.

"The ultimate amount of credit to be issued under this head to be determined by the effect upon the commodity price levels.

"(2) The credit under the various heads to be made available at an interest rate not exceeding 5 per cent. per annum.

"(3) An effective exchange pool be continued to provide Australian Governments with first claim on Australian funds in London.

"The external exchange rates to be fixed at such rates as will give primary producers the full benefit of the exchange premium on their exports to compensate for the diminished market prices."

As was pointed out in the *HERALD* at the time:

This resolution demands a very large inflation of the Commonwealth note issue, and even an indefinite inflation. To finance Budget deficits under Clause (a) of the resolution would require about £20,000,000 at current estimates of the year's deficits. Under Clause (b) to meet internal loans maturing this year (if not otherwise provided for) would take at least £44,000,000. Clause (c) demands £20,000,000 for loan works, this £20,000,000 being apparently a calculation of the increased issue if the ratio of gold to notes were reduced to 25 per cent. The inflation required under Clause (d) is indefinite, being "to provide financial accommodation to be used for productive purposes in primary and secondary industries, the ultimate amount . . . to be determined by the effect upon commodity price levels."

Under Clause (d) might be included the provision of the present Wheat Advances Act for an "arrangement" with the Commonwealth Bank to advance 3/- a bushel f.o.b. on the current harvest, being an amount of 10d. to 1/- above market price. This, it is estimated, would mean inflation to the extent of £7,000,000 or £8,000,000.

Taking the more or less specific demands under this resolution, and leaving aside the unknown quantity of the "ultimate amount" under Clause (d), the inflation demanded would amount to some £92,000,000, which would mean very nearly trebling the present note issue.

The extremists also carried a motion in favour of calling upon the bond holders in the loan falling due in December to postpone their right of redemption for another year. Fortunately, this act of repudiation—for it was nothing less—was too much for Mr. Lyons. He absolutely refused to agree to the resolution or to be bound by it; and, taking his political life in his hands, he decided to carry on with the raising of the loan as originally announced. His courage inspired Mr. Fenton and a certain section of the A.L.P., who still preferred the rule of Mr. Scullin to that of the extremists; and it is pleasant to be able to record that the action of this small but sturdy minority was ultimately successful. The full amount of the loan was raised within the Commonwealth without difficulty; all bondholders who desired their money were paid and the financial honour of the Commonwealth remained untarnished.

Unfortunately, the energies of Mr. Lyons and his supporters in this regard had been in the meantime very much discounted by their apathy in regard to the Lang campaign of extremism. As against the wholesale promises of that politician, against his flagrant misrepresentations, against his appeals to class and to the pocket, Mr. Bavin's policy of setting out the true state of affairs and asking for retrenchment all round as the only possible means of restoring the position of affairs had little chance. Polling day was the 25th of October, and Mr. Lang secured a victory which was as decisive as it was unfortunate in its effects, both State and Federal. The HERALD, in commenting upon the result, thus wrote in its leading article of October 27th, 1930:

Mr. Lang has won a victory at the polls with which any leader would be pleased as a mark of popular faith in him. His promises were believed; he has now to translate them into reality. The HERALD has made clear what it thinks of those promises, and has taken the stand that no Government of whatever party in this State could afford to make them at this time. There is and has been with us only one supreme consideration, and that is the national honour, and the preservation of this country against a deterioration in its anxious financial condition which would lead to general default. It suited the Labour Party in the elections to represent this anxiety on the part of the Government and of business interests as consideration for oversea bondholders. There is involved a far closer and more intimate consideration for every Australian citizen, and that is the effect of default upon employment, strained as is already the capacity of industry. . . . It will not be disguised for long that Mr. Lang's campaign has rendered a difficult situation more difficult, both in this State and elsewhere in Australia. Not the least troubled man will be the Labour Prime Minister in London. But we believe with Mr. Bavin, whose generous statement we publish this morning, that Mr. Lang will yet have to acknowledge the realities of the situation admitted and faced by all Australian Governments. Meanwhile, all citizens who are inclined to be worried and over-anxious should remember that the occasion calls for steady and resolute behaviour.

The HERALD's concern, too, is for the reaction from hopes raised in vast numbers of men and women, both those in work and those unemployed. They have been persuaded that votes can make wages, and that political confidence in some ecstatic policy-speech will create financial credit. Be the fortunes of political parties in Australia what they may—and sane Labour in power has never yet done Australia any harm (a sufficient epitaph surely for any Government)—the electors must somehow be brought to realise that financial credit depends upon work and payable production; and that good wages, the rise of new industries, the improvement of the worker's lot into independence of employment by somebody else, all proceed from sustained profit by the community from its undertakings. There is a long hard way in front of us back to that state of prosperity.

The effect of this victory of Mr. Lang's was immediate, throughout the whole ambit of the Commonwealth. The extremist section was immensely heartened by it and used it as an effective lever wherewith to prevent Mr. Fenton taking the necessary steps to balance the Federal Budget as promised both in the Melbourne agreement and by subsequent announcements. Indeed, the Melbourne agreement was vilified as though it had been made with and under the pressure of a gang of grasping Shylocks, instead of being a mutual agreement by the States and the Commonwealth to carry out certain methods of financial reconstruction which they had themselves evolved and decided upon. In September Mr. Fenton had promised that there would be a reduction in Public Service salaries. On October 3rd, he stated officially that the Cabinet had arranged, after receiving specific approval by cable from Mr. Scullin, that expenditure must be reduced at the rate of £4,000,000 a year, and a few days later he definitely promised that the Government would place immediate proposals before the public which would include reductions and economies in expenditure totalling that amount. To the moment of writing only the merest fraction of the reductions originally promised have been carried out. Mr. Scullin returned early in January from the Imperial Conference, and immediately upon his return endeavours were made by both sections

of the A.L.P. to get him definitely upon their side. But he failed to make his position clear. It is true he denounced inflation; but his action in supporting a candidate for a Federal by-election in January, who was the nominee of the New South Wales section of the A.L.P.—a section which had just previously re-affirmed the necessity for carrying out the Gibbons resolution *in extenso*—was difficult to harmonise with this denunciation. And most inconsistent of all was his action in re-admitting Mr. Theodore into his Cabinet and reinvesting him with his previous powers as Treasurer and Deputy Leader of the Government. The Mungana case, as we have said, had not reached the courts, and Mr. Theodore's position had not altered one iota since Mr. Scullin first approved his resignation. Yet Mr. Scullin welcomed him back at the dictates of the "inflationists" and thereby not only aroused the indignation of that considerable section of the party which was hostile to Mr. Theodore's claims for re-entry into the Cabinet; but, in particular, inflicted so grievous a slight upon his two colleagues—Messrs. Fenton and Lyons—who had, during his absence in England, endeavoured to support the principles he himself had advocated prior to his departure, but which he had apparently jettisoned after his return, that both were compelled to resign their portfolios in protest. The HERALD strongly denounced the re-appointment of Mr. Theodore and just as strongly approved the action of Messrs. Lyons and Fenton. The resignations of these two leaders of the moderate section of the Labour Party, coupled with the defeat of the "extremist" Labour candidate at the by-election referred to (a defeat which change the 1929 Labour majority of 8,000 to a minority of almost the same dimensions) made it clear that the Federal Government was so divided within its own ranks and so much the plaything—or tool—of that section of the party which would evidently stick at nothing to further its own dangerous ends that it had, to all intents and purposes, ceased to govern. The HERALD, on the 12th November, 1930, wrote of it in words which were even truer three months later than they were upon the day on which they were written, and which we, therefore, quote as follows:

It is becoming clearer every day that an essential requirement for the restoration of public confidence is that the Federal Government shall govern. The deadweight of depression and anxiety hanging over industrial and commercial life to-day is not only affecting our credit in London and our own vital energy for the task of correcting the slump; it is also becoming an object for remark by every returning Australian from tours abroad. Our credit in London, for instance, is impaired not simply because we find difficulty in meeting promptly certain commitments; that is a difficulty fairly common in the world everywhere, and can be diminished. A much more important consideration with our creditors is that we seem to be doing nothing to relieve our own position. All the political talk in the world will not disguise the fact that the Governments, State and Federal, must reduce expenditure in most drastic fashion. It is true that that action alone, having been so long delayed, will be neither instantly effective nor itself sufficient. But it will do something to justify the fine words talked for many weeks without result, and it will inaugurate that complete change of policy in many directions which must come about before Australia can recover equilibrium. The supineness of the Federal Government is working grave harm to that united effort which the Government constantly invokes. Time is being wasted all along the line. The Loan Council, it is true, did good work yesterday, and has cleared the way for the Federal Government to deal with the loan due in December. But there is something still more important. The real issue on which the militants and inflationists have already once beaten the Government, is that of the sanctity of the Melbourne agreement as the Federal Cabinet's pledge for reform. . . . A Government cannot throw away its prestige in that fashion and continue to command the respect of either its own party or of the country. Mr. Fenton himself dug the pit into which he has fallen. He was warned at the time that to delay the revision of the Budget at the behest of the Sydney Trades Hall because "it would destroy Mr. Lang's chances at the State elections," was only to assist a deception of the people into voting for the extremists, who would on the morrow turn upon Mr. Fenton himself with renewed zest from the campaign which he was commanded not "to destroy." He allowed col-

leagues in his own Cabinet to declare from the election platform that Federal salaries would not be reduced, while he knew his Cabinet was committed to reduce them. True to form, on the morrow of an election victory won by that political sleight of hand, the extremists turned on him, and declared that the New South Wales electors had rejected his (Mr. Fenton's) Budget policy. He and those with him are now in the thick of the decisive fight which that pusillanimity has brought on. The experiences of the two last months should convince the Labour loyalists that they may as well stand and fight by what they know to be the right thing. They will not save themselves by further surrender.

Perhaps the best summary of the whole state of affairs from the financial and industrial point of view that had yet been made public was contained in the judgment of the Federal Arbitration Court, delivered on the 22nd January, 1931, in an application which had been before it since the 20th of the preceding October. That application had originally been made by the Railway Commissioners of several States for a review of the method of computing the basic wage, on the ground that it was impossible for the railway services to continue to pay the award rates decreed by the Court. Subsequently, several other employer interests joined in the application, and the applicants united in pressing upon the Court the urgent demand for a decision. On the other hand, the Union advocates attempted to delay the proceedings as long as possible, and with this end in view demanded that the Court should undertake *de novo* a full and complete inquiry of living costs and conditions. The Court refused to do this, owing to the intolerable delay that would be involved; whereupon the Federal Government, under pressure from the Unions, appointed a Royal Commission consisting of Mr. Wickens, the Federal Statistician, and two others, to make the desired inquiry. At the time of writing the terms of that Commission have not yet even been drawn up, and it is significant that Mr. Wickens himself estimates that, when it does start, the inquiry will take at least twelve months to complete. The Federal Arbitration Court, being thus relieved of this inquiry, addressed itself to the main question as to whether the Australian industries represented before it were entitled to the relief asked for or to what extent (if any) such relief was necessary. The judgment is far too lengthy to reproduce here in full, but its importance is so great that it may well be summarised in the HERALD's words as follows:

"The real issue in this lengthy inquiry was 'Can the wage standards built up during the past years of prosperity be maintained?' It is universally agreed that wage reduction should be the last resort in any scheme of economic readjustment forced by extraordinary circumstances. The Court, in these applications, is compelled to decide whether prevailing circumstances force recourse to the last resort.

"The evidence submitted by the applicants was that the fall in the national income had become so serious as completely to disturb the whole economic balance. The primary cause in the present crisis was the rapid fall in prices for exported primary products to the extent of £40,000,000 a year; and the world fall in general price levels. All the theorising in the world cannot alter that fact. The level of real income in any community is determined by the productivity of that community's industry and trade; and what we can receive in exchange for exported products. Particularly where we rely on such surplus for our financial adjustments abroad it is the one essential factor that cannot be overlooked.

"Before the present disturbance we were able to borrow £30,000,000 a year for use in developmental and other labour employing works. Now we cannot borrow money from abroad. It is clear that for a long time to come any money borrowed for governmental purposes must be raised locally. It is true that ultimately we will be better off if public borrowing comes from internal wealth; but for the moment, and for some time to come, we have £30,000,000 less to spend, making, with the loss from the fall in prices, a total of £70,000,000, as compared with 1928.

"It can be safely said for the moment that the repercussions exceed 50 per cent. of the primary loss, making the reduced spending power of the community more than £100,000,000, or in the

vicinity of a sixth of the average national income of the preceding five years. The decline in the Commonwealth's spending power in the last two years can reasonably be concluded from the evidence as somewhere between 15 and 20 per cent.

"The Court's difficulty has been to get the respondents to realise the alarming extent of the fall in the community's spending power. But, taking the most optimistic view, it is clear that the bulk of the lost spending power is a harsh reality, and the restoration of the customary value of our productivity will be a long and laborious process. It is true that much of our trouble is of world origin; but in one way we are distinct from other countries. Until less than two years ago, our price level for primary products remained about the level reached after post war deflation, while those of other countries came down relatively to about the 1913 position. The 1928 British price levels were about 33 per cent. above pre-war levels, while those of Australia were 65 per cent. above. There is some dispute as to the actual difference in these levels. Wholesale prices in the United Kingdom fell 11 per cent. in 1928, and the same fall occurred in the United States. By the end of 1929 they had fallen a total of 28.2 per cent., but Australia's products suddenly fell as follows: Wool, 40 per cent.; butter, 35 per cent.; mutton, 20 per cent.; copper, 25 per cent.; spelter, 35 per cent.; hides, 27 per cent.; and are now practically at pre-war levels.

"The advocates for the respondents strongly contested the necessity of reducing production costs and refused to see any connection between reduced spending power and reduced costs, but the facts must be faced. The cost of the manufacture of goods depends on turnover. If through reduced consumption the turnover decreases, costs of production immediately increase. The overhead charges distributed over the smaller turnover also increase. So the circle attributable to the original trouble extends. The ultimate result is inexorable. There is room for great improvement of the methods in Australian industry, with the resultant economies of overhead expenses, but this is a long-standing evil. It has no direct bearing on the problem of the moment. Its elimination, which necessarily must be slow, may ultimately improve the situation, but it has no relation to the sudden fall in national income, which led to the applications now before the Court.

"It was freely argued that the remedy for our existing problems is 'extension of credits.' When pressed for the exact meaning attached to this phrase, it was admitted that what advocates meant was the issue of paper currency for the purpose of enabling Governments to carry on public works and to enable banks to make more liberal advances. On this dangerous controversy it is not the function of the Court to express personal opinions. . . .

"It is almost impossible to exaggerate the gravity of the present situation, and it should be unnecessary to point out the need for proper comprehension of all the causes of the present crisis. Never in the history of the Commonwealth was there such need for calm and non-partisan consideration of national problems. Never was there greater need for co-operation between the various factors to check the downward tendency, which threatens to end in complete collapse. Wage reduction is not the magic wand which will restore stability, but as part of a reasoned plan, it is unavoidable.

"The Court refuses to make any variations in the basic wage or in the present method of calculation thereof without further inquiry; but, after much anxious thought, it is forced to the conclusion that for a period of twelve months and thereafter until further order, a general reduction of wages is necessary. As stated in the Court's judgment on the recent application for cancellation of railway awards, 'an emergency has arisen which calls for immediate readjustment in all directions; readjustment of costs of government, costs of production and services, rents, dividends, interest, and other returns to capital; and costs of living.' All must adapt themselves to the fundamental fall in national income and national wealth, and to our changed trading relationship with other countries."

Having thus expressed its opinion, the Court then made orders for the variation of the awards covered by the application by the reduction of all wage rates therein described by ten per cent., such variation to take place as from the 1st February, 1931. Upon the announcement of this decision the *HERALD* (23rd January, 1931) commented editorially upon it as follows:

The Court has decided the plain question "whether in the present condition of industry reduction was necessary." The question has been emphatically affirmed. Export industries have suffered great losses of capital and income, salaries have been reduced in almost every business, the



The annual Show of the Royal Agricultural Society of New South Wales, held on its grounds at Moore Park, Sydney, every Easter, is one of the great events of the year, and these pictures give some idea of the animation of the scene.



Yachting on Sydney Harbour often is full of thrills; a fine study from the Sydney Mail (February, 1930) of the Utiekah II. and Morna thrashing in a squall.



On holidays and at the week-end, during summer, the white wings of small sailing craft and of stately yachts cover the blue waters of Sydney Harbour. The above is a typical scene on such occasions.



THE HARBOUR BRIDGE, FEBRUARY, 1931.

The roadway (practically complete), hung from the arch, and the unfinished southern approach works are clearly shown. To the right of the bridge are Miller's Point and Darling Harbour, and Circular Quay shows over the top of the arch with the Botanic Gardens on the left.



The old office just before its demolition in 1926. The present office was built in three sections. The first section, on the O'Connell Street side, had just been completed when this photograph was taken.



CHARLES T. HARRIS
General Manager.



C. BRUNSDON FLETCHER
Editor since 1918.

fall of profits of industrial companies is serious and increasing, rents and dividends have sunk, and interest rates are maintained only by the continued excess of Government expenditures. Every source of Government revenue, despite increased taxation, shows sharp decline. Wages must fall with all these other factors in national work. The growth of unemployment shows clearly that current wages cannot be paid. It is idle to talk of artificially stimulating purchasing power; the purchasing power of the community is the value of its annual production, and can increase only with that production. It is also idle to talk of the sanctity of a wage rate, when already 25 per cent. of the working population cannot earn any wages at all. . . . The whole community must now co-operate to restore industry to a condition of prosperity in which it can support the standards to which Australia aspires. There is no other way to restore them.

The decision of the Court was received, as may well be imagined, with very great dissatisfaction by the Unions concerned, and threats of general strike or of action to force the Federal Government to intervene and modify or quash the decision were uttered by various leaders of the extremist section. But to the moment of writing no direct step of this nature has been taken; and it is possible—indeed, it is highly probable—that this sweeping declaration of the Federal Arbitration Court will represent the first step made by Australian industries to get back to the only path that will lead them in the end to a sane and safe recovery.

At this point we bring the story of the *HERALD*, from a chronological point of view, to an end. That story began when Australia was but a string of little settlements whose total population numbered barely 50,000, and when Sydney could muster on its roll of citizens but fifteen thousand names; it ends with Australia a nation of six and a half millions of people, proven alike in the arts of war and peace, an integral and yet independent unit of the Empire; and with Sydney a metropolis holding a million and a quarter inhabitants, the largest "white" city, with the exception of London, under the British flag. It began with a little four-page paper serving with its old-time hand-worked press the demands of less than eight hundred subscribers; it ends with one of the great papers of the world pouring from its giant electrically-driven rotaries an average of two hundred and fifteen thousand copies every day. It began with a little settlement forced to take arms against a sea of financial troubles; by an unhappy coincidence it ends with the nation into which that settlement has grown deeply engaged in a similar struggle. But the *HERALD*, which has seen the community it serves time and time again conquer its Hills of Difficulty and storm its Castles of Despair, fosters the sure conviction that history will again repeat itself. The lines of Browning, which were deemed so apt to be applied at his graveside to the character of one of its proprietors, are appropriate also to the constant attitude of the paper through the years. For, as in the crises of the 'forties and the 'nineties, the *HERALD*

"Never deemed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph;
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake,"

so now, fortified by the justification of its sturdy optimism in the past, it looks confidently forward towards a satisfactory emergence in the early future from the clouds and uncertainties of to-day.

SECTION XIII.

THE "HERALD" AND THE ARTS

PART I.

THE field of the HERALD's activities in relation to the Arts is so vast that it would be impossible to harvest it to any degree of completeness; but not to attempt some little gleanings from its abundant growth would be to omit an essential chapter from this history. In this section, therefore, that attempt will be made, and if the resultant sheaf prove ill-provided with the golden grain, the fault will lie, not with the crop, but with the gleaners.

It will be of interest, in the first place, to see how matters stood in these artistic fields with the citizens of New South Wales when first the HERALD made its bow. And in satisfying this natural curiosity it will be appropriate, since the date of the official birth of the Australian theatre synchronises very closely with that of the paper itself, to deal first with the story of our stage. It is true that dramatic performances had been given in Sydney so far back as 1789 by a party of convicts who staged *The Recruiting Officer* in honour of the King's Birthday; and that in 1796 Sydney's first theatre had been built and opened with the performance of Young's tragedy of *The Revenge*. But the admission fees being payable in kind as well as money, so many thefts were committed in order to obtain the tickets, that two years later Governor Hunter was compelled to close the theatre. A second, erected in 1800, had an even briefer life; and for thirty years thereafter the only dramatic performances which the residents of Sydney were permitted to witness were the amateur enterprises provided sometimes by the regiments which from time to time were stationed in New South Wales, sometimes by convict companies under special permission, and sometimes by the officers and men of the war-ships that happened to be visiting the port. But in 1832, a certain Barnett Levy (or Levey), under the license of Governor Bourke, adapted portion of his hotel in George Street for theatrical productions, and from the night of the 26th December of that year performances were given there until the 5th October, 1833, when the same enterprising individual opened, in the Theatre Royal in George Street, the first regularly appointed theatre in the history of Australia. From that date the official story of the Australian stage has been continuous.

The first public intimation of the approaching event that we can trace in the HERALD appears in the issue of the 25th October, 1832, and takes the form of a notice in the advertisement columns:

"TO THE POETS OF AUSTRALIA.

"B. Levy offers a silver medal, with a suitable inscription engraved thereon, for an approved Opening Address, to be spoken on the first night of opening the Theatre Royal Sydney, composed and written by a Native of the Colony.

"Productions, addressed to B. Levy, Park Street, will be submitted for approval to the Committee of Management, who are gentlemen of talent, and of the first respectability."

This offer—very evidently an emulation of that which, made by the management of Drury Lane, London, in connection with the re-opening of that Theatre in 1812, was responsible for the famous burlesque, "Rejected Addresses," of James and Horace Smith—produced so poor a result that the *HERALD*, although, as we shall see, it "noticed" the opening performances at some length, disdained even to mention "the address." The programme for the evening of the 26th December, 1832, held in the "adapted" portion of the Royal Hotel—in which, by the way, Levy had for some time previously been giving a series of musical and dramatic "At Homes"—was advertised for the first time in the *HERALD* of the 10th of that month, in the following terms:

THEATRE ROYAL, SYDNEY.

The public are respectfully informed that the Dramatic Entertainments for the Christmas Holydays will be as follows:

On Wednesday, 26th December, 1832, and following night, that popular Melo-drama, in 3 Acts, as performed in London for some hundreds of nights in succession, called

BLACK-EYED SUSAN.

To conclude with that far famed and highly comical Farce in two Acts,

MONSIEUR TONSON.

(Then follow certain particulars giving the variations in the bill of fare for the succeeding nights, the advertisement concluding in these terms:)

Prices of Admission: Boxes, 5/-; Pit, 3/-. Half Price at 9 o'clock.

Doors to open at half-past six, performance to commence at 7 o'clock precisely.

The *HERALD*'s critique upon the performance appears in the issue of the 31st December, and we quote the material portion of it:

"Theatre Royal, Sydney. On Wednesday evening the Comic Muse made her debut in the Colony with a good grace. The public had been long anxiously awaiting her appearance, and hailed her with unfeigned pleasure. It had been found impossible to prepare the large theatre by the Christmas holidays, and consequently a tasty stage was fitted up in the saloon of the Royal Hotel, and a tier of boxes erected, with the necessary seats in the pit. The whole arrangements had been carried into effect with a view to accommodate the public, who commenced arriving until the house was crowded, to witness the nautical melodrama, in three acts, of Black-Eyed Susan or All in the Downs. . . . The piece was announced for repetition by Mr. Levey amid the cheers of the house. The evening's entertainment concluded with the well-known comic farce of Monsieur Tonson, which kept the house in a roar of laughter from beginning to end. . . . During the evening the band of the 17th Regiment, kindly lent by Colonel Despard, performed several beautiful pieces by Rossini and Mozart in a masterly manner. The scenery was good, and in keeping with the performance, but a little smarter motion in shifting would not be lost, and a few more lights throughout the house would be attended with good effects. . . ."

As appears from the above notice, it was originally anticipated that the "large theatre" would be ready for the performance; but as the dates already quoted show, it was not actually opened until nearly a year later. On the 30th September, 1833, there appears on the front page of the *HERALD* the following notice:

THEATRE ROYAL, SYDNEY.

It is with no small degree of pleasure that the undersigned (after much procrastination and many disappointments) is at length enabled to announce to his friends and the public, the opening of the Sydney Theatre.

The readiness with which His Excellency the Governor has granted a License, and the kind attention with which he has treated every communication relative to the establishment, call for the universal thanks of those connected therewith, and the gratitude of a discerning public. The undersigned has more particularly to offer his acknowledgments, and trusts that his strenuous endeavours to please will be crowned with success. . . .

The proposed days for dramatic representation are Monday, Thursday and Saturday.

The first performance will take place on the night of Saturday, the 5th October next. The entertainments for that evening are as follows:

On the rise of the curtain the National Anthem will be sung by the whole strength of the Company; immediately after which an Original Address, written expressly for the occasion, will be spoken by Mr. Knowles.

The Dramatic Performance will commence with the highly popular Melo-Drama of

THE MILLER AND HIS MEN,

after which the amusing farce of

THE IRISHMAN IN LONDON.

Particulars will be expressed in the Bills of the Day.

Dress Circle	- - - - -	5/-	No half-price
Second Tier	- - - - -	4/-	Half-price, 2/6
Pit	- - - - -	3/-	Ditto, ditto, 2/-
Gallery	- - - - -	2/-	No half-price

Boxes can be engaged on application at the Office of the Theatre from ten o'clock to four.
Stage Manager, Mr. Cavendish.

Acting Manager, Mr. Knowles.
B. LEVY.

A brief reference to the opening of the Theatre appeared in the *HERALD* of the 7th October, from which we learn that "the house was crowded to excess by a very respectable audience" and on the 10th the paper criticised the performance at length and in the following terms:

"Theatre: On Saturday evening last, the Sydney Theatre commenced operations for the season before a full and highly respectable audience. The popular drama of the Miller and his Men, with the farce of The Irishman in London, were the pieces for the evening. The house itself presents a very splendid appearance. The proscenium in particular, is fully equal to most of the provincial theatres in England, and may stand a comparison with a few in London. A visitor to the Sydney Theatre will, we feel assured, find himself agreeably surprised on entering the house, and its *tout ensemble* must be pronounced a credit to so young a Colony as New South Wales. The Miller and his Men passed off tolerably well, although towards the latter part a slight disapprobation was manifest. This was principally occasioned by the total failure of the explosion in the last scene. . . ." (This spectacle had been boomed in the bills as the *piece de resistance* of the entertainment, so that the disapprobation was not altogether unwarranted.) . . . "This defect, however, was remedied in the representation of the piece on Monday evening, when everything passed off to the satisfaction of all present. The performers, as a body, appeared to exert themselves for the amusement of the public, and we think with success. The scenery is good and the music excellent, the orchestra being composed of the best musicians of which the Colony can boast. The Irishman in London went over with considerable eclat. In conclusion, we hope Mr. Levey's spirited exertion will be rewarded with the constant patronage of the public of New South Wales. The female characters were sustained by Mrs. Love, Mrs. Coveney, and Mrs. Dawes, the whole of whom, we trust, will improve by practice, as we thought them very inanimate."

This somewhat brusque and ungallant conclusion, and, indeed, the whole wording of a notice which, at its best, is a damnation with faint praise, is curious, considering the importance of the occasion. Nor could the cast of actors who presented the plays be considered in any way inferior. It included, in particular, in Conrad Knowles, an actor of deserved repute as a Shakespearean impersonator, while Mrs. Love, on the *HERALD*'s own showing on a previous occasion, was "an actress of commendable variety, combining verve with a natural elegance." Perhaps the lack of vivacity shown by the explosion had helped to sour the critic's judgment in respect to the rest of the performers.

The "Victoria" or "Royal Victoria" was the second theatre to be built in Sydney. It was opened on the 26th March, 1838, the old "Royal" closing its doors just four days previously. The Victoria stood in Pitt Street, between Park and Market Streets, and was long and affectionately known as "The Old Vic." The first production to be staged there was *Othello*, and this was followed — on the same programme — with the

laughable farce, *The Middy Ashore*. The prices ranged from 5/- in the "dress boxes" to 1/- in the gallery; so that the "gods" at least got plenty for their money. The part of Othello was taken by Mr. Arabin, "from the Hobart Town Theatre." The HERALD's report of the opening performance shows that the Victoria was a great advance in size and appointments on its predecessor. Nearly seventeen hundred persons attended, and, even at that, the building was neither crowded nor uncomfortably hot, despite the fact that it was lighted with Argand lamps. The performance went off "with great eclat." The "dress boxes" were furnished with "elegant chairs," and a curious sidelight is thrown upon the manners of the time by the writer adding that "in the second tier a judicious arrangement . . . separates the front or semi-circular portion from the side ranges; into the latter decent persons may now go without being subject to those annoyances which more or less prevail in every theatre." The character of the persons who went anywhere else receives rather a left-handed compliment from this description, but possibly that was not exactly the implication the writer intended to convey. "Mr. Arabin," we are informed, "manifested a very chaste conception of his part. . . . We would, however, recommend him to cure himself of that vile habit, so common among our colonial actors and actresses, of addressing the soliloquies and dialogue direct to the audience."

If we may accept his own estimate, the first "star" actor to appear upon the boards of "The Old Vic" was George Coppin, whose life, from the day he first appeared as an "infant prodigy," playing the violin in an English country town at the mature age of four, to his death in Melbourne in 1906, was one of singular adventure and vicissitude. Coppin, indeed, is probably more closely associated with the history of Eastern Australia, in the second half of the last century (and not by any means on its theatrical side alone), than any other member of his profession. During his theatrical career here he built six theatres and managed many others; he introduced more than 200 artists of repute to Australian audiences, including G. V. Brooke, with whom he was for some time in partnership in Melbourne; and he acted with conspicuous success in almost every variety of play from Shakespeare to farce, not only in every Australian capital, but also in London, where he appeared at the Haymarket Theatre during a short season in 1854. Coppin also found time for politics. He was elected to the Victorian Legislative Council in 1858 and, although not taken very seriously as a legislator, he proved himself an ardent advocate of the federation of Australia and of intercolonial free trade. Later on, having resigned his Councillorship, he was elected to the Legislative Assembly by the electorate of East Melbourne, and represented that constituency for ten years. Finally he was elected by the province of Melbourne as one of its representatives in the Legislative Council. He was also a founder of the seaside township of Sorrento, near Port Phillip Heads; he was actively associated with the early history of the Humane Association and of the Old Colonists Association, and in many other ways proved himself to be "as good a man off the boards as on them."

Before leaving the subject of the "Old Vic"—for a time, at any rate—it is appropriate to mention that in 1845 the theatre was occupied by a "company which played grand opera three times a week, tragedy twice, and burlesque once," and that its "leading lady" was Theodosia Yates, a descendant of the great Mrs. Yates of Garrick's time. She was also the mother of Miss Nellie Stewart, who still lives in Sydney, and who has proved herself to be one of the most popular and versatile actresses that Australia has known.

In 1843, Sydney saw another theatre added to its attractions. This was the "City Theatre," which opened its doors to the public for the first time on the evening of

Saturday, the 20th May. The HERALD of the 22nd describes it as being fitted up in "tasteful and elegant manner," and briefly disposes of the performance in four lines. As the programme consisted of three separate plays, this can hardly be described as a generous reception on the part of the paper. However, if the HERALD had little to say about the theatre, the plays or the players, it certainly exhibited no little interest in the "Addresses" which the proprietor, following historic example, had invited for the occasion. The prize "Address" was delivered from the stage by Mr. Nesbitt, the principal actor of the company, and the HERALD printed it in full when reporting the performance. The verses are mainly remarkable for the fact that they rhyme "theatre" with "speculator" and afford the information that the building had been brought out from England in sections and pieced together upon arrival. But the HERALD was not content with publishing the prize address; it invited the authors of the "rejected" entries to send along their efforts for publication, too. The result can well be imagined. There were quite a number of competitors, and every one of them was naturally eager to see this "little thing of his own" in print. The paper was inundated with the rejected addresses, but could find room for only eight. These are duly set out in the issue of the 25th, and take up four full columns of small and very closely printed type. All that need be said of them is that their publication explains what had at first seemed inexplicable, *viz.*, how the accepted address had ever won that distinction.

The "City" Theatre plays but a very small part in the history of Australian Drama; and we need only make one other brief reference to it. Shortly after its opening, an individual who called himself Henry Kemble and asserted his close connection with the famous theatrical family of that name, but whose main occupation in Sydney up to that time had been that of a vendor of matches (which he was wont to produce grandiloquently from the recesses of a top-hat), gave a series of dramatic representations in costume. He chose the City Theatre to do it in; and as the representations included dialogues, he had on occasion to emulate Mrs. Malaprop's Cerberus and be "two gentlemen at once." The climax came when he interpreted the characters of Othello and Iago in their famous "jealousy scene." For he had blacked one side of his face to represent the Moor and left it uncoloured on the other, for Iago; and he turned himself to the audience in accordance with the necessities of the dialogue. As a humorous turn the performance seems to have been, literally, a "riot," but as a serious effort to interpret Shakespeare it can hardly be classed as a success.

The gold discoveries of the early 'fifties naturally gave a great fillip to theatrical activities generally, and Sydney profited as a result. In 1856 The Prince of Wales Theatre was opened, and its productions were eagerly welcomed by the citizens. Many distinguished actors visited Australia about this time; among them G. V. Brooke, Fanny Cathcart, the Wallers, Laura Keane, and Edwin Booth; and, a little later on, Charles Dillon, Joseph Jefferson, Charles Kean and his wife, Barry Sullivan, William Anderson and Walter Montgomery. Shakespeare was the main attraction, the Hamlet of Montgomery arousing particular interest and a lengthy correspondence in the HERALD on the question of the sanity of the unhappy Prince. In the 'sixties, too, London sent us a beautiful celebrity in Madame Celeste, and a few years later the mercurial Charles Matthews delighted Australian audiences for a lengthy season.

In 1851 Mr. Edward Reeve, then and for many years thereafter a leading member of the HERALD literary staff, published a drama entitled *Raymond, the Lord of Milan*, which he had expressly written with the intention of having it staged in Sydney with Nesbitt in the leading role. For some reason which has not come down to us, this arrangement fell through, and Reeve then had the play published by Messrs. Hawkes-

ley and Cunninghame, of Sydney. *Raymond* was one of the first plays to be written and published in Australia; and even if it had had no other claim to attention, this one would be sufficient. But that it was a drama of no mean dramatic and literary quality was subsequently proved. For twelve years later it was staged at the "Old Vic," a well-known actor in the person of C. F. Warner playing the principal part. The *HERALD* of the 15th September, 1863, "noticed" the first performance, which had taken place the previous night, in a lengthy paragraph, from which we learn that the tragedy was "pronounced to be an unqualified success." A very large audience greeted the play, and at the end of it the leading actors and the author were called before the curtain and warmly cheered. Mr. Warner, we are told, "showed so great a conception of his part that it evidently promises fairly to become one of his greatest impersonations." However, the season closed a few nights later, and of the future history of the play, if it had one, there appears to be no record.

In January, 1856, that extraordinary woman, Lola Montes, virago, dancer, disturber of governments and King's leman, paid a visit to Sydney and appeared upon the stage of the "Old Vic." She achieved a certain success of curiosity; but her notoriety could not compensate for her "lack of histrionic and saltatory abilities," and the season rapidly developed into a "frost." The first performance occurred on the night of the 7th January, but the *HERALD* did not deign to notice the appearances of "the world-renowned artiste" (as her manager had extravagantly advertised her with a significance that it is possible he neither intended nor appreciated), until nearly a week had passed. Then there appeared, in the issue of the 11th January, the following devastating paragraph:

"Madame Lola Montes has secured tolerably numerous houses. . . . Mr. Folland's light comedy is good, and Mrs. Crosby has improved during her absence from Sydney, but the Lolaic entertainments, on the whole, have not been remarkably attractive—*Montes parturiunt, nascetur ridiculus mus.*"

The double-barrelled thrust in that quotation and its neat pun, must have given its author considerable satisfaction, although, as the fair Lola was celebrated for her "short way with dissenters," he was taking a considerable risk of a horse-whipping in perpetrating it. However, he seems to have escaped, and less than a month later we read in the shipping column, among the passengers for Melbourne by the good ship "Telegraph" the name of Madame Lola Montes. But a curious contiguity, the next name upon the list is that of Dr. Lang! Evidently poverty sometimes plays second fiddle to a sea voyage in respect of the strangeness of the companionships it creates. It is of interest to note, by the way, from the paragraph lastly quoted that, despite the glitter and excitement of the times, the Sydney stage was at this particular juncture in anything but a prosperous condition. For the writer going on to say a word or two about the performance at the Prince of Wales Theatre, thus puts it:

The houses at the Prince of Wales have recently been of a very homœopathic description; a "rush or two to the gallery" or the appearance of "one more man just come into the pit" having often of late being quite as noticeable events in this establishment as in that under the direction of Mr. Vincent Crummies. It is proposed to convert this theatre into a gigantic casino; a project we think by no means expedient on the score of either pay or purity. Members of the dramatic profession are as unsettled at present as starlings just about to take the wing, and a considerable migration, in the direction of Melbourne or San Francisco, will probably take place.

However, the allurements of the goldfields of Melbourne and California did not prove quite so strong as the writer contemplated. The dramatic depression was only temporary, and a little later on the theatres were full again. They gave, too, both in the calibre of the performers and in the nature of the plays presented, full value for the

prices charged, which were, considering the extravagance of the decade, remarkably reasonable.

With many of the leading members of the profession John Fairfax was upon terms of friendship, although he seldom cared to attend the theatre; and Mr. F. C. Brewer has put it upon record that it was a very common custom for visiting artists of repute, who had made the acquaintance of the proprietor of the *HERALD*, to call and see him at the office and have a friendly chat. Mr. Brewer states that on these occasions both parties seemed to obtain considerable gratification from the interview and that John Fairfax was wont to express in high terms his interest in these acquaintanceships.

In the year 1875 an incident occurred which was to prove of the very greatest importance to Australian dramatic history. This was the first appearance of James Cassius Williamson and his wife—Miss Maggie Moore. Several other theatres had by this time been built, some of them rising literally from the ashes of the older ones; some of them entirely new. Amongst these was the Queen's, and it was here that the Williamsons made their original bow to Sydney audiences in *Struck Oil*. The importance of this event lay not so much in the merits of the play as in the fact that the success which it won induced Williamson to return five years later and to enter upon that life of theatrical management which led in turn to the founding of the firm of J. C. Williamson Ltd., which has ever since dominated—and almost, at times, to the extent of a monopoly—the affairs of the Australian stage.

That same year 1875 was in other ways, too, a great one for the Australian stage. The great Ristori—the Marchese del Grillo, a world-celebrity—appeared in July with the Majeronis, who subsequently staged a number of successful productions on their own account; and the most famous of the Sydney playhouses, the Theatre Royal, was opened in December. Mrs. Scott-Siddons—great grand-daughter of the famous Sarah—attracted all the town to the new playhouse in May of the following year, and in August George Rignold, already famous for his Drury Lane production of *Henry V.*, made his first appearance in Sydney upon its boards in the character of the soldier-king. Thus was begun another association by which the Australian stage was finely benefited—for Rignold, a few years later, was to commence in Sydney that long career as actor-manager which is one of the great memories of all lovers of the dramatic art in this continent. His long occupation of the fine theatre known as Her Majesty's, built for him and opened in September, 1887, was profitable both to him and to his large circle of admirers, for although his productions were largely of that melodramatic order so favoured of Sir Augustus Harris at Drury Lane—Her Majesty's, indeed, being often referred to as "the Lane" of Sydney—they were so magnificently staged and so finely acted and were, in addition, so frequently interspersed with Shakespearean productions to which the same adjectives are equally applicable, that their total effect was markedly to raise the standard of the Australian stage.

Another name which stands high upon the dramatic chronicle of Australia is that of Alfred Dampier, who made his first appearance in Sydney at the Victoria Theatre in February, 1877. Dampier was a fine exponent of Shakespeare, and for this debut he selected the role of Hamlet. For many years thereafter Dampier and a company which, though not brilliant, was thoroughly capable, appeared in the various capitals of Australia, alternating, like Rignold, melodrama with Shakespeare, although not, of course, with the same magnificence of mounting or so fine a band of players. Dampier's greatest success was probably achieved in his dramatisation of Rolfe Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms*—a novel which lent itself readily to dramatisation. It was not until November, 1891, however, that *Robbery Under Arms* first saw the light of stage

production, and in the meantime, a number of other important events had taken their place on the chronicle of the Australian stage. Dion Boucicault, the elder, had appeared at the Theatre Royal in a series of his Irish plays in the middle of 1885, the Criterion had been added to the list of Sydney's theatres and there that combination which is remembered as having produced the finest and most capably acted series of comedies that our stage has ever known, opened in 1887. It was headed by Robert Brough and Dion Boucicault the younger, and its productions and the general excellence of a cast which included, at various times, besides the principals and Mrs. Robert Brough, such artists as G. S. Titheradge, G. W. Anson, Edwin Sass, Cecil Ward, Myra Kemble, Pattie Brown and Hilda Spong, have never been surpassed in Australia.

After a short season of burlesques, the Brough and Boucicault Company turned its attention to the comedies of such modern masters of the art as Robertson and Wilde, Pinero, Jones and Barrie. For nearly twenty years this company, either in its original form, or in that later variation of it known as "The Brough Comedy Company," was responsible for a series of productions of the very highest standard and when, on the 29th August, 1902, it made its farewell appearance in Sydney, prior to final disbandment, the theatre was crowded to excess and both actors and audience were deeply affected. The HERALD's leading article of the following day thus paid tribute to the departing company:

Last night the Brough Company took farewell of the Australian stage, and its departure leaves a decided gap in our theatrical ranks. During its long career it has presented a series of high-class plays which have been a source of delight to a large body of theatre-goers; and as a community we are indebted to it for the opportunities it has afforded us of becoming acquainted with a number of the best plays that have been produced in London in recent years. . . . The choice of plays and their casting and mounting have been uniformly good, and the standard thus maintained has had the effect of educating theatre-goers. Considerable enterprise has been shown in the quick reproduction in Australia of the latest London successes, and, owing to the short runs that are the rule with us, the amount of work cast on the management thus engaged in catering to the public taste has necessarily been heavy. . . . Under these circumstances it is good to be able to record the public appreciation that has been bestowed on the efforts of the Brough Company throughout its career in Australia. This feeling of admiration found expression in the warm sympathy shown by the audience at the close of last night's performance.

It is hardly cause for wonder, then, when, some seven years ago, Mr. Boucicault returned from England with his wife, Miss Irene Vanburgh, and appeared again at the scene of his old triumphs, the event should have awakened memories of the great days of the Brough and Boucicault Company, nor that Sydney folk should have flocked to see again the actor who had so won their hearts some thirty years before. The HERALD, indeed, was so moved by its recollections of those older days that on the 22nd December, 1923, it devoted a leading article to Mr. Boucicault's return. From this we quote as follows:

On the night of the 28th December, 1887, almost thirty-six years ago to the day, the late Robert Brough, fine and well-beloved actor, inaugurated, with the artist whose return we welcome to-night, that "Brough and Boucicault Company" which for nine years thereafter, under that title, and for another six as "The Brough Comedy Co.," was to set the standard in things theatrical and to maintain it with a consistent excellence which the Australian stage had never known before, and has very often forgotten since. Of that company, Mr. Boucicault was the stage manager and producer during the whole period of his association with it, as well as being one of its most admired actors, and it was as the person responsible for the effective staging of the company's long series of plays that he first gained for himself the high reputation as a producer which the dramatic world at large has since confirmed. Nothing but the best was the motto of that company, and very faithfully it lived up to it, as well in the plays which it per-

formed as in the method of their performance, and in the personnel of the actors who performed them. In truth, the days of Brough and Boucicault were the great days of the Australian theatre, and those who remember them must be forgiven the enthusiasm which that memory arouses.

But let us return to the 'eighties. It was in 1887 and 1888 that the late Essie Jenyns, one of the greatest of our native exponents of Shakespearean and other classical roles, briefly but brilliantly illuminated the Australian stage. That her artistry would have won her a world reputation there is little doubt; but, unfortunately for the theatre, her marriage in 1889 put a period to her artistic career. On the 31st March, 1888, an advertisement appears in the *HERALD*, notifying the public of a new production to be staged that night by Rignold at Her Majesty's Theatre. The advertisement has a peculiar interest to this history, and runs as follows:

The management have the honour to announce that they will to-night produce a new version of Goethe's immortal poem, "Faust," in a prologue and five acts, from the pen of Mr. Gilbert Parker. The poem has been dramatised upon the lines of the original play as adapted from the French by Mr. Dion Boucicault for the late Charles Kean, as produced at the Princess's Theatre, London. The beauty and strength of Goethe's thought and all the dramatic incidents have been preserved; and the management have every confidence in placing before the public a powerful dramatic work.

This Mr. Gilbert Parker is now Sir Gilbert Parker, the famous novelist and member of the House of Commons. He was at the time of this production, a member of the editorial staff of the *HERALD*, a position which he occupied for three years.

In a lengthy notice, running into nearly a column, the *HERALD* of the 2nd April speaks eloquently of the splendour and colour of the stage effects and of the general excellence of the acting. The house, we learn, was crowded in almost every part, while as to the literary merits of the adaptation the notice states that, "on the whole, we can cordially congratulate the author on the skilful way in which he has done his work." . . . "The version used . . . is greatly superior to any that has been produced in Australia." Rignold himself played the role of Mephistopheles, while the interest which attaches to the whole performance is increased by the fact that the part of Marguerite was taken "with most graceful and poignant effect" by Miss Kate Bishop (Mrs. Lohr), the mother of Miss Marie Lohr of the present day. Miss Lohr, by the way, was born in Sydney a little more than two years after the eventful first performance just recorded.

A glance at the theatrical columns of the *HERALD* of this particular period shows how completely and efficiently the theatre-goer of that day was catered for. In addition to *Faust* at Her Majesty's, *H.M.S. Pinafore* was being performed at the "Royal," with Miss Leonora Braham, an original "Savoyard," as Josephine, and Maggie Moore as "Dear Little Buttercup"; at the Criterion Theatre the Brough and Boucicault Company were producing Grundy's *Sophia* with a cast which included Mrs. Brough, Myra Kemble, Pattie Brown, Boucicault, Titheradge, Phil Beck and Cecil Ward; at the Gaiety Theatre the Dampiers were running a week of that highly emotional piece of temperance propaganda, *A Woman of the People*, by Frank Harvey; and, in addition to these samples of what we may term, in its larger sense, "the legitimate," a company with Miss Amy Horton at its head was producing Byron's burlesque, *Don Juan Junior*, at the Royal Standard Theatre, while the "Fisk Jubilee Singers," Professor Kennedy, the Mesmerist, and "Hiscock's Federal Christy's Minstrels" combined at various locations to add that variety which is proverbially the spice of life in general and which is certainly the spice of that particular field of life which is represented by public entertainment.

Gilbert Parker was responsible for another successful dramatic adventure a little less than a year after the production of *Faust*. This time he turned from the field of epic poetry and took his play from an extremely popular and melodramatic novel of

the day, entitled *Mr. Barnes of New York*, written by an American named Archibald Clavering Gunter. Parker called his adaptation *Vendetta*, and as it had all the necessary essentials of the melodramatic drama of the day—the injured heroine, the saturnine villain, the smug and platitudinous hero and the “comic relief,” to say nothing of any number of exciting crimes and hairbreadth escapes, the play could have hardly failed to succeed in the experienced hands of so fine a master of his craft as Rignold. But the *HERALD* saw more in its success than that. There is an interesting comment in the notice of the play which is worth quoting. It appears in the issue of the 25th of February, 1889:

. . . On Saturday evening from the dress circle the house appeared to consist of little else than galleries carrying tiers of human faces overlooking a parquet of human heads. . . . There is reason to think that the demonstration of Saturday night might have another significance [than that of the excellence of the staging], and if it may be accepted as expressing the public interest taken in the dramatic work of a local author, and approval of the action of the management in staging a local production, the fact is more encouraging still for those who look forward to the time when we may have a dramatic school of our own. That same unworthy tacit prejudice that seems to exist against anything local is the worst obstacle to be overcome, and, as some evidence of the progress so far made in that direction, Saturday's audience was a good sign. It used to be a by-word amongst managers that no piece was worth producing, whatever its local interest might be, unless it came before the colonial public with a London reputation. But if the large gathering of Sydney theatre-goers that assembled to watch the first performance of *Vendetta* means anything, it means that the fact of a play being written by a local author is sufficient to command a first night audience and a fair hearing, whether the incident and character of the drama be distinctly local or not.

Unfortunately the sign—if, indeed, it were one—has not been fulfilled as yet to an extent that affords much comfort to Australian literary pride or to Australian dramatists. It need only be added of *Vendetta* that, as a melodrama, it was effectively enough written; but as literature, the author of *Pierre and His People* hardly classes it, one imagines, amongst his masterpieces.

For the first fifty years of the *HERALD*'s existence no “specialist” had been engaged to carry out the duties of musical and dramatic critic, such work being entrusted to members of the general literary staff who had shown themselves possessed of some peculiar aptitude for it. Of these, Mr. Neville Barnett, F.R.C.O. (London), and Mrs. Carl Fischer, both of them highly competent musicians themselves, were probably the most prominent, so far as musical criticism was concerned, while Mr. F. C. Brewer, whom we have quoted so frequently, “did” the theatres for many years. So complete did his attention to these duties make his knowledge of the Australian stage that, when in 1892 the Government of New South Wales desired to prepare an informatory volume on the Colony for the Chicago World's Columbia Exposition of 1893 it commissioned Mr. Brewer to write that section which was devoted to the history of the local drama. This “pamphlet,” as its author very modestly calls it in his introduction, represents the first attempt of its kind in Australia, and its value to the student of the Australian stage is therefore very great.

In 1889 the proprietors of the *HERALD* resolved to increase their staff by the appointment of a writer whose duties should be confined to musical and dramatic criticism and such kindred subjects as might come within the ambit of such a specialist. Their choice fell upon Mr. Austin Brereton, a London journalist, who had already done good work in that city on the staff, first, of the *St. Stephen's Review* and, later, of *The Stage*. Mr. Brereton remained with the *HERALD* until the middle of 1891, and during the period of his engagement he rendered excellent service. Mr. Brereton subsequently went to the United States and joined the staff of *The Illustrated American*. He finally returned to London, where he wrote or compiled a number of publications of theatrical

interest, including a *Life of Henry Irving*, and where also he was for some time General Manager for Mr. H. B. Irving. He died in London in 1915.

In June, 1890, the great J. L. Toole appeared in Sydney in a selection of his most famous impersonations; but the aged comedian was long past his prime, and such success as he did make was one rather of curiosity than of appreciation. In July of the same year Janet Achurch made history by appearing in Ibsen's *Dolls' House*, this being the first occasion on which the work of the great Norwegian dramatist had been seen on the local stage.

But the great event of the 'nineties was the visit of Sarah Bernhardt. She made her first appearance in Sydney at Her Majesty's Theatre on the 8th July, 1891, in *La Dame aux Camélias*, and followed that production by a number of others, including *Frou-Frou*, *Cleopatre*, *Fedora*, *Jean d'Arc* and *Pauline Blanchard*. This last named play was produced "for the first time on any stage" in Sydney on the 22nd July, a fact which added immensely to the importance of the season, and lends additional interest to the recalling of it now.

The HERALD welcomed the great actress—at that time at the very zenith of her powers—in a leading article from which we quote as follows:

The first appearance of Madame Bernhardt on the boards of a Sydney theatre to-night is an event in our artistic records. The eminent actress is so great in her own line, her histrionic reputation is so high, and her fame so world-wide, that the transplanting of this singular glory of the European stage to this part of the world must be taken as marking an epoch. Who would have ventured to predict ten years since, that the creator of some of the greatest characters on the modern stage would be found visiting Australia while her vogue was still at its full tide, and before the attraction of her art had begun to fade? The fact that Madame Bernhardt has found her way to our shores is a recognition of the taste and discrimination of Australian audiences, and a sign that public opinion abroad is awakening to a truer knowledge and a more just appreciation of the intellectual conditions of society here than was current abroad a very few years ago. Madame Ristori, of course, had already shown the way to the great actors and actresses of the old world, but the demonstration does not appear to have been very eagerly availed of. Of late years there has been, however, a marked and growing tendency on the part of leading singers, players and others to recognise the existence of an English-speaking and English-thinking community in Australia possessed of a growing artistic taste and a gift of generous appreciation of the efforts of those who are competent and willing to raise its standard. The effect of such a season as that of Madame Bernhardt cannot fail to have a beneficial influence on the artistic side of life in Australia; and in this light her visit must be regarded with sanguine feelings by all who look to see a cultivated taste as one of the characteristic distinguishing marks of the future national life of the Australians. The phenomenal success of the Bernhardt seasons in Melbourne and Adelaide will doubtless be repeated here, encouraging others to follow in the enterprising footsteps of our present distinguished visitor; so that, having seen the original exponent of Sardou's *Cleopatra* and *Theodora* in her heyday, we may now perhaps look forward with some reasonable hope to a visit one of these days from Henry Irving, Ellen Terry and other famous devotees of the art whose mission it is to hold the mirror up to Nature and familiarise the popular mind and ear with the music of noble thoughts expressed in noble words.

The season was splendidly covered by the HERALD in every way, but in none more than in the series of critical studies of the actual performances which it published. As the programme was changed almost daily, this necessitated an immense amount of work on the part of the writer responsible for them. But even when a first performance occurred on a mid-week-night the issue of the following morning contained at least a column, and very often two columns, not only describing the play itself, but commenting acutely and comprehensively upon the staging and acting. These critiques were the work of Mr. Gerald Marr-Thompson, an experienced writer who had come from *The Sydney Daily Telegraph* to take up the appointment vacated by Mr. Brereton. It was a tremendous test for a newcomer; but how well he answered to it is made eminently

clear by a perusal of his articles. Mr. Marr-Thompson retained his position as the *HERALD's* musical and dramatic critic for thirty-four years, retiring only so lately as 1925, by which time he had become the *doyen* of his profession and one of the best-known and most generally respected members of it. We quote briefly from his account (in the issue of the 9th July) of the "Divine Sarah's" first appearance in Sydney:

Mme. Bernhardt's first appearance, which is made almost immediately after Nanine has given the audience the cue "C'est Madame" was the signal for cordial applause from every part of the house. The enthusiasm was demonstrative, but it was not at all uproarious, and the attitude of the audience, which in the early part of the evening was one of close attention gradually developing into the fervent expression of approval of the later scenes, was evidently the outcome of a full comprehension and intelligent appreciation of the actress's method. It was a remarkable fact that the course of the dramatic action was not interrupted by a spontaneous burst of applause until the scene with M. Duval in the third act. There, when Mme. Bernhardt cried in a voice of poignant grief and agony. "Quittez Armand, Monsieur, autant me tuer tout de suite," the audience broke the silence of strained attention which had hitherto prevailed whilst the piece was in progress, and expressed their admiration and emotion in a sudden burst of applause. From that moment, as the varied expressions of voice and gesture enforced the rapidly increasing dramatic interest of the play the quickness with which every point was recognised was, perhaps, the greatest tribute to the artist's genius that could have been paid her. At no time, be it understood, had there been anything but the warmest sympathy with the Marguerite of the evening. But the extreme finesse of her art, the poetry of love making, and the delicacy everywhere so delightfully apparent, demanded the closest attention, and that it received such intelligent consideration as finally crowned the pathos and poetical realism of the death scene with ringing cheers from every side and four or five tumultuous recalls, must be taken as convincing proof as well of the high intelligence of the great mass of playgoers as of the triumphant genius of Sarah Bernhardt.

This notice of the *Lady of the Camelias* was preceded by an account of the great actress's arrival in the city, from which, as it throws an amusing and intimate side-glance upon some of her "little idiosyncracies," we also venture to quote a few sentences:

Both outside Redfern Station and around the "Australia" hundreds of persons waited patiently, in the hope of gaining a transitory glimpse of the celebrated actress; and although the station-master at Redfern enforced the rule excluding from the platform all who had not tickets, yet, when the train hove in sight, the pressure exceeded the preparations made to meet it, and the excited throng surged in towards the approaching railway carriages. A scene of great confusion ensued as the hotel servants endeavoured to secure in safety Mme. Bernhardt's hundred and one parcels, wraps, and animals and cages. All were at last removed, however, and amidst a continued fusillade of cheering Mme. Bernhardt drove away with Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Abbey to the hotel.

The pretty suite was charmingly decorated with flowers, and Mme. Bernhardt, who is nothing if not good-natured, declared that the *tout ensemble* was more homelike than anything she had seen since she had left Paris. The new arrival at once sent for all her animals, who were quite soon at home in their richly-carpeted snugery. The big St. Bernard was hugged, the pug dog was rewarded with a dish of milk and a kiss, the comical-looking little native bear was encouraged to be friendly, and the cages of 'possums, parrots and other unconsidered trifles were arranged about the rooms and balcony. Then Madame's enthusiasm lighted upon the memory of her two little shipboard pets, the children of Mrs. Edwin Moore, who had travelled with her on the "Monowai" from San Francisco. These little ones, familiarly known as "Harry" and "Pinky," were accordingly made much of, and the afternoon's excitement culminated in a gorgeous lunch, to which Mme. Bernhardt invited Mr. and Mrs. Abbey. Thenceforth, and until she left the "Australia" for Her Majesty's Theatre, the actress rested quietly in her own room.

The greatest event of the season—indeed, it is probably the greatest event in the history of the Australian stage—was the production of *Pauline Blanchard* on the night of the 22nd. The play had been written specially for Mme. Bernhardt by M. Darmont, the *jeun premier* of her company, and her "creation" of its name part was awaited with the most lively anticipation. A long account of the play and of its author was given in the issue of 22nd, and from this we cull the following extract:

It is a far cry from the banks of the Loire to the shores of Port Jackson; from the old-time duchy of Burgundy, where the bronzed vine leaves conceal the clustering fruit which has made its name familiar throughout the world, to one of the latest born of the British Empire's possessions. And it is passing strange that a tragedy which occurred sixteen years ago amongst some obscure peasants of an obscure commune in that distant French province should form the groundwork of a drama destined first to see the light of publicity amid scenes so removed from, and so utterly at variance with, those in which it may be said have had its birth. Indeed, it is a unique experience in our dramatic annals, and the production for the first time of an entirely new play, interpreted by the world's greatest living artiste, may be held to be well worthy of something more than mere passing mention.

Madame Sarah Bernhardt has had triumphant seasons in the two southern capitals, but has reserved to the playgoers of Australia's premier city and her first landing place on the continent the opportunity of first seeing her in a new creation. The gracefulness of this compliment will be the more appreciated by the people of Sydney when it is remembered that of all the cities she has visited heretofore, only Paris, London, and New York have witnessed her debut in a new play, and that such an event excites the deepest interest throughout the artistic world. The young actor-author of *Pauline Blanchard*—M. Darmont is only 25 years of age—while adhering to the main points of the original tragedy, some of the actors of which are alive at the present time, has contrived to treat the subject poetically and yet present us with a picture of peasant life peculiar to the locality. He is here on his own ground, and may safely be regarded as an expert, his childhood and much of his youth having been passed among the peasantry of France.

The HERALD of the 23rd contained Mr. Marr-Thompson's criticism of the new play, and from it we take the following extract:

Enthusiasm reigned supreme at Her Majesty's Theatre last night. M. Darmont's new play, *Pauline Blanchard*, proved a strong, realistic drama of the modern school. The action of the first act was singularly animated and full of interest. Thus, the audience proved immediately sympathetic, and when in the last two acts Madame Bernhardt, in the scenes of madness and murder, played with a tragic intensity that she has not yet afforded, the fortune of *Pauline Blanchard* became doubly assured. Truly the author, who owes so much to the actress who created the title-role, shared with her a triumph which could have scarcely been more complete in Paris itself. When the curtain fell upon the sixth act—that word "sixth" will some day be changed to "fifth" when a little judicious condensation and rearrangement of the scenes has been made—at 11.45 p.m., all the actors were called forward again and again. Then frantic cries for "Darmont" pronounced English fashion with unfamiliar effect, rent the air, and M. Duquesne, stepping to the footlights when the cheering had subsided, said in French: "Ladies and gentlemen, you are right; the credit of the success you have had the pleasure of witnessing this evening belongs, no doubt, to M. Darmont." Mme. Bernhardt gesticulated with smiles her approval of the sentiment, and, finally, as the uproar still continued, the young author came forward to receive the ringing cheers which were honestly his due.

A real "first night" is a rare thing in Australia. Sydney has not witnessed such an event since the production in July, 1889, of Henri Kowalski's opera, *Moustique*. Mme. Bernhardt has added to her repertoire another popular role, realistic and even repellent, but characterised by some of her most impressive art. More than this, the drama furnished some capital acting parts. Duquesne, Piron, and Darmont made great successes last night, and others of the company did well. It has been proved that the new drama is effective with an English audience. Apart from the sympathetic nature of the lovers' parts, the action is rapid—the only exception being the "talky" opening of the second act, and the over-elaboration of the character which gave slowness to the opening of the third. Here Mme. Gilbert's impersonation of Angelina, the aged rustic, was admirable; and is quite possible that, spoken in English, the drama would not need closing up in any way. This touch of peasant character by Mme. Gilbert brings us to a feature of the drama which helps to make it *viable* with English audiences. It gives a faithful picture of rural France, and not only are the dresses very accurate—a fact to which many French people bore admiring testimony last night—but the scenery is adequate.

On the 29th July, the Bernhardt season was transferred to, and continued at, the Royal Theatre for a further nine nights. *Theodora* was the opening production at the "Royal" and proved an immense success. Madame Bernhardt made her last appear-

ance in Sydney in the same play as that in which she had introduced herself into the city, *La Dame Aux Camelias*. The occasion (Saturday, 8th August) was an extraordinarily brilliant one. The *HERALD* recognised its importance by again devoting one of its leading articles of the day to the Bernhardt tour. The "notice" of the performance appeared in the issue of the 10th, and, after describing the final scene, the writer briefly reviewed the season and paid a farewell tribute to the genius and artistry of Bernhardt. We quote from his account of the last few moments of an historic night:

It is useless for the hypercritical to tell us that acting like this does not constitute greatness, or that the mere technique of art can reach up to "the truth which Nature cannot miss." Sydney playgoers, at any rate, will hold with no such heresy, and accordingly wept and laughed, and cheered and applauded Sarah Bernhardt on her farewell night with an abandon which we have never seen paralleled anywhere. The house was crowded, and there was not a vacant seat when the curtain fell finally as Marguerite, standing as she bowed her head upon Armand's breast, murmured "Je ne souffre plus . . . ah, que je me sens bien," and painfully breathed her last. All kept their seats, enthralled by the exquisite delicacy of the art in which the decay of Nature was so gently suggested. Then the actress was called forward again and again, as if the audience would never weary of expressing their thanks. Mr. J. C. Williamson, to whose enterprise it is chiefly due that Mme. Bernhardt and her company have visited Australia, then begged the audience to desist for a while in order that some leading members of the musical and dramatic profession might have time to marshal themselves upon the stage. When the curtain drew up again, whilst the orchestra played the "Marseillaise" and the tricolour was waved from the upper boxes, Mme. Bernhardt was seen, surrounded by the entire French company, and by a goodly number of her English brothers and sisters in art.

Innumerable baskets of flowers were presented to Mme. Bernhardt amidst indescribable enthusiasm and, at last, as the audience even at that late hour demanded a speech, M. Kowalski was deputed to speak on Madam's behalf, when he assured those present that the memory of that happy evening, and of all the kindnesses she had received at the hands of Australian audiences, would long abide in the heart of Sarah Bernhardt. After this the curtain rose and fell half-a-dozen times, and the desire to hear a few words from the great actress herself was so evident that Mr. Williamson begged her to make an endeavour. Mme. Bernhardt then advanced to the footlights alone, but was too greatly moved for speech, and, extending her arms in an expressive gesture of grateful humility, bowed her head to the storm of applause which greeted her silence. There had been no "catcalling," no vulgarity of any kind, to dim the brightness of this last tribute to the great artiste's captivating power, and, accordingly, her wish in the matter being then fully understood, the audience quietly dispersed.

And in such wise did the most important season that the Sydney stage has ever known, come to its appropriate termination.

We have said that it was a great success, both artistically and from the point of view of the public appreciation. That appreciation was exhibited in some of the liveliest scenes that have ever been witnessed outside a Sydney theatre. On the opening night the arrangements for the admission of the public at the main vestibule of the theatre proved totally inadequate. Despite the erection of additional ticket-boxes and the presence of a body of police, a scramble occurred in which several hundreds of persons participated at odd moments and which degenerated in the end into a wild melee. The gates had to be closed by main force, so as to allow those within to enter the building, and the ticket boxes, which had been upset, to be restored—with their flustered occupants—to the perpendicular. Then, by allowing only a few persons to enter through the partially-opened gates, the theatre was gradually filled to its utmost capacity in every part by the eager, agitated, waiting throng.

The theatrical events of the few remaining years of the century naturally provide somewhat of an anti-climax to the historian, although they cannot in that regard even

begin to compare with the descent from the sublime to the ridiculous which the actual scene of Bernhardt's triumphs knew immediately after her departure. For in the issue of the *HERALD* which tells of her last appearance at Her Majesty's appears an advertisement announcing the first appearance at that theatre, on the following night, of John L. Sullivan, the "Champion Pugilist," in *Honest Hearts and Willing Hands*. The chronicler cannot refrain from adding with some satisfaction that the season was a "frost" of the most killing kind.

Despite the anti-climax, however, several events of the period are worthy of note. For instance, mention must be made of the visit of Edward Terry in 1893, of Wilson Barrett in 1898, of Julius Knight, who played leading roles with the Williamson companies for several years, of Cuyler Hastings and Nat Goodwin; and of the founding of the permanent "variety" theatre by Henry Benjamin Leete—best known to all Australians by his stage name of Harry Rickards—in 1893. Rickards—vocalist and comedian—had made a successful tour of the Colony in 1872, and, returning twenty years later, he bought the Garrick Theatre, in Castlereagh Street, re-named it the Tivoli, opened it as the permanent home of what came to be called some years later, "Vaudeville," and, as the result of his management there for a continuous period of over twenty years, was enabled to amass a considerable fortune. Practically every music-hall star of magnitude who blazed in the firmament of England or the Continent was brought to Australia by Rickards, and his name and that of his theatre were as household words upon the lips of the Australian theatre-goers of his period. He died in 1911; and, after a somewhat precarious further existence of some fifteen years, the Tivoli was dismantled and is now but an indistinguishable member of an undistinguished row of shops and offices. It was in the 'nineties, too, that Bland Holt, the son of Clarence Holt, well known to the English stage, achieved the greatest successes of his more than twenty years' theatrical management in Australia. His melodramas were staged with a Drury Lane-like opulence, and frequently outclassed, in this respect, even those of the great Rignold himself.

The list of famous dramatic artists who have visited Sydney since the beginning of 1900 is a long and, in some ways, a very distinguished one. We can only briefly mention a few of the more important of the names it carries. Miss Margaret Anglin came here in 1908. Oscar Asche—himself an Australian—and his wife, Miss Lily Brayton, were the principals in a very successful season in 1909. H. B. Irving and his company came closely on their heels and Miss Ethel Irving, Lewis Waller and Miss Madge Tith-eradge followed a little later. During the war period the most interesting stage personalities who came to the antipodes were Miss Sara Allgood, Miss Emilie Polini and Mr. Guy Bates Post; and since 1918 closed the doors of Janus we recall the visits of Miss Marie Tempest, Lady Forbes-Robertson (Miss Gertrude Elliott), the two of Mr. Dion Boucicault and Miss Irene Vanburgh (who first came to Australia with J. L. Toole), of Mr. Seymour Hicks, Miss Ellaline Terris, Maurice Moscovitch, Miss Margaret Bannerman and Miss Angela Baddeley. The last named actress played the leading roles in a season devoted to the comedies of Barrie, "produced" by Dion Boucicault, who returned to Australia especially for that purpose. These productions—as indeed were the majority of those referred to as having been staged since the 'eighties—were under the Williamson management, and that fact renders it necessary to add a few words as to the activities of that firm. Williamson himself died in Paris in 1913; but two years prior to that event Mr. Hugh Ward—a popular American actor who had appeared in many of the Williamson productions, and also "starred" here in a company of his own—joined the firm. He remained with it until a few years after the close of the Great War, when



To the modern eye the feminine apparel of the 'seventies shown above seems grotesque in the extreme. Yet the "chignon" and the "bustle," the "pork-pie hat" and the heavy flounced and pleated costumes were the last word in "Spring Fashions" for the period.



Large bags and ostrich feathers were some of the hall marks of fashion in 1913.



*When hats were hats.
A garden party in
Sydney in 1911.*



*Fashions on the lawn
at the Spring Racing
Carnival of 1910.
Female ankles were
invisible then.*

he retired to live privately in Sydney. His patriotic activities during the war were innumerable, and resulted in the raising of very large sums for the various funds. Sir George Tallis had also joined the firm some years before this, and now represents it in association with Messrs. E. J. and Frank Tait. The Tait brothers, after many successful years of high-class concert ventures, entered the domain of theatrical production in 1916, and, eventually, as we have said, joined up with the "Firm." Australia is particularly indebted to them for their enterprise in subsidising, under the management of Mr. Grogan MacMahon—a good actor and one of the most efficient producers the local stage has ever known—the amateur Sydney and Melbourne "Repertory Theatre," an art venture which placed before Australian audiences a large number of the best modern comedies, including many of the "non-commercial" class.

It would be ungrateful to close this hasty summary of the theatrical history of the last thirty years without paying a special tribute to the enterprise of Mr. Allan Wilkie, who, with his wife, Frediswyde Hunter-Watts, for nearly fifteen years has been carrying the banner of "the legitimate" throughout the Commonwealth and New Zealand. Mr. Wilkie has, during that period, staged over twenty of Shakespeare's plays; so long ago as 1924 he "scored" his thousandth consecutive appearance in them; and all these, together with a number of the Restoration and Sheridan comedies, he has produced with an artistic success that has been on the whole very ill rewarded. But with a splendid obstinacy Mr. Wilkie has persevered, having, at times, it is pleasant to be able to record, his financial successes as well as his artistic ones. Unfortunately last October (1930), owing to a combination of causes, he was compelled to announce his defeat and to suspend his managerial activities. It is sincerely to be hoped that the defeat is not a final one, and that the suspension will be but temporary, for the Commonwealth can ill afford to lose the artistic asset that the Wilkie productions have so long represented upon the credit side of its dramatic ledger. Mr. Wilkie was honoured by his sovereign in 1925 by being made a Companion of the British Empire. The *HERALD* has ever been a staunch supporter of Mr. Wilkie, and on the 26th June, 1926, it seized the opportunity of his reappearance in a series of Shakespearean plays to devote a leading article to the subject of his activities. It may be added that Mr. Wilkie has increased the debt which Australia owes him by his recent production in Sydney of *Governor Bligh*, an historical play based upon the experiences in Sydney of that somewhat choleric Viceroy. The author, Miss Doris Egerton-Jones, is an Australian. The play excited considerable interest and not a little discussion among the community, and was excellently produced.

On the whole, however, Australia has not as yet played any very big part in the field of dramatic literature. Indeed, her only dramatist at all well-known outside her own borders, is the late Charles Haddon Chambers, whose *Captain Swift*, *The Idler*, *John o' Dreams*, and *The Tyranny of Tears* have all scored heavily in three continents. *The Sunny South*, a melodrama by George Darrell, and Norman McKeown's *Travellers* also met with success when presented—the first in 1884 and the second in 1912—on the London stage. In addition, a number of Australian authors have seen their plays staged locally with fair success; and there is not wanting evidence to show that the Australian will yet find an assured position among the dramatists of the world. He has to fight the double handicap of distance and prejudice—which is not by any means confined to non-Australians, unfortunately—and the contest is a very hard one. Only time and constant endeavour can bring the victory; but both time and endeavour are his allies. The capital cities have seen of late years a number of more-or-less successful efforts to found and maintain those Repertory Societies by whose means so much good work

has been done in Great Britain and the United States, and although up to the present the supporters of this movement are comparatively few, here again there is room for a confident hope that their endeavours are leavening the community generally with a desire for good plays and the capacity to appreciate them.

The HERALD has done what it can to foster these activities, as, indeed, it has done for the cause of the drama generally. During the years it has frequently devoted its leading columns to the consideration of the theatre and theatrical productions, or to themes akin thereto; and each week, in addition to its criticisms of local productions, it publishes a column of "Musical and Dramatic Notes" dealing with all matters of interest pertaining to the stage.

The theatre suggests Opera, and Opera, Music; and a few words, therefore, may be well added here in reference to the history of these arts. With Music again, as with Drama, there is evidence in the old files of the HERALD to show that such of the colonists of the 'thirties as cared to look for them could find plenty of opportunities, in the terminology of the times, "to pay their court to Euterpe and her siser Muses." Concerts, both vocal and instrumental—to say nothing of some that were a little bit of both and others that were probably nothing of either—were festivals of common occurrence, and the advertisements and notices regarding them appear over and over again in the columns of the HERALD. A paragraph in the issue of the 18th January, 1836, notifying the advent to Australia of one who was later on to make no small stir in the musical world, will be read with interest:

"A gentleman of the name of Wallace, who has ranked high among the Musical Society of Europe, has recently emigrated to these shores, and intends to give a concert in conjunction with the musical strength of the Colony. Mr. Wallace and Mrs. Chester" . . . [a local musician who had recently returned from a visit to England, and who advertises in this same issue that, "from the opportunities she has had, she is now enabled to instruct pupils in the most approved method of forming a pure and correct style of articulation"] . . . "have recently given musical entertainments at Hobart Town with much success; it is hoped that Mrs. C. and Mr. W. will go hand in hand in the business of the Sydney concerts. Mrs. Chester, we perceive, offers her services as a Teacher of Singing; Mr. Wallace, we hear, intends to instruct on the Violin and Pianoforte."

This Mr. Wallace was no other than William Vincent Wallace, who, after many years' travelling in various parts of the world in search of health, was to return to his native England and become famous as the composer of "Maritana" (1845), "Lurline" (1860) and other still well-remembered operas. There are continuous references to his activities in Sydney during the next three years; and it is a tribute to the discernment of the HERALD critic and the community of Sydney as a whole, that his qualities, as a musician of a very high order, were immediately recognised and appreciated. The statement that Wallace at this time "ranked high among the musical societies of Europe," must be taken as being somewhat in the nature of "the puff preliminary"; for he was at this time only in the twenty-first year of his age, and when he had left the Homeland his sole claim to recognition was that he had been the conductor of an orchestra in Dublin.

Although the HERALD paid such anticipatory tributes to the new musician, it did not go out of its way to confirm their correctness by attending his first concert. Of this function we read: "Mr. Wallace's concert on Friday evening, we hear, was attended numerously, and the performances gave entire satisfaction. Mr. Wallace is spoken of as a young man of extraordinary abilities, both on the violin and the pianoforte. None of our reporters being present, we are unable to give the particulars of the concert." The second concert, however, was more fortunate. The musical critic of the HERALD attended

the performance in company with a very large number of other persons, and his "notice" was couched in the most laudatory terms. Here it is, taken from the issue of the 29th February, 1836:

The public had the gratification of hearing Mr. Wallace at his second concert at the Royal Hotel on Friday evening, and to those of the visitors who possessed musical souls, a more intellectual treat could not have been afforded. We certainly do not remember ever hearing, even in that great focus of science—Europe, many whose violin-playing excelled that of Mr. Wallace, either in execution or expression. As a pianist he is also enchanting, and must have made these instruments his study from his childhood—and an apt pupil, too. What more delightful harmony could anyone require than his "Rose Bud of Summer," every attribute of music being called in requisition—the very eloquence of expression—and the most unaccountable meanderings through an unlimited scale of notes, without the slightest confusion or discord. His harmonics were peculiarly grateful to the ear, and reminded us forcibly of the hautboy-swell in our church-organs. Mr. Wallace was rewarded repeatedly by the applauses of the visitors during the evening, and frequently appeared fatigued, attributable, we should say, to his accompanying every song—allowing himself not the least cessation. Mr. Wallace should avoid this at his next appearance before the public. . . . The Concert Room was filled with families of respectability.

It is true that the criticism has a decidedly "juvenile" touch about it, and its tendency to "misca' technicalities"—as Kipling's McAndrew would put it—lends it a humorous touch which was clearly far from the writer's intention. But, after all, it is the intention that counts; and doubtless Wallace forgave the "unaccountable meanderings" of the criticism in view of the very evident enthusiasm which inspired them.

Over and over again, after this date, until the composer left Sydney for ever, the *HERALD* took occasion to offer tribute at the shrine of Wallace's genius. He gave many concerts; and, indeed, as the paper had suggested in its notice of his second one, never spared himself in his devotion to his art. It may be that this incessant labour, working on the poor foundation of a constitution at no time strong, was the cause of his death at the comparatively early age of fifty. Wallace was the first artistic genius of any great importance to come to Australia; and we have therefore given his visit the attention its importance deserves.

It may be added that portion of Wallace's most famous opera, *Maritana*, is said to have been composed in Sydney, and that his sister, Mrs. Wallace Bushelle, who had accompanied him on his visit to Australia, and subsequently appeared in his operas in England, returned to this country in 1864 and settled in Sydney as a teacher of music and singing.

In the same year as that which saw the arrival of Wallace (1836), the Deanes came over from Hobart and entranced all the music-lovers of Sydney with the first classical string quartets ever heard there. This family afterwards settled in Sydney, and for two generations splendidly served the cause of music in all its branches. One member of this second generation, Arthur Deane, after several years' concert-giving in Australia, went to London in the 'nineties and became one of the leading baritones of the Carl Rosa Company. In 1841 Isaac Nathan, a composer of standing—his settings of Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* had given him a more than British celebrity—and so prolific that the list of his works occupies twelve pages of the British Museum Catalogue, arrived in Sydney as an emigrant, his musical activities having failed, despite their quantity and quality, to win him any great financial reward. He settled in Sydney, and his subsequent work in that city earned for him the appropriate title of "the father of Australian music." For over twenty years his influence was exerted towards the fostering of his chosen art, and his concerts and compositions represent the great features of the era. In 1854 the (first or "old") Sydney Philharmonic Society was founded, and for many years its productions of oratorio gained for it the popularity they so well deserved.

Among the soloists who appeared at these festivals was Madame Anna Bishop—the wife of Sir Henry Bishop, the famous composer. The later 'fifties, the 'sixties and the 'seventies were great years for music in Sydney, and the singers and music-makers included such well-known names as Marie Carandini, Sara Flower, Catherine Hayes, Lucy Escott, William Saurin Lyster, John Hill—who subsequently married Ilma di Murska in Melbourne—and Armes Beaumont, a tenor well-remembered in Australia. About this time, too, the concert-goers of Sydney often listened to the beautiful voice of Andrew Fairfax, the nephew of John Fairfax of the *HERALD*. It is said, on good authority, that more than one distinguished musical visitor advised Andrew Fairfax to go to London and embark upon a musical career, prophesying that his voice was of such calibre that, if properly trained, it would win its possessor world-wide fame. But, unfortunately, Fairfax, much as he desired to do so, was unable to accept this advice.

A little later on, Amy Sherwin, the "Tasmanian Nightingale," took Sydney and Melbourne by storm with the beauty of her soaring soprano. She subsequently toured the world as a concert singer and then joined the Carl Rosa Company in England.

In 1884, the second—and present—Philharmonic Society was founded, the first having expired of inanition some time previously. Its first conductor was Max Vogrich, a pianist who had toured with the great violinist, Wilhelmj; but he was almost immediately succeeded in that post by the French composer, Henri Kowalski, who at one time had been pianist to the court of Napoleon III., and whose association with Australia continued for some years. The name of Joseph Bradley, who was subsequently appointed conductor to the Society, must also be remembered in our annals as a musician of the highest class.

In the *HERALD* of Saturday, the 4th July, 1885, there appears an announcement which, though not regarded with any particular importance then, is now compact of interest. An Australian violinist of considerable merit and some European reputation—"Concert-Meister" Kruse—is advertised to commence that evening a series of concerts at the local Theatre Royal; and the advertisement, having devoted considerable space to his abilities and fame, states that "the star" will be supported by a number of able artists, whom it proceeds to name. Among them is a certain "Mrs. Armstrong," a singer whom a notice which appears in another column refers to briefly as a "new soprano," and of whom the world was soon to hear and know considerably more. For Mrs. Armstrong was none other than the lady now known as Dame Nellie Melba, and this was her first professional appearance in Sydney. The Kruse concerts were very successful from an artistic point of view, but reading between the lines of the *HERALD* notices of them, one gathers that financially they must have left much to be desired. These notices read curiously to-day. They naturally devote most of their attention to the principal performer, and the rest of the company have to be content with a few brief lines of semi-approval. "Mrs. Armstrong," says the first notice, "is a soprano with a clear, though rather metallic, voice, well cultivated. . . . Her execution is easy and her style pleasing." One of the intermediate reports asserts that the lady's voice is more suited to operatic music than concert ballads—a comment that certainly reads shrewdly enough in the light of future events—and the last notice of all (17th July, 1885) says farewell to the singer in these somewhat coldly-written terms: "This lady's voice is not at its best in the theatre, but she has sung conscientiously and very agreeably in the face of weather most adverse to vocal success." However, as we note that "Mrs. Armstrong" was encoored on each of her appearances during the evening, it seems that the audience, at any rate, had no complaint to make about the quality of her singing. Indeed, so successful was her debut that Kowalski engaged her for the forthcoming Christmas production

by the Philharmonic Society of *The Messiah*, and her fluency in the "Rejoice Greatly" was hailed as "amazing," although, as the critics pointed out, she was obviously unacquainted with the traditions and methods of oratorio. The following year, undeterred by the comparative failure of her appearances in Australia, she sailed for England, to try her fortunes there. After being rejected as unsuitable by several of the leading musical experts of the homeland (including Sir Arthur Sullivan), she was enabled, largely through the influence of Maurice Strakosch, to go to Paris and be heard by Madame Marchesi, at that time the greatest vocal teacher in Europe. All the world knows the result—how, after a year's assiduous training, she made her operatic debut, under the *nom de theatre* of Madame Melba (an artistic adaptation of "Melbourne," the name of the city of her birth) as Gilda in *Rigoletto* at the Theatre de la Monnaie, in Brussels, on the 15th October, 1887. Thereafter her fame was secure, and she went from triumph to triumph. In May, 1888, she made her first appearance at Covent Garden as Lucia; in 1889 she conquered Paris; in 1890, Milan; in 1893 she toured the United States, and in 1894 she returned to Covent Garden. In 1902 she revisited Australia to give a series of concerts, and after scoring a triumphant success in her native land she returned to Europe. Melba was now at the zenith of her career, and from that time forth until her retirement at Covent Garden before the King and Queen on the 8th June, 1926, she reigned unquestioned everywhere, as the queen of the world's lyric stage.*

In 1887 Martin Simonsen placed Australian music-lovers greatly in his debt by bringing out Roberto Hazon, formerly conductor at the Teatro Dal Verme, at Milan. Hazon remained in Australia for twenty years, and, among other activities, formed and conducted the Amateur Orchestral Society of Sydney. In 1889 he directed a festival of the Philharmonic with Charles Santley in his famous role of *Elijah*. In 1888 the Victorian Government arranged for a visit from Mr. (afterwards Sir) Frederick H. Cowen and a number of instrumentalists, who, with the addition of a body of local musicians, formed the Cowen Orchestra for the Melbourne Exhibition, and subsequently, as a separate organisation, drew immense audiences on many occasions, both in Melbourne and Sydney.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century Australia was visited by a number of leading artists from England, the Continent, and the United States. Indeed, it may be said that, in respect to the visits of musical celebrities, both concert singers and instrumentalists, this continent has always been singularly fortunate. It is impossible to do more than mention a few of the most famous of these visitors. In 1890 came Madame Patey; in 1892 Signor Foli, the basso, and Orlando Harley, the American tenor; in 1893 Madame Antoinette Sterling; in 1894 Philip Newbury, Emily Spada (his wife), Clementine de Vere Sapio and Belle Cole; in 1895 Alice Esty, Robert Cunningham (an Australian by birth), Alec Marsh and Charles Magrath—all four of whom were members of the Carl Rosa Company; in 1898 Albani, and in 1900 Jessie King, the English mezzo-soprano. As for instrumentalists, the list is even longer and more brilliant. Miska Hauser (the first violinist to tour Australia) came out in 1854; while in 1873 Arabella Goddard, the pianist, arrived; Camilla Urso, the Italian violinist, in 1879; in 1880 Henri Ketten and Kowalski, already referred to; in 1881 Wilhelmj, the German violinist; and John Kruse, whose early association with Melba has been mentioned. In the 'nineties came Sir Charles and Lady Hallé (Madame Norman Neruda), whose tour was one of the most successful, from every point of view, recorded in our musical annals; Best, the English organist, who "opened" the great organ of the Sydney Town Hall in 1899; Ovide Musin, a celebrated Belgian violinist; Mark Hambourg;

* As these pages go to press we learn with profound regret of the death of Dame Nellie Melba at Sydney on 23rd February, 1931, after a protracted illness.

the eighty-year-old Chevalier de Kontski, a pianist who added to his abilities as an instrumentalist the interest of being, it was said, Beethoven's last pupil; Elsie Stanley Hall, daughter of the late Mr. W. Stanley Hall, for many years a member of the HERALD literary staff, and Percy Grainger, also an Australian.

The present century has seen here, at various times, a veritable galaxy of stars in every department of music, a few of the first magnitude being all that can be mentioned in the following list: Jean Gerardy, Ada Crossley, Paderewski, Teresa Carreno, Clara Butt, Melba (on several occasions), Kubelik, Katherine Goodson, Peter Dawson, Andrew Black, Emma Calvé, Leonard Borwick, Esta d'Argo, Ben Davies, Louisa Kirkby-Lunn, William Murdoch, Adelina Genée, John MacCormack, Mischa Elman, Watkin Mills, Edward Branscombe, Edna Thornton, Benno Mosiewitsch, Jascha Heifetz, Rosina Buckman, Charles Hackett, Daisy Kennedy, Joseph Hislop, Zimbalist, Galli-Curci, Elsa Stralia, Fritz Kreisler, Anna Pavlova (whose two visits were probably among the most popularly successful events in the history of our stage), Wilhelm Backhaus, Florence Austral and Feodor Chaliapin. Certainly, no one who reads this list can say that Australia has not had her share of the world's best musicians. The principal entrepreneurs associated with these artists were the Messrs. J. and N. Tait, who established their fortune with their first great venture, "The Besses o' the Barn" Band in 1907.

The HERALD reported the tours of all these varied celebrities very fully; its musical criticisms being carefully and interestingly written. But it is unnecessary to refer to these in any detail, or to quote them; for such activities are necessarily part of the regular routine of every great newspaper and are differentiated very little from one another, irrespective of the locality of the journal. The associations of the proprietors of the paper with the advance of music in Australia, however, is quite another matter. John Fairfax was keenly interested in anything which would tend to beautify the social life of the community he served; and he was at all times appreciative of the potentialities of music in that direction. He assisted, both personally and through the medium of his paper, any and every movement to aid the progress of the arts; and of all the arts he loved that of music, perhaps, the best. This predilection was inherited by his sons and by Sir James Reading Fairfax, in particular. Sir James, as we have seen, was one of the founders of the present Philharmonic Society, and was its Vice-President for many years. He was similarly associated with the Sydney Amateur Orchestral Society and was largely instrumental in the Sydney Symphony being formed. The interest which father and son thus exhibited in matters musical has been maintained by their successors; and it may be said that both they and their paper have done whatever was possible and whenever the occasion arose, to further the cause of Australian music generally.

The establishment of the State Conservatorium of Music in Sydney in May, 1915 (as the result of the activities of the Hon. Campbell Carmichael, Minister for Public Instruction in the McGowen and Holman Governments), was highly important in its influence upon the study of music in this country. Mr. Henri Verbrugghen, the first director, who arrived in Sydney in August, 1915, brought to the discharge of his duties a great fund of energy, and under his guidance the Conservatorium rapidly developed as a teaching institution, with an orchestra as one of its important assets. This State Orchestra became a great factor in moulding public taste, as it extended and strengthened the work which had previously been carried on under more serious difficulties by such organisations as the Sydney Symphony Orchestra and the Sydney Amateur Orchestral Society. Mr. Verbrugghen's policy was to make his orchestra permanent, but its cost was heavy, and it was faced with financial difficulties when he went to

America in 1921, and became conductor of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra. In 1922 the State Orchestra was disbanded (much to the regret, and greatly against the advice, of the *HERALD*), but it has been restored upon a less imposing scale by the present Director of the Conservatorium, Dr. W. Arundel Orchard, and its concerts are among the chief events of the year. It has taken its place as one of the leading activities of the Conservatorium, and its qualities are proved by the fact that it has supported such famous artists as Kreisler, Backhaus, and Heifetz in the performance of celebrated concertos. Mr. Verbrugghen devoted special attention also to chamber music, so that the concerts of his string quartets became a feature of the musical life of Sydney. These chamber music programmes have been revived by Dr. Orchard, who had also introduced the annual performance of opera as part of the Conservatorium activities.

Finally, there is the matter of opera to be considered. The enormous expense attaching to the production of grand opera at this distance from the great centres of art in Europe and America has naturally made these manifestations of the musical art rarer in Australia than in almost any other portion of the world. Nevertheless, we have had our share. Our very first performance of opera was provided in 1834, in the shape of Sir Henry Bishop's *Clari, the Maid of Athens*. But that was, in the main, a production of a local company, and although one or two minor productions of a similar nature were staged in 1844 and 1845, it was not until the second half of this latter year that Count Carandini, a political refugee and teacher of dancing, who had come over from Hobart with his wife Marie, and decided to stay in Sydney, really started Australian opera on its eventful journey. His first production was *Fra Diavolo*, which was produced on the 5th of August, with Marie Carandini as Lady Allcash, while another member of the cast was Mrs. Stirling, formerly Theodosia Yates, and who, by her second marriage, was to become the mother of Miss Nellie Stewart. The Carandinis subsequently staged a number of Italian operas with considerable success, and founded a family whose members were prominent in Australian musical circles for fifty years. In the 'fifties there were a number of sporadic attempts to revive Grand Opera, and Sara Flower and, later, Catherine Hayes, were the leading artists in these productions. In 1855-57 a company headed by Anna Bishop toured the leading centres and produced a number of operas, including, for the first time in Australia, *Lucrezia Borgia* and *Linda di Chamounix*.

It was in 1861 that William Saurin Lyster began that long association with Australian opera which has made his name famous in our annals. For twenty years his productions were the delight of Melbourne and Sydney, his casts being led by such singers as Lucy Escott (of Drury Lane), Ilma di Murska, the Austrian soprano, Lucy Chambers and Armes Beaumont, while his conductors included John Hill and Alberto Zelman.

In 1881 the Montagu-Turner company began a visit to Australia which was ultimately extended to cover two years, and during that period they produced that long series of ballad operas in English (together with some of the lighter French and Italian operas) that are still recalled with pleasure by playgoers of the elder generation. In 1886 Martin Simonsen brought out a fine company of Italian artists, including Ciuti, the famous dramatic soprano, Rebotaro, lyric soprano, and the Spanish basso, Tomaso de Alba. A little later Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* and Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci*—those two short operas which are so closely associated in the minds of all playgoers—were produced by J. C. Williamson and George Musgrove, with a cast of Italian singers headed by Del Torre, the soprano who had created the parts of Santuzza and Nedda

in England. Another Italian company, whose principal asset was the soprano, Tancioni Cuttica, toured the country in 1892, and then nine years elapsed before grand opera was heard again in Australia. But after the fast the feast. Two companies—one brought by Musgrove to provide Wagnerian operas, and the other by Williamson to cover the operas of the more modern Italian school—visited Australia in 1900-1 and between them provided performances for a continuous period of ten months. The operas produced by Musgrove included *Tannhauser*, *Lohengrin* and *The Flying Dutchman*, while the Williamson company was seen, in addition to a number of more familiar Italian operas, in *La Boheme*, *La Gioconda*, Verdi's *Otello*, and Giordano's *Fedora*, none of which had previously been staged in Australia. The principals engaged by Musgrove were mainly drawn from the Carl Rosa Opera Company, and included Madame Slapoffski, Ella Russell and Agnes Janson; while De Vere Sapio, Dalia Bassich and Carlo Dani were the particular stars of the Williamson engagement. In both cases the operas were splendidly mounted and finely sung, while largely augmented orchestras enabled the music to be rendered in a style more closely suited to the composer's intentions than had previously been the case. Gustave Slapoffski, the conductor engaged by Musgrove, and his wife, took up their residence in Australia and are to-day well-known figures in the musical circles of Sydney and Melbourne.

Six years later Musgrove brought out a second German opera company which enabled the citizens of the Australian capitals to enjoy a number of Wagnerian works they had not previously seen upon the local stage. The particular event of the season was the magnificent production of *The Valkyrie*, with the great mezzo-soprano, Heinze, in the role of Brunnhilde. Humperdinck's *Hansel and Gretel* was also given for the first time in Australia, and for these reasons the season holds a memorable place in our dramatic annals. In 1910 *Madame Butterfly* was given its Australian premiere, with Miss Amy Castles and Mme. Bel Sorel taking the title role on alternative nights throughout a season of some six weeks. Hazon was again the conductor.

All previous seasons of grand opera, however, had to pale their ineffectual fires before that which the following year was to bring. Melba had long desired and promised to lead a company of first-class artists in a tour of her native land; but so far had not been able to do so. In 1911, however, she was associated with Williamson and John Lemmone, the eminent Australian flautist, in an enterprise which Australians must ever regard as one of the most important and exciting events in the story of the local stage. With Melba were such stars of the operatic firmament as John MacCormack and Zeni, tenors; the mezzo-soprano, Countess de Cisneros; Scandiani, the baritone who subsequently became director of the Milan Opera House; the Polish soprano, Korolewicz-Wayda; and Rosina Buckman. The operas staged included *Aida*, *Samson and Delilah* and *La Tosca*, and these three—after *La Boheme*—were probably the most successful of the tour.

It has been unnecessary to quote the *HERALD*'s references to any of the previous tours, since they were, in the main, the notices that might be expected in such circumstances from any paper of standing. But the arrival of Melba in her native land at the head of her own company, was an event of such magnitude that the *HERALD* was constrained to bestow special attention upon it, and an article in the issue of the 4th September took the event as its theme. We quote briefly from it as follows:

So far as lyric art in Australia is concerned, the occasion was historic. It was so not in the least because opera has never been finely rendered in this country. Are the singers of a few years ago in the same house, Madame De Vere Sapio and Carlo Dani in *Lucia*, Commendatore Larizza and Mlle. Bassich in Verdi's heroic masterpiece, *Otello*, to be so soon forgotten? That would be

a poor compliment, indeed, to the still greater illustration of Italian operatic art which the enterprise of Mr. J. C. Williamson and his directors are now placing before us. The occasion under review is historic, because, for the first time in the history of our country, the reigning European soprano of her generation in Violetta, Gilda, Lucia, and similar roles, is appearing in our midst. More than that, this great artist is an Australian. Nine years ago Mme. Melba, by presenting important scenes here with the assistance of vocalists of recognised talent, removed all possibility of the reproach that she had delighted all the world, whilst forgetting her native land. Now, by another forward step along the thorny path of operatic enterprise, far-removed from accessible art-centre, this dauntless organiser has undertaken to place before audiences of the Commonwealth twelve works in a manner which might befit the lyric theatres of Europe.

It is of interest, too, to quote the *HERALD*'s musical and dramatic critic upon the performance of the diva and of the leading members of her company in this, their first appearance, in Sydney in Grand Opera. His "notice" of the event appears in the same issue as that from which we have just quoted, and runs as follows:

This Violetta of history dresses the part in the pre-Victorian period, wearing a full-skirted gown of sea-green silk and filmy lace flounces over silver tissue, with the allegorical "scentless camellias" of the story from waist to hem, and a band of diamonds clasping the dark hair. As an actress she shows herself very easy and self-possessed in her movements, and plays the part, not in a great way, but as one who knows her business. But the impersonation is absolutely dominated by that magic voice, which colours it through and through. Constantly the songstress thrilled the audience, more especially by the spontaneity and brilliant vocalisation of "Ah, fors e lui," and with the wonderful quality of the recurring high C's in the vivacious "Sempre Libera." It is, however, the girlish freshness and limpidity of this voice that is so strangely touching, and by it the singer idealises the whole of the beautiful music of the second act, notably in "Dite alla giovine," gives elevation to the pathetic "Addio del Passato" at the opening of the final act, and adds all the force of a moral lesson to the last farewell to the lover.

Mr. John MacCormack, the young Irish tenor, proved a potent factor in the success of the whole representation. In the opening brindisi, "Libiamo," which he shares with the prima donna, the new Alfredo displayed a charming voice of rare sweetness. The calibre of the organ lies midway between two other lyric tenors who, after singing here, appeared throughout seasons at Covent Garden—namely, Dimitresco, who was just a shade heavier, and Dani, who was a little more silvery. Mr. MacCormack, besides blending his voice perfectly with the diva in "Parigi O Cara" at the bedside, sang with an exquisite effect of reflective tenderness the opening soliloquy, "De miel bollenti spiriti" in Act II., and showed the full power of his voice in the passionate intensity of the reproaches in the ball-room scene. . . . Signor Scandiani, cleverly made-up, with the lined face and eminently respectable get-up of an antique lawyer of the period, proved a wonderfully artistic and sympathetic elder Germont. He makes a legitimate and highly effective use of the *mezza voce*, as was evidenced in the lovely aria, "Pura siccome un angelo," and by his refinement and restraint supported Madame Melba's idyllic reading, so that his outbursts of "Piangi, Piangi!" (Weep, weep!) in the duet with the soprano, never became melodramatic. There was nothing very special about the baritone's rendering of "Di Provenza il mar, il suol"—but who cares at this time of day about that time-worn, barley-sugar little tune?

Altogether it may be said that, even as the *HERALD* had recognised the visit of Bernhardt in the year 1891 as the outstanding event of the Australian stage up to that date, so it now recognised the Melba opera season of 1911 as being of similar importance in its later history.

Great as was the interest and value of this tour, however, it was followed next year by another which almost rivalled it in those characteristics. Late in 1910 the Quinlan Opera Company, brought together by the associated enterprise of Sir Thomas Beecham and Mr. Thomas Quinlan, set out from Europe on a world tour, and towards the middle of 1912 they arrived in Australia. The company opened under the ægis of Williamson and the personal direction of Thomas Quinlan at Her Majesty's Theatre in Sydney on the 13th July in *The Tales of Hoffman*. The visit had been eagerly anticipated, for a finer company of stars had never yet been gathered together, not even by Melba in the

previous year. It included, with lesser lights, such famous singers as Agnes Nichols, Jeanne Brola, Lalla Miranda, Edna Thornton, Julia Caroli, John Coates, John Harrison, Robert Parker, Allan Hinckley, and Charles Magrath. A complete triple cast for all the operas on the repertoire was carried, together with an orchestra of fifty and a large chorus—a thing which had never been done before, previous managers relying on local sources for the greater portion of the chorus and orchestra—while a number of operas new to Australia were announced for production. These proved to be Offenbach's fantastic work with which the season opened, *The Prodigal Son* (Debussy), *The Girl of the Golden West* (Puccini), and *Tristan and Isolde*. The other operas included nearly all the German, Italian and French favourites which had already composed the repertoires of preceding companies.

The HERALD welcomed the arrival of the Quinlan company with a leading article on the 13th July, 1912, from which we quote as follows:

The opera season to be inaugurated to-night is assured of a welcome from Sydney audiences that will be no less enthusiastic than well-deserved. For, by reason both of the courageous enterprise which has inspired it and of its own merits as an art factor, the Quinlan Opera Company has uncommon claim on us. For one thing, its visit follows closely upon that of the Melba Opera Company. There is in it, therefore, gratifying testimony to ourselves. An art appeal on the large scale, that is to say, is believed to be assured of our reception of it—and not very long memories are needed to recall a time when such was far from being the case.

We welcome it, too, as presenting opera in English, and therefore as giving promise of wide appeal. As to that, however, opinion will always differ as to whether the language in which the composer frames his musical thought is not the best language for presentation of that thought, and whether, after all, the occasional gain to the audience in one direction is not more than counterbalanced by loss in others.

Apart from its principals, the Quinlan Opera Company presents to us a chorus and an orchestra specially organised for this tour, and come to us, like the principals, from abroad. This is a new note in opera enterprise, and of supreme importance. The chorus needs no discussion just now, but as to the orchestra, it may be said that if one thing more than another may be expected to give unique distinction to this season, it is that for the first time we shall hear an orchestra approaching the calibre of those of the European opera houses. For an opera orchestra is not to be had, as we have so often been persuaded it may be had, by the mere process of gathering musicians promiscuously, and rehearsing them a day or two. On the contrary, the modern opera orchestra is an organisation of specialists in opera, accustomed to play it often, and with each other. Then only is it the finely-balanced dominating influence it is meant to be, and then only is it at all capable of interpreting the eloquence of a modern score.

The tour proved so immensely successful from an artistic point of view that Mr. Quinlan was induced, under a guarantee of the subscription of the expense, to organise a second and similar venture in 1913. His company on this occasion was composed of no fewer than 170 persons, of whom 22 were principals. The more important of these were Perceval Allen, Felice Lyne, Jeanne Brola, Gladys Ancrum, Edna Thornton, Spencer Thomas, Maurice D'Oisly, Robert Parker, W. J. Samuell, Graham Marr and William Anderson. The great feature of the tour was the magnificent production of the four works of Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelung*. *The Mastersingers* and Charpentier's *Louise* were also given—in each case for the first time in Australia.

During the Great War grand opera was naturally almost unheard in Australia. But in 1916 a company appeared at the Grand Opera House in Sydney which it would be ungrateful not to mention. It was formed by the Signori Gonsalez, and arrived here from Russia and the East. It included several fine singers—particularly among the male members of the company—and it produced a number of operas under the management of Sir Benjamin and Mr. John Fuller. The operas were staged at reduced prices and the season proved highly popular. In 1928, during the Melba season, to be referred

to presently, the Fuller management, in association with Signor Gonsalez, again staged a season of Grand Opera at the St. James's Theatre, which they had recently opened in Sydney; and again large audiences were attracted by the quality of the performances and the reasonableness of the charges. Prior to these ventures the Fullers had relied upon vaudeville, with which they had long been associated, both in Australia and New Zealand.

In 1924, Dame Nellie Melba, in association with Mr. J. N. Tait and Mr. John Lemmone, again gathered together a very fine body of artists, foremost among whom were Toti dal Monte, lyric soprano, and Dino Borgioli, a tenor whose popularity was as great as it was well merited. The Sydney season was opened on the 21st June with *La Boheme*, Melba herself taking her famous role of "Mimi." The diva, however, did not appear on many other occasions, dal Monte, Lina Scavizzi, or Augusta Concato being entrusted with the great majority of the soprano roles. The novelty of the tour was Giordano's *Andre Chenier*, while Donizetti's *Don Pasquale*, which had not been heard in Australia for many years, was revived and welcomed with enthusiasm. In addition to the leading performers already named, the company included Lahoska, "the Spanish Carmen," and Apollo Granforte, a baritone who combined a fine voice with acting ability of a high order. The tenor, Nino Piccaluga, and Phyllis Archibald, contralto (the only Englishwoman in the company) were also included among the principals.

The season was so successful that another tour was arranged by and between Dame Nellie and J. C. Williamson Ltd. two years later. Many of the principals of the former company appeared again with the second, which opened its Sydney season on the 7th July, 1928, but Borgioli was absent, the leading tenors being Francesco Merli and De Muro Lomanto. John Brownlee (who had already made a reputation at the Paris Opera House, and was subsequently to achieve fame at Covent Garden in the season of 1929 by his magnificent performances in *Aida*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Tannhauser*) was also with the company, together with his fellow Australian, Browning Mummery. Arangi Lombardi, dramatic soprano, and Hina Spani, who had also won a continental reputation, were other notable singers who now made their first appearance in Australia. Melba, as before, appeared in *La Boheme*, but only on two occasions, and appeared in no other opera. The conductors were Bavagnoli and Fugazzola. The first performance took the form of a highly spectacular production of *Aida*, with Lombardi in the title role; while the operas performed during the season for the first time in Australia included Massenet's *Thais*, Montemezzi's *L'Amore dei Tre Re*, Mascagni's *Lodoletta* and Puccini's spectacular *Turandot*. This presentation, with Lombardi in the leading role, was one of the great events of Australian operatic history, and the HERALD notice of it (on the 6th of August) well described the occasion and commented upon it with enthusiasm.

This was the last season of Grand Opera which Australia has known; and it will be long before Australia knows one more completely successful. The particular "star" of this and the preceding tour was Toti dal Monte, whose magnificent singing and personal charm made her the idol of the public. Her marriage to Enzo de Muro Lomanto—one of the leading tenors of the company—at St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, just prior to the close of the 1928 season, was, therefore, very naturally, made the occasion for a demonstration of her popularity which will be long remembered as the leading social event of a very eventful season.

Finally, before leaving the subject of music and the drama to discuss the sister arts, it is necessary to say a few words in reference to that highly popular combination of both

which, originally known as opera bouffe, has at various times and in various forms acquired the names of "musical burlesque," "comic opera," "light opera," "musical comedy" and "revue." To deal with this subject in any way comprehensively would require a section of this history to itself. We can but briefly refer to a few of the more important incidents in its history. And the first of these—despite the fact that many light operas had been staged in Sydney before that time—was the season of opera bouffe which the Simonsens produced in the early 'seventies, with the *Grand Duchess* as the best and most popular of the series. Towards the end of that decade the first comic operas of Gilbert and Sullivan were staged, and they at once effected that seizure upon the affections of Australian theatre-goers that they have ever since maintained. The popularity of these Savoy operas among all classes of Australians, indeed, has been as remarkable as it has been gratifying. To each generation their unique combination of melody and wit has made the same appeal; and in consequence the number of "revivals" which they have seen upon our stage must almost be as great as that recorded in the land of their creation.

H.M.S. Pinafore was first staged by Williamson in 1879, and at regular intervals he produced the remaining members of the great series, always with effective casts and finely mounted. In that first Williamson production of *Pinafore* the actor-manager himself appeared as Sir Joseph Porter, Rose Hersee (of the Carl Rosa Company) was the Josephine and Armes Beaumont the Ralph Rackstraw. It was a little later on, in *Patience* (1881) and *Iolanthe* (1885) that Miss Nellie Stewart first made a reputation for herself as a singer and actress with Australian audiences, a reputation which she was later to clinch, and make secure, in almost every section of the dramatic art, from pantomime to grand opera, and "straight comedy" and the melodramatic allurements of "costume plays," such as *Sweet Nell of Old Drury* (with which her name will ever be particularly associated), to the realism of such dramas as *Zaza*. The list of names associated with these productions of the Savoy Operas and their revivals, includes those of many native-born artists and many that are almost as well known in the annals of the British stage as they are in those of our own. Among them are Leonora Braham, Courtice Pounds, William Elton, George Lauri, Howard Vernon, Alice Barnett, Fanny Liddiard, Clarence Leumane, Robert Brough, Frank Thornton, Charles Ryley, Florence Young, Henry Bracy, Violet Varley, Wallace Brownlow, Charles Kenningham, Florence Graupner and, at a much later date, James Hay, Stella Wilson, John Ralston, Charles Walenn and Gladys Moncrieff. The names are taken at random, irrespective of dates; but what memories they must bring to every Australian lover of the stage of the great days of the "Royal Comic Opera Company," and the thrills of pure enjoyment that famous organisation was wont to bring throughout so long a period of years. The men who have conducted these operas, too—for how much happiness are we not indebted to them? Alfred Cellier, Leon Caron, A. W. Juncker and Gustave Slapofski are possibly the best remembered of these; but there were others who well deserve remembrance too—W. H. Harrison, Harry Burton, Howard Carr and Andrew MacCunn.

The Gilbert and Sullivan operas, and the two companies from the Gaiety Theatre, London, who toured Australia in the 'nineties—the first headed by Fred Leslie and Nellie Farren, the second by E. J. Lonnen, Robert Courtneidge (whose daughter Cicely was born in Sydney) and Marion Hood—represent perhaps the high-water mark in the history of the lighter side of musical drama in Australia. But it may be said, generally, that every musical comedy of note which England or America has produced, has also been produced in Australia with credit and success. Indeed, there is no depart-

ment of the dramatic and musical arts in which our local productions can so regularly and so surely hold their own with the best that England or America can do than in the department of musical comedy. It must never be forgotten—and it doubtless never will be forgotten by London managers—that it was an Australian manager—George Musgrove—who, in partnership with G. W. Lederer, the original producer at the Casino (New York) captured all London with his production of *The Belle of New York* in the late 'nineties, and, although the cast in that instance was American, there is evidence enough to prove beyond all doubt that, in all departments of light opera, Australia can provide "the whole show," from the principals to chorus and orchestra, in a form to compare more than favourably with anything of the same sort than can be done in any part of the world. Indeed, in the case of that curious "record-breaker" of the War years, *Chu-Chin-Chow*, Australia did even more than this. For it was an Australian, in the person of Oscar Asche, who was not only producer, but author and part-composer of the piece as well. And, moreover, he impersonated its chief role throughout the four years of its run. In the 1922-23 season, Asche brought *Chu-Chin-Chow* (together with his other spectacular production, *Cairo*) to Australia. But partly because it had been staged here a short time previously and partly, perhaps, because public taste had changed in the interim, the record-breaker failed to recapture at the Antipodes its success in England during the war.

Light opera in its various forms has always been particularly popular with Australians; and it is perhaps the one form of art in which they have ever been prepared to admit, and to prove by their practical appreciation, that the home-grown artist can be equal, if not superior, to the foreign. This is not to dispraise in any way the fine services of those oversea singers and comedians who have so continually been associated with our own players in these productions. It would be base ingratitude to do so. But the fact remains that Australians have always exhibited a capacity in this particular form of entertainment that not only our own critics and theatre managers, but those who have visited us from other lands, have ever been ready to admit.

In concluding this survey of the Australian stage, although in no way desiring to swell the ranks of *laudatores temporis acti*, we find it impossible to compare the state of the local theatre at the time of writing these lines (January, 1931) with that to which it had attained by the 'seventies of last century and which it maintained until a few short years ago, without a lively sense of regret. Partly the financial depression which at the present time is working such havoc with almost every department of our national life, is responsible for the decline; partly it is caused by the increased costs and charges which post-war conditions have created everywhere. But mainly it has been caused, there can be no doubt, by the advent of "the pictures" and especially by that recent development of them to which the appropriate title of "the talkies" has been applied. For every "legitimate" theatre which Sydney can show to-day, it shows at least half a dozen "picture-palaces"; and though these may not be all or always full, it is evident that they can manage to attract sufficiently large audiences to keep them going. They make comparatively cheap charges; their amenities are attractive in every way; and, although the fare they provide is for the most part crudely and pathetically slimed with the worst characteristics of American picturedom, yet no one can complain of its quantity, or of the manner in which it is placed before the public. It is hardly to be wondered at, then, that the legitimate theatres are being pressed out of existence by the competition; especially when it is remembered that the close neighbourhood to Australia of Hollywood and all its works not only facilitates in every way the intro-

duction of American pictures, but handicaps the introduction of those of any other country and the manufacture of our own.

It was in September, 1896, that the first motion pictures were shown to the public in Sydney. Although in those days few people thought of the invention as anything but a startling and novel toy—"startling" and "novel" being the two adjectives found constantly associated with it in printed accounts—the *HERALD* seems to have realised a certain significance in the occasion; for it devoted lengthy reports to the screenings.

Of the first exhibition given at the Tivoli by Carl Hertz, the conjurer, one reads:

"There seemed to be a consensus of opinion on Saturday evening that Mr. Harry Rickards, in his long catering for the public, has never submitted a more startling or interesting novelty than the Cinematographe. . . . The busy traffic in a street . . . a scene in a play, or any other subject that has been submitted by rapid photography is repeated with remarkable fidelity, so much so, indeed, that the spectator finds it hard to realise that he is not part and parcel of the moving panorama. . . . The enthusiasm was of a most pronounced order, the audience developing an almost insatiable demand for more."

The subjects screened included a view of the traffic crossing Westminster Bridge (in which the realism of the thing was enhanced by a pedestrian turning his head in response to a whistle), a burlesque of "Trilby," and a round of a boxing match, which, for some reason not clearly explicable, the audience hissed.

Similar quaintness adorns the account, a few days later, of the pictures screened in the first theatre opened specially for film entertainments—The Salon Lumière, in Pitt Street, almost opposite the Lyceum Theatre. These pictures were twelve in number, and they included such edifying incidents as "The Demolition of a Wall," "The Arrival of the Paris Express," and "A Game of Cards." There were eight sessions daily; but they were called "Seances"; and an advertisement informed the public that "Ladies and gentlemen, heads of colleges, etc., desiring to arrange seances for private parties should communicate with the directors at least forty-eight hours previously."

It is a far cry from the Lumière seances to conditions at the present time, when the city proper (exclusive of its suburbs) has ten large theatres and several small ones devoting themselves for twelve hours daily to the exhibition of films; when nearly 3,000 films are imported into Australia yearly; and when £1,000,000 is sometimes spent on a single production. Throughout the intervening period of thirty-five years, the *HERALD* has consistently shown an interest in screen entertainment, which reaches a much wider public than the stage has ever done. The most obvious example of this is the weekly column of reviews of new films which it instituted at the beginning of 1925. Previous to that date, it had been difficult for the millions who attend picture theatres to discover any unbiased, critical opinion of the form of drama in which they were interested.

Throughout their course, the *HERALD* reviews have been inspired by certain definite principles. First and foremost, they have denounced vulgarity and tawdriness wherever they have found these qualities. They have paid the films the compliment of regarding them as a genuine art medium, which can be just as moving and just as beautiful as any other form of art, if only the magic of a fine producer's hand is brought to bear on it. They have persistently refused to adopt the "box-office" attitude which judges a film on its power to attract the unintelligent masses. And, while welcoming sympathetically any manifestation of good work on the part of English or Australian producers, as opposed to American, they have refused to praise such work where it was definitely inferior, believing that praise so bestowed not only brings no benefit to the object of it, but seriously undermines the confidence of the public.

The history of motion picture production in Australia has not been by any means a brilliant one. The current excuse offered has always been that local producers could

not afford to spend on their work the huge sums of money poured out by the Americans. But while vast expenditure can bring in the spectacular element which always has an appeal for the public, there is no reason why simple stories in simple settings should not prove attractive too, if they are sympathetically and deftly told. Isolated examples of Australian work have proved this very clearly. *The Sentimental Bloke*, for instance, based on C. J. Dennis's poem of the same name, cost less than £2,000 to produce, and not only made a good deal of money in Australia, but found a satisfactory overseas market as well. But most Australian directors have shown a supreme disregard for requirements of plot. Their films have simply rambled on, depending on Australian scenery to give them charm and conveying stories that would insult the intelligence of a child. Mr. Raymond Longford's series of productions, ranging over a great number of years, failed to stand comparison with imported films for this reason, although they reproduced bush scenes and bush types with praiseworthy fidelity.

The same defects have persisted in the mass of local films up to the present day. They emerged very clearly last year in the film that won third prize in a competition which the Federal Government instituted, following the recommendations of a Royal Commission that made its report in 1928. The judges, consisting of the three members of the Censorship Appeal Board, did not consider any entry worthy of first or second prize. The third prize went to *Fellers*, produced by Artuas Ltd., with a company which included Arthur Tauchert, the "bloke" of the Dennis film. *Fellers* was a story about the activities of the Australian Light Horse in Palestine. The Misses McDonagh screened their entry in the competition on a Sunday evening in the Roxy Theatre. This was *The Cheaters*. They had converted it into a part-talking film for the occasion. It proved to be slightly more acceptable than their first production, *Those Who Love*, made in 1926; but inferior to their *Far Paradise* of 1928.

These winning entries in the competition suggested in no uncertain fashion the need for technical guidance and supervision (for a period, at least) by experts from abroad. Within the last five years there have been two outstanding productions here under such auspices financed by purely Australian companies. The first was *For the Term of His Natural Life*, for which Union Theatres Ltd. brought Mr. Norman Dawn from America as director, also several important members of the cast, including Miss Eva Novak as leading lady. A good deal of the filming was done at Union Theatres' studio, near Bondi Junction; but the whole company travelled to Port Arthur, in Tasmania, and made many scenes on the actual location of Marcus Clarke's novel. The other production was *The Romance of Runnibede*, produced by Phillips Film Productions Ltd. Mr. Scott Dunlop came from America to direct it; Miss Eva Novak again played the principal part; and the result, a romance of Queensland life, introducing picturesque aboriginal corroborees, was eminently satisfactory. Unfortunately, financial embarrassment prevented this company from carrying on its excellent work.

Australian production has never been voluminous. At its peak period, only forty-seven films were produced in five years. During the last year or two, activity has dwindled practically to zero, with the exception of the competition films. Various organisations, though, have made preparations to launch into the production of talking films—amongst them Union Theatres, the Fox-Hoyt's Theatres combination, and the Misses McDonagh. It remains to be seen what effect the entry of speech will have on local standards.

The "talkies," of course, have revolutionised the technique of film production. There had been demonstrations of speech from the screen earlier than 1928, notably the De Forest "phonofilms," which were demonstrated in Sydney in March, 1927; but the first full-length drama to be screened was *The Jazz Singer*, which appeared at the Lyceum Theatre on December 29, 1928. The HERALD recognised from the first the immense possibilities that lay before the new form of entertainment, and, at a time when influential people (especially musicians and actors on the legitimate stage) were uniting in prophecy that "the talkies" could not last, that "they were only a craze"; and that "the silent films would come back," it never ceased in its columns to assert the contrary view that, except for stories of a special type, the silent films were doomed to extinction.

In a review of an outstanding production called *The Wolf of Wall Street*, for instance, on June 10, 1929, the following passage appears:

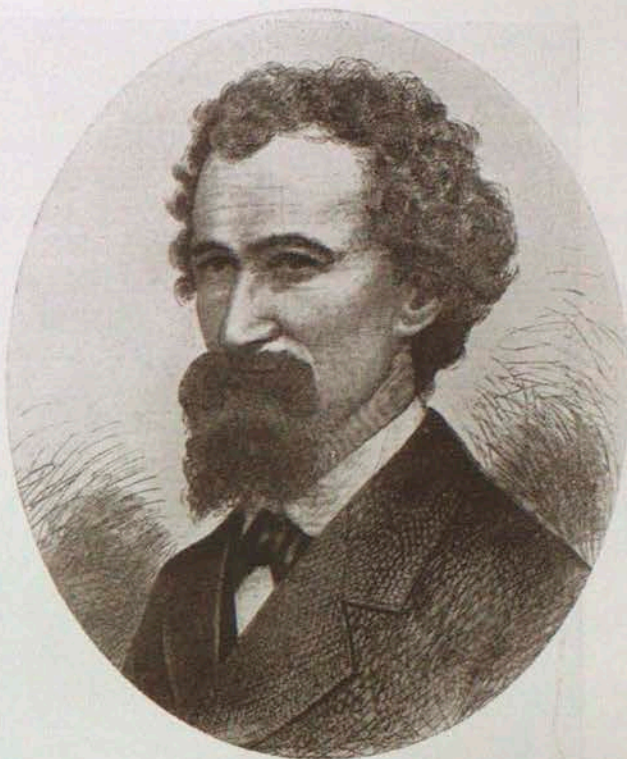
Those who maintain in a spirit of stout conservatism, that the talking films will never entirely supersede silent drama on the screen, but that the multitude will still look with enthusiasm on photoplays which divorce action from speech, should go to see *The Wolf of Wall Street*. Having done so, they may find themselves shaken in their convictions. For the silent screen has offered nothing, can offer nothing, to compare with the dramatic tension in this spoken play. In comparison with its vigour, the technique that involves a continual alternation of actors mouthing and written announcements of what they are supposed to be saying seems futile.

The HERALD expressed this view while recognising the manifest imperfections of technique which must always mark the launching of new mechanical processes and a new dramatic medium, and while deploring in no uncertain terms the vulgar trashiness of much that the screen purveyed. Yet it never set itself in agreement with such extremists as Mr. S. S. Crick, the managing director of Fox Films Ltd., who returned from a visit to Hollywood in 1929 and said enthusiastically: "I predict that within twelve months from to-day motion pictures will be the only form of entertainment on the market."

The attitude of the HERALD was set forth at the end of 1929 in a review of the year's progress in films. Pointing out the immense popularity of the talking pictures, the article adds: "It would be a thousand pities if good music played by living artists were to fall permanently into neglect; and the narrowing of the number of stage plays which are being presented in the city is a matter of profound regret." A leading article dealing with the subject a few months earlier said:

One must be courageous indeed who ventures to suggest that they [the talking films] will sweep dramatic or concert performances out of existence. . . . When the novelty has worn off, and the new rival for popular favour has settled into its due place, the reorganised conditions will probably furnish a wider field for the activities of the actor and the singer, with the talkie theatre, the dramatic stage and the concert hall existing side by side in a rivalry that will be to the ultimate advantage of all three, and to the benefit of art.

This is exactly what has happened abroad. After a period of eclipse the "legitimate" theatre has burst forth into renewed activity. That it has not happened in Australia is largely due to the economic depression, though other factors enter into the situation as well. Judging by the proportion of theatres occupied respectively by stage plays and screen entertainment, the balance of popularity tilts decidedly towards the screen. One house after another has banished flesh-and-blood performers and contented itself with their shadows. The Royal, The Empire, and Fuller's Theatre had at the end of last year definitely passed across, and the St. James wavered intermittently between the two forms.



HENRY KENDALL.
(1841-1882.)
*"The sweetest singer
of our Austral clime."*



DAME NELLIE MELBA.
(1861-1931.)
*This photograph of the world-
famous prima donna was a
favourite with her.*



[In the possession of Mr. T. Barr-Smith, Adelaide.

Self Portrait: Oil Painting by the late G. W. Lambert, A.R.A.

To judge of public taste purely on such surface indications, however, would be unwise. The public can patronise stage plays only if these are present in the theatres; and since the arrival of the talking films theatrical managers have seemed less and less inclined to take a risk on anything but productions obviously designed to appeal to the most frivolous element among play-goers. Last Boxing Day there were only about four legitimate theatres open—Her Majesty's, where one might see a musical play of the lightest sort; the Criterion, where a local cast containing no very distinguished name was staging airy comedy; and the Grand Opera House and the St. James, both of them occupied by pantomime. The need for a renaissance of the professional stage in Sydney is urgent; for, clever and elaborate as some of the talking films are, they should never be allowed to supersede the theatre proper.

It is interesting to look back over the last few years and discover what films live most strongly in one's memory. In general it is not the empty magnificence of a Cecil B. De Mille that survives; but the exquisite taste and finish to be found in a *Monsieur Beaucaire*, or the brilliance and poignancy of the acting in such a picture as *The Patriot*. In their respective spheres, both these silent films may have been equalled, but they have never been surpassed.

Of *Monsieur Beaucaire*, which was screened at the Prince Edward Theatre in 1925, the HERALD reviewer expressed the essential features by writing:

The producer has captured the ceremonial splendour of the French court with a keen feeling for atmosphere. He does not achieve this effect by showing endless vistas of marble fountains and dancers in thousands performing the gavotte. His settings, in fact, are quite modest in extent, but they are in the most exquisite taste. For the most part, they consist of panelled walls, with just a piece of statuary, a rare cabinet or a tapestry placed here and there to suggest magnificence rather than to obtrude it in a tremendous blare.

Of *The Patriot*, with which the State Theatre opened its doors in June of 1929 the HERALD said:

Emil Jannings has made some splendid films during his career, but never before one so stirring and so fascinating as *The Patriot*. Neither has his acting ever before been so powerful. The picture is not one for those who seek to be lightly entertained after a day of business, or after some strenuous shopping. Its appeal is to people who are interested enough in drama and in psychology to do without the conventional "love interest."

Examples of the uncompromising style in which the HERALD has denounced specific outcrops of unworthiness on the screen are not far to seek. A film called *The Dance of Life*, as a random instance, which the management of the Prince Edward Theatre unaccountably sandwiched among its series of otherwise excellent pictures during 1929, was described as "a highly unedifying mixture of American slang, nasalism, sentiment and vulgarity."

The paper's attitude towards British productions was succinctly set forth on the 16th February, 1931, in its review of *The Middle Watch*. Said the writer:

How futile appears now the excuse made for the tediousness of American productions—"There are only a certain number of stories which can be used, and, with hundreds of films pouring forth every year, repetition and a certain amount of routine are inevitable!" . . . Anyone with even a superficial knowledge of the plays that have been written by English authors during the last quarter of a century, must have smiled pityingly when he heard the parrot cry being raised about "lack of material." Now the English producers (rather belatedly, but very definitely, in the true English style) have set themselves to give the cry the lie direct. *Young Woodley*, *The W Plan*, *On Approval*, *The Squeaker*, *French Leave*, and now *The Middle Watch*, have all been fresh and original in style; and in the near future Sydney audiences are to have an

opportunity of seeing Galsworthy's splendid play, *The Skin Game*, and Shaw's *How He Lied to Her Husband*. . . . The response from the Australian public has appeared very plainly in the crowds that have thronged lately to see English films.

In this way, by setting forth the essential character of a film, rather than by merely classing it as "good" or "bad," the weekly column of the *HERALD* has always striven to be helpful and constructive.

PART II.

Turning now to the great field of letters, it may be said at once that the proprietors of the *HERALD* have ever endeavoured to show that the gulf between journalism and literature—if, indeed, such a gulf there really be—may be readily crossed. They have, in the first place, by their own appreciation of good writing, been able to secure the services of men and women on their staff who have not only taken a pride in their work, but who have been capable of maintaining a high literary standard in the accomplishment of that work. And they have, in the second place, invariably been at pains to secure the services of outside writers in every field, whose contributions would not only tend to elevate the literary tone of the paper, but would at the same time be of interest to the public; contributions, in short, which would attract the general reader and satisfy the particular one. That they have not always been able to succeed in this endeavour is as certain as it is that every human effort must fall short of complete accomplishment; but that they have succeeded to an extent that has put the *HERALD* in the forefront, not only of Australian newspapers, but of Australian literary magazines as well, is a fact that can be stated as a matter of general acceptance. The writers of the leading articles of the paper, too, have always tried to combine, and it is believed have often succeeded in combining, literature with journalism as effectively as their themes will allow. This applies in particular to the Saturday "leaders," one at least of which for many years has been devoted to a subject which the writer has been able to deal with, more or less, in the form of an essayette.

As in the case of music and drama, in reviewing the *HERALD*'s associations with literature, it will be of interest, as well as appropriate, to glean from its early issues some idea of the position of letters generally in the colony at the time of the paper's birth. What sort of pabulum did those days serve up to satisfy the literary hunger of the citizens? A survey of the files shows that the supply, while not extensive in variety, was by no means limited in quantity. There was an excellent subscription library, to which, as we have seen, John Fairfax was himself attached for some time as librarian. There was a School of Arts, which, founded in 1833, has for nearly a century, catered for the higher tastes of the Sydney community, and which, among its other privileges, even at this time, included that of a reading room. And there were, of course, a number of circulating libraries, maintained by the various booksellers of the town for the mutual advantage of themselves and their clients. One of these, by the way, was conducted among his many activities by the Reverend Ralph Mansfield, who advertised its attractions fairly extensively in the *HERALD*. The booksellers also advertised from time to time, and at great length, the chief items of their stock; and from a glance at some of these we can appreciate the nature of the current literature of the day. There is a truly

"Early Victorian" flavour in the majority of the titles, as may be gathered from the following selection, taken at random from a list published on the 16th March, 1835:

Young Man's Own Book—A Manual of Intellectual Improvement.
Uncle Phillip's Conversations.
More's Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education.
More's Studies for Persons of the Middle Ranks.
More's Tales for the Common People.
Peter Parley's Tales.
Magnall's Historical and Miscellaneous Questions
Kirk White's Remains.
Scott's Theological Tracts.
Cruikshank's Comic Album: A General Collection of *Jeux d'Esprits*.

These, and others of the same kind, some of whose titles will probably bring back a curious sense of old friendship to many who will read these lines, may be taken as examples of the general literature of the time. And the fiction was in keeping. The familiar names of Miss Fanny Burney, Mrs. Radcliffe and Mrs. Inchbald appear a number of times upon the list; so does that of Tobias Smollett, while "Mr." Cooper's *Spy* and our old friend *Paul and Virginia* catered for the adventurously sentimental taste of the time.

If such were the pabulum provided for the adults, it is hardly to be wondered at if the boys and girls of the mid-nineteenth century had, in view of the large proportion of the literature of the age that was deemed inappropriate for their mental refreshment, a somewhat "thin" time of it. The prize-books given by the trustees or guardians of our modern scholastic establishments are hardly to be regarded as lively reading, as a rule; but compared with those our grandfathers deemed suitable for such an occasion, they are positively breezy. On the 1st June, 1840, Mr. James Tegg, a leading bookseller of Sydney, advertises in the *HERALD* a list of books which he is prepared to supply, and defines them as suitable for "rewards, presents, and prizes." Here are some of them:

Economy of Human Life.
Hopeful Youth, by Dr. Isaac Watts.
Vanity of Mortal Life.
The Pious Minstrel.
Little Philosopher.
Tales for Young Ladies.
Floral Sketches and Other Poems.
The Poetic Keepsake; and
The Looking Glass for the Mind.

It is highly probable that the Young Person to whom this last-named volume was presented would have preferred that the Looking Glass should be suitable, not so much for the mind, as for the face in front of it.

But the age was not altogether without its flowers of Australian growth. Wentworth had produced his *Australasia—An Ode*, which, written for the Chancellor's Medal at Cambridge, in 1823, was adjudged second only to the effort of W. M. Praed. He had also published his *Statistical, Historical and Political Description of New South Wales* of which mention has already been made, but which hardly falls within the ambit of these notes. Moreover, Barron Field—surely the most unfortunate name imaginable for an aspirant to Parnassus!—a New South Wales judge who laid claim to be the primal "Austral Harmonist," but who is best known as being a friend and correspondent of the "gentle Elia," had had the honour of producing the first book of verse

to be printed in Australia. It was appropriately entitled *The First Fruits of Australian Poetry*, and if the first fruits were not exactly plums, at least they were not altogether hips and haws. Several Australian novels, too, had seen the light of print, but only one of them need be mentioned—and that rather because its publication synchronises almost to the moment with the first appearance of the HERALD than because of its intrinsic merit. This was *Quintus Servinton*, the story of a transportee who suffered greatly for his fault, but found his happiness in the last chapter, and in the most approved manner. The book was published in Hobart in 1831, and the author was one Henry Savary, who unfortunately did not follow the example of his hero, but died in a prison hospital. Finally, there were the various newspapers of the period—*The Sydney Gazette*, *The Australian* and *The Monitor*—all of whom found at times room for outside contributors, the two last, indeed, keeping a "Poet's Corner" continually occupied with the sort of contributions that are usually associated with it. As we have seen, the HERALD followed the prevailing custom for a while; the first issue containing the appropriately titled verses to which we have already referred. Even the advertisers did not disdain the aid of the muse, but, as we shall see in the section devoted to the HERALD's association with them, were fain to drop into poetry on the smallest provocation, and, we may suppose, with good results.

When in August, 1844, the Mayor of Sydney gave that great Fancy Dress Ball to which reference has already been made, there was one feature of it which, as it impinges on the domain of literature, may well be noted here. So popular was the ball and so greatly did it impress the public mind that, nine months later, an anonymous poet contributed to the HERALD an *Ode* upon its merits. The poem consisted of four cantos, each of which was published in a separate issue of the paper—and each of them occupied at least two, and one of them over three columns of small type! Nothing but Dominie Sampson's favourite adjective is appropriate to such a combination of versical verbosity and editorial complaisance. "Prodeegious!" The *Ode*, which, it transpired, had been written by the then Town Clerk of Sydney, John Rae, was subsequently published in book form, and as it mentioned, either directly, or by exceedingly plain implication, a number of leading citizens, there is every possibility that the book was one of the "best sellers" of the day.

Mr. H. M. Green—the Librarian of the Sydney University, and himself the author of much good verse—in his recently published *Outline of Australian Literature*, divides the story of our literature into four periods, the first covering the years 1788 to 1844, the second running from 1845 to 1862. We have now arrived at this second period and, although the HERALD itself shows no marked change at the beginning of it, it is impossible not to notice the improvement in its literary status to which it had attained by the end. Largely, doubtless, this was due to the combined influence of John Fairfax and John West; but that the general advance in literary standards was also a prime factor in producing the change there can be little doubt. It was during this period that Henry Kingsley, whom many good critics prefer as a writer to his more famous brother Charles, was a resident of Australia and gained the material and the "atmosphere" for *Geoffrey Hamlyn*, that fine story of Australian life, which he wrote and published in 1859, the year after he had returned to England. It was during this period, too, that Charles Harpur, born at Windsor, on the Hawkesbury River, in 1813, and the first real poet, as has been said, whom Australia has produced, published his best and earliest verses; and it was now that Henry Parkes and William Forster, two men who were also to be associated in politics, gave voice to that song which, though neither strong nor

particularly beautiful, had yet something of the "divine afflatus" in it, after all. Richard Rowe, who was a member of the *HERALD* staff, but is best known for his subsequent work as "Peter Possum" for the *Sydney Punch*, published a *Portfolio* of skilful verse, consisting mostly of translation, in 1858; and about the same time Daniel Henry Deniehy, one of the most brilliant of literary journalists whom Australia has known, produced his best work. And 1862, which Mr. Green has given as the last year of his second period, is closely associated both with the *HERALD* and with letters generally, in that it saw the appearance of an historical work of considerable value and interest which had been written by a member of the *HERALD* staff. This was Roderick Flanagan's two-volume *History of New South Wales—With an Account of Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, Port Phillip, Moreton Bay and other Australian Settlements*. Although published in 1862, it is evident from the wording of its title that the book must have been written some considerable time before that date, since in 1862 the "Port Phillip" district had long been known as Victoria and the "Moreton Bay" district as Queensland. In a publisher's note to the preface the reader is informed that, while the proof-sheets of the work were passing through the press, the author contracted an illness that terminated fatally. He was but thirty-three when he died, a journalist and writer of singular ability. In 1888, a posthumous volume containing a series of articles which Mr. Flanagan had originally written for the *Empire* in 1853-4, was published in London under the title of *The Aborigines of Australia*.

It may be mentioned that it was during this 1845-1862 period that the *HERALD* began to publish those book reviews which subsequently developed into, and still continue to be, regular and popular features of the paper. One of the earliest of these appears in the issue of the 8th July, 1854. The writer reviews Albert Smith's celebrated account of his adventures in ascending Mt. Blanc, and devotes nearly two columns to a careful consideration of the work. The work of Charles Dickens, too, was very lavishly used at this time to add to the literary flavour of the paper. From time to time, as the various numbers of *Household Words* came to hand, copious extracts from the contributions of the master-novelist to that journal were published in the *HERALD* for the benefit of its readers.

The great figure of the third period of Australian literature—which Mr. Green places between the years 1862 and 1887—is, of course, Henry Kendall; and Henry Kendall's associations with the *HERALD* were both long and close. Not only did the paper publish many of his verses, but its proprietor took a personal interest in the poet, which the latter accepted with an appropriate gratitude. We have already quoted the beautiful poem Kendall wrote to the memory of John Fairfax; and we shall have occasion presently to refer to another poem wherein the poet and the paper were again closely associated. Kendall was the first Australian-born writer to obtain recognition as a poet outside his native land, and most anthologies of modern British verse contain some samples of his work. That work is extraordinarily unequal. At his best he is indeed the sweet singer of his Austral clime; at his worst he becomes over sentimental to the point of bathos. But these lapses are few. Mainly his songs are lifted to that rare level to which only the true poet can attain. His themes are usually simple—the beauties of Nature, the changes of the marching seasons, the sadness and joys of our common humanity. In dealing with such subjects as these, Kendall's best verse is clothed with a haunting beauty of phrase and rhythm that can be found in the lyrics of no other Australian singer.

Another well-known poet of this era is Adam Lindsay Gordon, who has been termed "the poet of Australia." But, except for the fact that he wrote in Australia and

that he shared with Australians the love of open air and of horses which he so often expresses in his verse, he is no more Australian in his themes or in his manner of dealing with them, than he was in his birth. His lines have a Swinburnian-cum-Byronic touch that, while it may be very often effective, has certainly nothing of the "atmosphere" of his adopted country about it, and which reflects nothing at all of the attitude of the average Australian towards life or philosophy. Some of Gordon's lines have become almost household words; much of his work will live and deserve to live; but the portion that will survive is not the portion which is most attuned to an Australian setting. It was his love of outdoor, his "galloping rhymes" and the combination of the romantic and the tragic of which his life was compact, that gave him his great popularity in Australia. But that popularity has been long on the wane and, since the advent of Lawson and "Banjo" Paterson, for one Australian who knows and loves his Gordon you will find a hundred whose knowledge and affection are all for these two writers of a later day. And not simply because they *are* of a later day, though that perhaps has something to do with it. The main reason for the change of allegiance is that Lawson and Paterson do really represent the Australian point of view, do really paint the Australians and Australia as they are, and do not attempt to do so upon a basis of academical moralising which shows through its thin veneer and robs the picture of its national spirit.

A third poet who stands out in this period—though not so prominently—is the English-born Queenslander, James Brunton Stephens; a Government servant who combined red-tape with romance and sealing-wax with song in a way that can hardly have tended to profit either. His one great claim to the title of poet is his patriotic *Dominion of Australia*, in which (and in the earlier stanzas especially) he rises to as high a plane as any writer has yet attained to in Australian literature. But with this exception and his long and somewhat melodramatic narrative poem, entitled *Convict Once*, Stephen's work as a poet may be regarded almost as negligible.

A name which cannot be omitted in dealing with the literature of this period is that of Thomas William Heney, who, as Editor of the *HERALD* in the early years of this present century, has already been introduced to our readers. Heney wrote both in prose and verse, and the best of his verse was written or published just at, or a little after, the close of this period. It is to be found in *In Middle Harbour*, which appeared in 1890.

As there are two poets who represent this period with particular prominence, so are there two writers of prose. They are Marcus Clarke and "Rolf Boldrewood," a pen-name which no longer conceals the identity of Thomas Alfred Browne, squatter, police magistrate, and man of the world. And each of these two men is remembered, despite the quantity and quality of his other work, by one novel in particular. The name of Marcus Clarke will ever be associated with that grim and effectively realistic story of the early days of the transportation system, *For the Term of His Natural Life*, just as that of "Rolf Boldrewood" will ever be associated with *Robbery Under Arms*. Both stories are Australian in their settings and speak of events that happened in Australia; but neither writer—and, least of all, Clarke—can be classed as Australian in manner, in outlook, or, paradoxically enough, in choice of theme. For the Australia of which Clarke—and to a lesser degree Boldrewood—wrote was not the real Australia, nor were the characters created by either writer typically Australian. They are simply exiled Englishmen, some of them exiled for their own good, others for that of their country. But all exiles, just the same.

The *HERALD* had little or no association with Marcus Clarke, but its proprietors had a good deal to do with Rolf Boldrewood. For his most famous story, as is mentioned

in the section of this history which deals with the activities of THE SYDNEY MAIL, was first brought before the public in serial form in the columns of that paper.

Mention of a series of articles which Dr. Lorimer Fison contributed to the HERALD in the year 1875 on the subject of the annexation of Fiji, cannot be omitted from this chronicle. Dr. Fison wrote under the *nom de plume* of "Hardy Lee," and his articles attracted, as they deserved, wide attention.

Some months prior to the opening of the Great International Exhibition of 1879 at the "Garden Palace" especially erected for it in the Sydney Botanic Gardens, the proprietors of the HERALD, among other evidences of their interest in the forthcoming event, offered a prize of £100 for the best *Ode* written in celebration of the event. Several hundred entries for this interesting competition were received, and the adjudicators eventually awarded the prize to Henry Kendall. Kendall was also commissioned to write the words of the cantata with which the Commissioners had decided to adorn the opening ceremonies. The HERALD, in its issue of the 17th September—the first day of the Exhibition—published the winning ode in full and notified the public of the author's name. Poems composed to order are, as a rule, of little merit. But in this case Kendall rose finely to the occasion, and produced, both in his ode and in his cantata, work well worthy of his name and reputation.

We quote two extracts from the former, although it would be unfair to judge the poem by them, since, beautiful as they may be in themselves, they naturally lose by separation from their context. After referring at some length to the dawn of Australia's history and its virgin beauties, the poet proceeds to recall the landing of Phillip:

"On that bold hill, against a broad blue stream,
Stood Arthur Phillip, in a day of dream,
What time the mists of morning westward rolled,
And heaven flowered on a bay of gold!
Here, in the hour that shines and sounds afar,
Flamed first old England's banner like a star;
Here, in a time august with prayer and praise,
Was born the Nation of these splendid days;
And here this land's majestic Yesterday
Of immemorial silence died away."

And he concludes with a fine apostrophe to Him who governs all:

"To Thee, the face of song is lifted now—
O, Lord, to whom the awful mountains bow; . . .
To Thee, the soul of Prayer this morning turns,
With faith that glitters and with hope that burns!
And, in the moments of majestic calm
That fill the heart in pauses of the psalm,
She asks Thy blessing for this fair young land
That flowers within the hollow of Thine hand! . . .
And Thou wilt listen: and Thy face will bend
To smile upon us—Master, Father, Friend! . . .
And be a light to guide the Nation's feet
On holy paths—on sacred ways, and sweet."

On the 4th November, 1886, Sir James Martin, who had been for many years the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, and who had in many ways, prior to his election to that high office, been conspicuous in the political history of the Colony, died in his sixty-seventh year. Sir James Martin must ever be reckoned among the great men of Australia, not only for his legal, but also for his literary abilities, of which there is considerable evidence in the HERALD files. Tributes have been paid to his

name not only by his fellow Australians, but by many distinguished visitors from overseas who had the good fortune to meet him. Froude, the historian, for example, in his record of his Australian travels, makes the following reference:

Amongst the guests was Chief Justice Sir James Martin, a stout, round-faced, remarkable man, with the fine classical bearing which belonged to the last generation of distinguished lawyers, and well-read in the best modern literature. Sir James filled many high posts in the Colony, and all with brilliant success. He was a brilliant talker on many interesting subjects, Greek and Roman literature, modern poetry, modern philosophy, and then, naturally, modern democracy, with its cause and tendencies. I perceived that, in respect of intellectual eminence, the Mother Country had no advantage over the Colonies. If Sir James Martin had been Chief Justice of England he would have passed as among the most distinguished occupants of that high position, and I should say that the Australian Colonies, in proportion to their population, have more eminent men than we have.

The news of Sir James's death created general regret, and the *HERALD* published a eulogium of him which was both brilliant and appropriate. It also published on the morning of his burial a tribute from another pen, which, by reason of its association and unique interest, deserves particular mention in this section of our history. The tribute took the form of a poem, published without signature or any information as to its authorship; but which, written by Sir Henry Parkes, has since been recognised as probably the finest piece of verse that ever emanated from the prolific pen of that distinguished statesman. Sir Henry's merits as a poet have often been spoken of too lightly; He wrote at times with a vigour and a vision that many more widely celebrated toilers on the foothills of Parnassus might well envy; and his Muse has received the commendation of so great a master of the art as Tennyson. Parkes had been long and closely associated with Martin in many ways; and the two had fought many a political battle, both as allies and opponents. The poem which the *HERALD* published on the 6th November breathes sincerity in every line; and the truth of its descriptive passages has been generally acknowledged. The rugged manuscript is still treasured in the *HERALD* archives; and we quote from it as follows:

THE BURIED CHIEF.

NOVEMBER 6, 1886.

With speechless lips and solemn tread,
They brought the lawyer-statesman home;
They laid him with the gathered dead
Where rich and poor like brothers come.

How bravely did the stripling climb,
From step to step, the rugged hill;
His gaze, thro' that benighted time,
Fix'd on the far-off beacon still. . . .

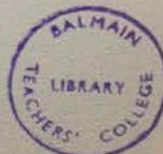
He scaled the summit while the sun
Yet shone upon his conquer'd track,
Nor falter'd till the goal was won,
Nor, struggling upward, once look'd back.

But what avails the "pride of place,"
Or wingéd chariot rolling past?
He heeds not now who wins the race;
Alike to him the First or Last.

The mention of Froude's visit to Australia recalls the fact that in the year preceding the death of Sir James Martin another well-known Englishman of letters had visited Australia in the person of George Augustus Sala. The *HERALD* took advantage of his presence here to obtain from him a series of articles giving his opinions on Australia and the Australians generally. These began to appear in July, 1885, and under the title of "The Land of the Golden Fleece," ran for many weeks and attracted wide attention. It was about this period, too, that Sir Henry Lucy ("Toby, M.P.," of *London Punch*) began to write for the *HERALD* a weekly English letter which, entitled "Life in London and Thereabouts," and expressed in that peculiar combination of naivete and wit which was so characteristic of the author, was to form a leading feature of the paper's Saturday issue for many years. And, finally, before leaving this period, reference must be made to a lengthy and notable series of articles upon Western Pacific affairs which appeared in the *HERALD* during the years 1883, 1884 and 1885, under the *nom de plume* of "Carpe Diem." Their author was the veteran missionary, Dr. George Brown, whose acquaintanceship with the Pacific was similar to that of Sam Weller's with London, and whose pen on many occasions, both before the appearance of this series and since, has enriched the columns of the paper.

The fourth division of the field of Australian literature, according to Mr. Green, covers the period which began in 1887 and ended on the opening of the Great War. It would be manifestly impossible to give here any comprehensive account of our literature during this era of expanse. All that can be done is briefly to mention a few of the outstanding writers and their work, and to record the activities of the *HERALD* in connection with that expanse. To two writers, however, who came to the fulness of their powers and their popularity in this period, some little space may appropriately be devoted. These two are Henry Lawson and A. B. ("Banjo") Paterson. The work of both is Australian to the core, but while both wrote verse and prose, in Paterson's case it was his stirring verse that rightly made him popular, while in Lawson's case it is by his short stories that he will live. No one who has read "Banjo's" rattling rhymes—and what Australian has not?—can find anything but praise for their lilt, their "go" and their effective "Australianism." They are not great poetry—although such verses as *The Wild Swans* and *The Gray Gulf Water*, are not far away from it—but as ballads they fill every qualification. And there is an optimism, a *joie de vivre*, about them that lends additional life and swing to their lilting measures. On the other hand, it is the greyness, and the sadness, and the solitude of the bush and of the lives of those who dwell therein, of which Lawson's work, in both mediums, is compact. His verse is not so captivating as Paterson's, and that apart altogether from its greyness of outlook; and it is incomparably inferior to his prose. It is only of late that the real strength and beauty of Lawson's short stories are beginning properly to be recognised. But they *are* beginning to be so recognised, both at home and abroad; and the day is not far away when they will be acclaimed as among the finest examples of the *conte* that modern British letters has produced.

Other verse writers of this period of whom mention must be made are John Farrell (to whom both Lawson and Paterson owed much); Victor Daley, whose beautiful poems have little about them that can be called characteristically Australian; Will Ogilvie, a Scotsman long resident in Australia, whose name has often been seen in *London Punch* since his return to the land of his fathers; Edward Dyson, the "poet of the miner's camp"; Barcroft Boake, the unfortunate "single-poem" poet, whose *Where the Dead Men Lie* is instinct with the gloom which led him to take his own life at the early age of twenty-six; James Brady, the singer of sea-songs; Roderick Quinn, still happily



with us, and the prolific author of much happy, quiet verse; George Essex Evans, the Queensland balladist; Dowel O'Reilly, a "literary" poet whose work is not so well known as it should be; and Hugh McCrae, whose best verse, however, has been written rather since the end of the period now under review than before it. It is appropriate to make brief mention here, too, of the literary work of Captain J. G. Fairfax, whose verse shows not only a command of the "mechanics" of poetry, but also the qualities of inspiration and expression to no common degree. In prose many of the writers mentioned above have also done good work; but there are others, too, who must be named. Two, in particular, Louis Becke and Ernest Favenc, have written a number of short stories of South Sea adventure and experiences by reef and palm that are almost equal in their way to anything that Lawson has done with his less romantic material. Louis Stone, too, whose novels, *Jonah* and *Betty Wayside*, are unique in style and theme, just comes within this period and cannot be overlooked.

Of the women writers of Australia, Mrs. Ethel Turner (Mrs. Curlewis)—the "Louisa M. Alcott of Australia," as with some aptness she has been termed—published the earlier batch of her many books for youthful readers at this time, and with *Seven Little Australians*, the first of them, scored a success which she has repeated again and again with almost monotonous regularity ever since. Her daughter, Jean Curlewis (Mrs. Charlton), whose recent death was a distinct loss to our literature, followed her mother's methods—although, of course, at a much later period—both in manner and matter. Another woman writer who must be mentioned as of this period is Mrs. Barbara Baynton (subsequently Lady Headley), whose *Bush Studies* exhibits a realism and a gloominess unusual in an Australian writer and on the whole repellant to the majority of Australian readers. But its skill and strength are undeniable. Others of the sex who helped this period to its undoubted position as the most productive to date were Ada Cambridge, whose work, both as a novelist and poet, is of so high a standard that the public unfamiliarity with her work is as remarkable as it is unfortunate; Dorothea Mackellar, one of our finest lyrists; Grace Jennings Carmichael, who has been called "the Australian Jean Ingelow"; Louise Mack, who has written nearly as often and as well of Australian schoolgirls as Mrs. Curlewis herself; Agnes Storrie; Mary Hannay Foot and Amy Mack (Mrs. Harrison), who, both as story writer and naturalist—but particularly the latter—has won her way into the affections of the reading public.

Finally, so far as this period is concerned, it would be as impossible as ungrateful to omit special mention of the magnificent translations into English verse of the Greek dramatists, for which Professor Gilbert Murray has been responsible. Professor Murray is an Australian by birth; and his translations, unique in their intrinsic beauty and in the manner in which they reflect not only the words, but the spirit, of their great originals, have rightly captured the admiration of classical scholars and lover of literature alike.

We are now left to consider the Australian writers of the fifth and last period—that which covers the years from the outbreak of the Great War until the present day. And first as to the writers of verse. Their name is legion; for, as Mr. E. B. Osborn, the literary editor of the London *Morning Post*, once remarked, "Australia is the singing Dominion," and it would seem that every second inhabitant of the Commonwealth tries to prove him right. But the majority of these minor poets need not trouble us; we can mention with some affection their work as a whole, and pass on without particularising about it.

There are, however, some dozen or so Australian singers of a nobler song, whose work, if it is not altogether associated with the last of our literary periods, is yet partially

within it, and is therefore meet to be considered. And as their respective activities impinge upon, and often synchronise with, one another, it will be best and easiest to speak of them in alphabetical order. It may be added that the majority of these poets have this at least in common, that their verse has at some time or other appeared in the columns of the *HERALD*. For some years now the paper has devoted a page of its Saturday issue to literary contributions of all kinds, from the essay to the scientific article, from verse for children to poems for a larger age. The popularity of this page has been enormous, both with contributors (and would-be contributors) and with the general reader. It is on this page, as a rule, that the work of the writers mentioned has appeared, although at times some special event, or its own intrinsic merit, has given occasion for its publication elsewhere.

First, then, upon our list is Leslie H. Allen, Professor of English at the Royal Military College, Duntroon, near Canberra. Although Australian by birth and early education, he has little of the Australian in his work. Like Wordsworth—whom, indeed, he resembles in more ways than one—and in none more than in his love for Nature—he can at times be almost childish in his ingenuousness, while at others he verges on the classical and the austere. Christopher John Brennan is next, a poet who may be termed a “Classical”; and as he is one of the finest classical scholars that Australia has produced, it is evident that his scholarship has leavened his verse. John Le Gay Brereton, also a Professor of English (at the Sydney University), is somewhat of a mystic, but a kindly and cultured mystic whose style is as easy as his heart is sympathetic. A master of rhythm, there is nothing academic about him; his verse is compact of sincerity and the spirit of natural comradeship. He is a dreamer whose dreams are practical, and yet a hater of the practical as it is generally expressed in terms of brick and stone. Miss Zora Cross is a Queenslander whose rather sensuous style achieved its fullest expression, perhaps, in her two poetic series, entitled *Love Sonnets* and *Sonnets of Motherhood*. Miss Cross writes at times with an abandon which is somewhat startling to the reader; but her work, at its best, is both brilliant and appealing. She has also written a number of novels full of Australian colour. Will Dyson, famous for his cartoons, is also a poet, and his name will ever be remembered in this medium by his beautiful *Poems in Memory of a Wife*. No greater contrast to this requiem could be imagined than the *Songs of a Sentimental Bloke* with which C. J. Dennis took his countrymen by storm shortly after the outbreak of the war, and to such practical effect that 67,000 copies of it were sold in six months. The “Bloke” has been recognised everywhere as a masterpiece of humour, slang and sentiment combined, as unique in theme as in treatment. Mrs. M. Forrest, a Queensland journalist and author, is noted for her facility and versatility—she has written long novels and short stories, prose articles and verse of every kind—but, despite this over-production, most of her work is of a surprisingly high standard. Leon Gellert, now an editor and one of the directors of the *Art in Australia* productions, to which reference will be made later, has, on the other hand, written very little. But the quality of that little is high, and his *Songs of a Campaign* is probably the best outpouring of “war verse” yet made by an Australian. Mrs. Mary Gilmore is best known by her tender book of homely life, entitled *Marri’d*; but she has written many poems, and, although some of her work lacks rhythm, none of it lacks beauty or understanding. Jack Lindsay, the son of the well-known artist, Norman Lindsay—himself a writer of rare capacity—is of the modern school, realistic and at times sensual; a lover of sunlight and good red blood; while Hugh McCrae, already mentioned, is also a modern and probably the most artistic of living poets. He has also done some extraordinarily fine work in prose, and his *Du Poissy Anecdotes*—a parody or caricature of Boswell’s Johnson—are inimitable, not

only for their humour, but for the rich and racy way in which the atmosphere of that great biography has been imitated and maintained. Another of the "intellectual" poets is Bernard O'Dowd, who has used his musical pen too often for the purpose of propaganda. But he has done this deliberately and with as much success as poetry could ever attain to in such circumstances. If his Pegasus moves in harness, at least he wears his harness with an air; and when he is allowed he can soar into the Empyrean with the best of them. But he is too seldom allowed. Finally, there is—or was, for to the great loss of Australian letters he died in 1928—David McKee Wright, a poet whose verse is strongly reminiscent of that of W. B. Yeats, both in form and matter. There may be nothing typically Australian about it; but true poetry knows no nationalism, and the appeal of McKee Wright's verse is irresistible.

A few words must be added as to the prose-writers of the period; although, as most of these have also written verse—some of them exceedingly good verse, too—the line of demarcation is not easy to draw. J. H. M. Abbott is noted for two things—the one, his short stories of early Australian life, of which period he has made a special study; the other, his *Tommy Cornstalk*, a vivid and effective volume of sketches and reminiscences of the Boer War and the activities of the Australian forces therein. Three women writers whose names are known far beyond the confines of their native land next claim our attention. These are Mary Gaunt (Mrs. H. L. Miller), born and educated in Victoria, but now resident in London, whose novels are as numerous as they are readable; Miss Beatrice Grimshaw, probably the best known living writer of Pacific Island stories, who, though Irish by birth, has lived so long in Australasia and utilised the islands and seas of Australasia so constantly in her work that she may well be claimed as an Australasian writer; and Mrs. Aeneas Gunn, whose *We of the Never Never* is universally admitted to be the classic of its kind. No better description of life in the northern areas of Central Australia has ever been written. Vance Palmer, the author of a number of excellent Australian novels (of which his latest, *The Passage*, is probably the best), notable chiefly for their characterisation and their descriptive passages, and also a poet, essayist and travel-writer of ability, must close our list, with the exception of a little group of five, whose work has all been written since the war, and the majority of it within the last two or three years.

The first of these is Dale Collins, whose sudden rise to fame as the author of that powerfully romantic and adventurous novel, *Ordeal*, was well deserved. For *Ordeal* appeals both to the general reader and the particular one; it gives us, in a word, at once a rattling good story and a fine example of that rare and indefinable thing which, for want of a better term, we are accustomed to call "style." Collins's first novel has been followed by at least three others, which, if they have not created the sensation of *Ordeal*, have well maintained its standard. Dorothy Cottrell has so far only written two novels; but with the first of them she obtained a success which its merits well deserved. *Singing Gold* has an especial association with this section of our history, in that, before its appearance in book form, it was published as a serial in *THE SYDNEY MAIL*. *Earth-Battle*, Mrs. Cottrell's second novel, while it has not the freshness and vivacity of its predecessor, is yet notable for its character-drawing and confirms the opinion created by *Singing Gold* that a new Australian novelist has really "arrived."

In 1929 two ladies, working together under the joint pen-name of "M. Barnard Eldershaw," but who are, as individuals, the Misses Flora Eldershaw and Marjorie Barnard, of Sydney, won a prize offered by the *Sydney Bulletin* for the best Australian novel submitted. They called the result of their collaboration *The Quartermaster*; but, when subsequently published in England in book form, it bore the title of *A House is*

Built. The novel has aroused the critics, not only of Australia, but also of England, to admiration; and, indeed, both as a picture of the growth of Sydney and of a Sydney family during the last century, and as a portrait gallery, it has rightly won its laurels.

Finally, there are two authors, both of this modern period and both women, who, perhaps more clearly than any other Australian writers, have succeeded in combining fiction with great literature. These two are Katherine Susannah Pritchard, a Fijian-born but Australian-educated writer, now the wife of Captain Throssell, V.C., and living in Western Australia; and the lady who, born and educated in Melbourne, but now a resident of London, chooses to hide her identity under the *nom de plume* of "Henry Handel Richardson." Miss Pritchard has written a number of novels, and in all of them she has given evidence of being the possessor of that "something different" which is the essence of genius. Her books are not popular—in the sense that the man in the street craves for them—but they are popular with those who can appreciate good writing, sound characterisation, effective treatment of the little tragedies and comedies of life, and a distinctive style. The author has been charged on occasion with endeavouring to follow too closely in the steps of D. H. Lawrence; and, indeed, there is a tendency in her books to stress the sordid and to deal outspokenly with sex matters after the manner of that writer. But whereas Lawrence is often—too often—so carried away by his "sex-complex" that his book becomes rather an outlet for the expression of his obsession—sexual propaganda, as it were—than a means for the delineation of character or the development of plot, Miss Pritchard never allows herself to be moved in this way from the object of her tale. Her methods are vigorous and, as a rule, her themes are "not nice"; but of the literary quality of her work, and of its passion and strength, there can be no doubt. In addition to her novels—one of which won the Hodder & Stoughton prize in 1915 for the best book on Australia, and another *The Bulletin* prize for the best Australian novel of 1929—Miss Pritchard has written a small volume of verse and a number of short stories. Her best, and best-known, novels are *Pioneers*, *Black Opal*, *Working Bullocks* and *Coonardoo*, while her *The Wild Oats of Han*, which tells of the adventures of a little bush girl, though primarily a "children's story," is as different from the sort of story we usually associate with that definition as chalk is from cheese.

The novelist, "Henry Handel Richardson," is, both in style and method, in some ways not unlike that of the author of *Coonardoo*. Her principal work is known as *The Mahony Trilogy*, and consists of a narrative divided into three parts—each published separately and at considerable intervals—dealing with the fortunes of the same people. The trilogy in its entirety is, though vastly different in style from that masterpiece, akin to the *Forsyte Saga* of Galsworthy, for it traces (as does, too, *The House is Built* of "Barnard Eldershaw") the history of a family. It has also a resemblance to the novels of Katherine Pritchard, in that its themes are mostly of pain and sorrow. Mahony accomplishes an unhappy Odyssey through snobbishness and petty irritations, through financial ruin and uncongenial surroundings, through mental and physical deterioration to insanity and death. But the Odyssey is told in the "grand manner." There is something of the epic, something of the inevitableness of a Greek tragedy about it. It is hardly to be wondered at that the work is not "popular." But the critics of the world have recognised its power; and as a work of constructive prose it probably stands to-day as the high-water mark of Australian literary production. The last few years, then, of our literary activities have been wonderfully full of promise. If, in a decade, Australia has been able to give to the world writers with the powers of Dale Collins, "Barnard Eldershaw," Dorothy Cottrell, Katherine Susannah Pritchard and "Henry Handel

Richardson," she may well claim that she is at least no longer to be regarded as a literary Nazareth out of whom can come no good thing.

This necessarily hurried survey of our Australian writers has omitted many names for whose inclusion much could, and doubtless will, be urged. But the field is so immense and the space at the disposal of the writers so limited, that it was felt that all that could be attempted would be briefly to note the more prominent figures in the field and leave the rest unnamed. The writers of this history recognise as clearly as anybody the merits of the general as well as of the particular, and if they have left any authors either of prose or verse unsung, at least they have no desire to imply either that those writers are unhonoured or that they do not deserve the honour in which they are held. It only remains to add, in this connection, that to the names of those members of the *HERALD* staff—past or present—already mentioned as having "turned author," there may be added those of Messrs. Lance Fallaw and S. Elliott Napier, both members of the present editorial staff. Mr. Fallaw has published three volumes of poetry, and Mr. Napier a collection of his verse, two volumes of travel—*On the Barrier Reef* and *Walks Abroad*—and a monograph on the Repertory Theatre.

On the 15th July, 1899, the *HERALD* began to publish the first of the serial stories which have ever since been a feature of its columns. A. W. Marchmont's *The Great Gift* was the tale selected for this innovation, and many others of that author's novels were subsequently introduced to Australian readers in the same way. The opportunity which the publication of these serials gave to the proprietors of the paper to encourage Australian authors was seized; and on the list of writers whose novels have been thus serialized appear those of Beatrice Grimshaw, Jean Curlewis, Vance Palmer, Rosemary Rees, Walter Henderson, W. M. Fleming, Zora Cross and David McKee Wright. It may be added that among the stories which have been selected for serial purposes by the *HERALD* during the thirty years in which they have been appearing are comprised many of the leading novels of their period. Kipling's *Kim*, for instance, appeared in 1901; A. E. Mason's *The Four Feathers* in the following year; Arnold Bennett's *Workers of Iniquity* in 1903; *Fenwick's Career*, by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, in 1906, and the same author's *Canadian Born* in 1910. *The Diva's Ruby*, by F. Marion Crawford, and *The Wild Geese*, by Stanley Weyman, were published in 1908; *Morning Star*, by Rider Haggard, in 1910; *The Lovers*, by Eden Philpotts, in 1912, and scores of other tales by authors of less fame during the same decade. Subsequently, as we have seen, the Australian authors began to make their appearance; but the oversea writers continued, and still continue, to share with them the serial columns of the paper.

On the 24th July, 1907, there died in Sydney one of the largest benefactors to Australian literature and one of the greatest collectors of Australiana that this continent has ever known. This was Mr. David Scott Mitchell, who, being possessed of ample means and a sensitive and retiring disposition, found all his happiness—in later years, at any rate—in gathering together every book, pamphlet, diary, manuscript, letter, portrait or picture in any way relating to Australia that he or his agents could lay hands upon. The result was a perfectly amazing collection, whose value, both intrinsic and historical, it is impossible to assess. In 1898, on the advice of a few intimates, he decided to bequeath it to the Trustees of the Sydney Public Library, together with an endowment, provided they were formed into a separate and corporate body. He stipulated further, however, that the Government should build for it a fitting depository, which should be known as the Mitchell Library. It is unnecessary to detail the difficulties which delayed the effectuation of this trust and which at one time seemed as if they would prevent that effectuation altogether. But, fortunately, by 1904 the trouble had

been overcome. The trustees were incorporated, and the Government had voted the necessary funds for the erection of the Mitchell Wing of the Public Library; and as the great benefactor lay dying he was able to see from his window the walls of the new building rising from their foundations. When the collection was handed over it was found to comprise some 61,000 items of all kinds, a vast number of them absolutely unique and impossible of valuation. Since Mr. Mitchell's death the collection has been largely added to, and "the Mitchell" stands to-day one of the finest monuments of patriotic and indefatigable research, and one of the most complete and catholic collections of its kind, in the world.

Some small idea of the importance of Mr. Mitchell's bequest may be gleaned from an article which appeared in the *HERALD* on the day following his death, and from which we quote as follows:

The late Mr. David Scott Mitchell was the son of Dr. James Mitchell, M.C., a member of the first Council appointed by the Imperial Government, and afterwards member of the Legislative Council under responsible Government. He was born on March 19th, 1836, in what are now the Old Parliamentary House buildings in Macquarie Street. He was educated at the Sydney University and was one of its first graduates. During his course he won the Barker Mathematical Scholarship two years in succession, he took honours in chemistry and physics, passed his B.A. degree in 1856 and M.A. in 1859. He studied for the bar, and was admitted as a barrister-at-law in 1858, but did not practice, devoting his attention to a large estate in the Hunter River District which he had inherited from his father. He was, however, on one occasion offered the portfolio of Attorney-General in the ministry of the day.

Even as early as his student days Mr. Mitchell commenced collecting books, and continued to do so almost up to the day of his death. The result was that he accumulated the most complete library of Australian and Oceanic literature that exists. We have in the Public Library a fairly good collection of Australiana; but it is not to be compared, especially in the departments of manuscripts and plans, to Mr. Mitchell's. His expressed object was to make the library one that students from any part of the world wishing to study the history of Australasia in any of its aspects would have to come to Sydney for their material. Mr. Mitchell never spared any expense to secure anything whatever that could help the future historian or student of Australia, no matter what phase of its development was in question, and so complete did he make the collection that for some years it had been a rare thing for a fresh book of great value, or a map, or chart, or old MS., to come under Mr. Mitchell's notice. Although the authorities have at different times placed a monetary value on the collection, to really value it has been an impossibility, for the simple reason that no one has been able to inspect the whole of it, and Mr. Mitchell himself never kept accounts of his expenditure during the forty-five years of his collecting. As a matter of fact, the collection is absolutely priceless, containing as it does so many original MSS., despatches, reports, unique books, maps and pamphlets which, if destroyed, could not possibly be replaced. . . . Beyond the books comprised in the gift of Mr. Mitchell, there is a most valuable collection of pictures, among them being some of the best efforts of Oswald Brierly, Conrad Martens, Prout, Chevalier, and Lycett. Amongst the manuscripts are the original journals of very many of the early explorers, such as Leichhardt, Oxley, Mitchell, Sturt, Govett, Evans, Bass and King. There are many autograph letters of Vancouver, Cook, Phillip, Macquarie, Hunter, King and Bligh, and most of our early Governors. The collection also contains valuable manuscripts bearing upon the period of Australian history when the then Colony emerged from a small convict settlement to a self-governing dependency, notably in regard to the inauguration of responsible Government, trial by jury, and freedom of the press, at or about the time of the administration of Darling, Brisbane and Bourke. Not the least valuable part of Mr. Mitchell's priceless library is his enormous collection of pamphlets. These for years past he has had collected by specialists throughout the whole of Australasia. They are bound strongly in handsome volumes, and will be absolutely invaluable to the student of history who wishes to gain from the ephemeral literature of any particular period the fleeting sidelights of political life and movement.

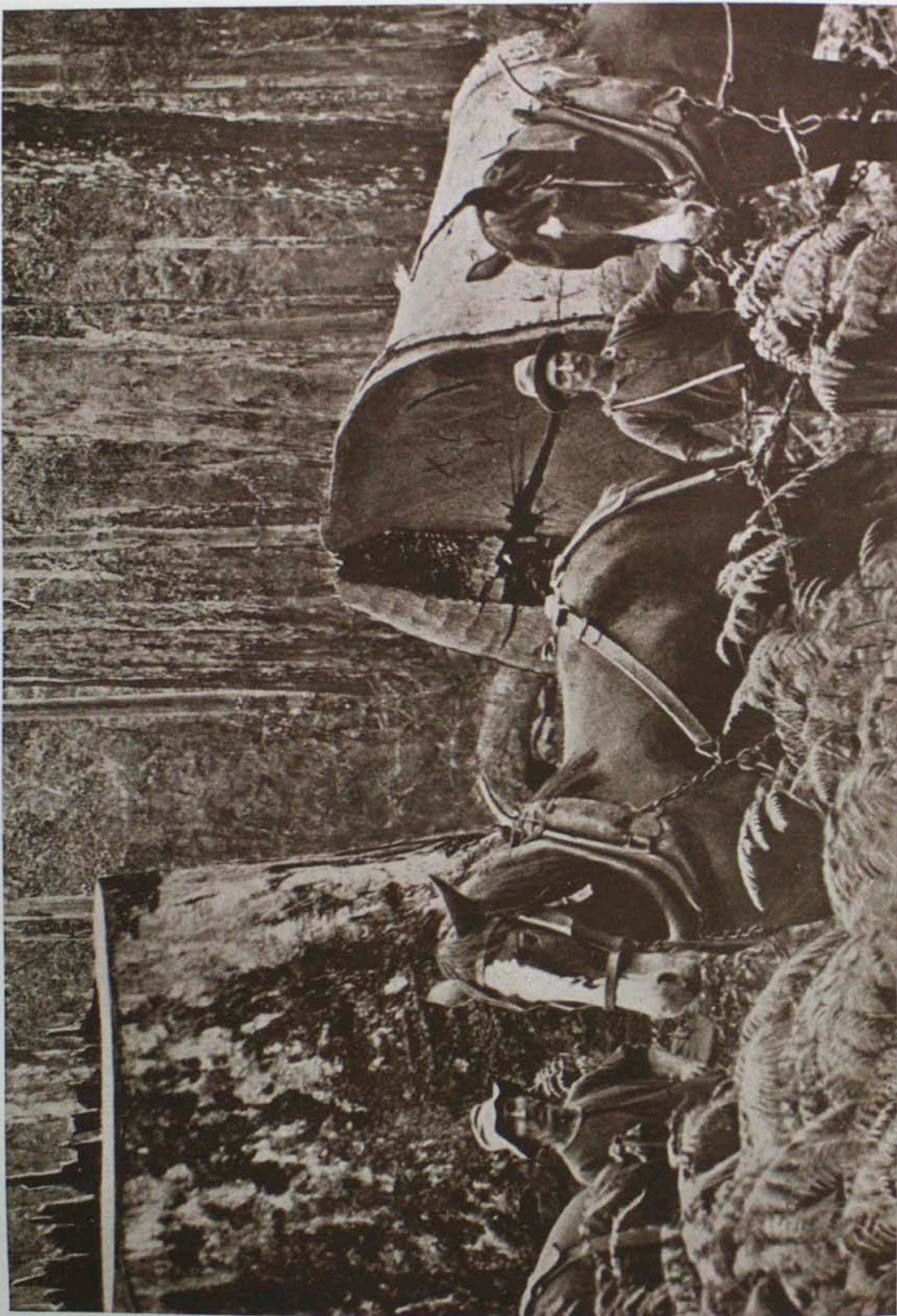
During the War years a number of Australians who had joined up, either with the Australian or the British forces, gained considerable literary reputation—and not only in Australia—as an indirect result. Among these may be mentioned “Boyd Cable”—Ernest Andrew Ewart—who, although he had previously written two novels of Australian life, was little known outside his native land, until he acquired a reputation in England and America by his stories and impressions of the War. Oliver Hogue, a former member of the HERALD staff, was another of these; his war sketches, written under the pen-name of “Trooper Bluegum,” obtaining a wide popularity. By his death, shortly afterwards, Australian journalism and Australian letters generally suffered a distinct loss. But the greatest of the Australian chroniclers of the War is, of course, that Captain C. E. W. Bean of whom mention has already been made. He had been on the staff of the HERALD for some time when the War broke out, and, on the Commonwealth Government asking the Institute of Journalists to nominate one of its members to accompany the Australian forces to the front as the Official War Correspondent of the Commonwealth, that body selected Mr. Bean. At the conclusion of the War he was entrusted by the Federal Government with the immense task of compiling the official history of Australia in the War, a task at which he is still engaged. A number of volumes have been already issued, and their merit has been so conspicuous that, when the University of Melbourne recently decided to recognise it by conferring upon him a Doctorate of Letters, the decision was everywhere approved as being singularly appropriate. It should also be mentioned that, in addition to the volume on the activities of the A.F.C., which Mr. F. M. Cutlack, of the HERALD staff, contributed to the Official History of Australia in the War, and of which mention has already been made, he is the author of *The Australians: Their Final Campaign*, 1918.

Other past members of the HERALD staff who have from time to time achieved distinction in the literary—as apart from the journalistic—world include Charles Lyne, who published in 1896 his *Life of Sir Henry Parkes*, a volume which has furnished the present writers with considerable material relative to that statesman; and Henry Gullett, the Associate Editor of the paper for many years, and who afterwards entered politics and was appointed to the Legislative Council. Mr. Gullett was a scholar who wrote widely and well. Several publications stand to his credit, but he is particularly remembered for his interest in, and knowledge of, Shakespeareana. This interest he exhibited in a very practical manner at his death, for when his will was made public it was found that he had bequeathed a large sum upon trust for the erection in Sydney of a statue of the man who, like Ben Jonson, he loved almost to idolatry. As a result, there now stands near the entrance to the Botanic Gardens, on the finest site in the city, a beautiful Shakespeare memorial—the work of Sir Bertram Mackennal, R.A., the Australian sculptor—showing the poet surrounded by a group of his famous characters.

When it was announced that the Federal Parliament was to be officially opened by the Duke of York in May, 1927, the proprietors of the HERALD offered, as we have said, a prize for the best poem commemorative of the event. A large number of entries were received and were handed to Professor J. Le Gay Brereton (who had consented to act as judge) for his arbitrament. He awarded the first prize to an Ode entitled *Australia in Luce*, by “L’Inconnue,” who was disclosed as Miss Wilcox (Mrs. William Moore), a New Zealand poet, now resident in Sydney. The winning poem was published in the special Canberra number of the 9th May, and its quality entitles, and briefness enables, us to quote it here in full:



The drover and his friends: A group that may often be met with as it moves slowly along the "Travelling Stock Routes" of the "sheep" country.



"Hauling the Timber" is one of the most interesting and spectacular features of a great Australian industry. The above picture well exhibits the immense size of some of the trees cut and the general appearance of the forest in which they grow.

AUSTRALIA IN LUCE.

By DORA WILCOX.

This is her birthday! O behold she stands,
The loveliest of lands,
Against the dawn, whilst at her strong white feet
The shining highways of the Ocean meet;
And she no more a child, but to full stature grown,
Looks out across the spaces, unafraid, alone.

Her head is bent
As though to listen—O thou fairest one!
Now that the rising sun
Is bathing all thy world in rosy light,
And hills and trees,
Delivered from the shadowy spells of Night,
Have taken on new meaning, fresh intent,
What subtle melodies
Fill thee with grave delight?
The Voice of England from across the seas
With singing of thine own wild birds is blent;
And through the echoes of sad primitive themes,
Thou hearest an undertone
Of some strange Music yet to Man unknown,
Save in his dreams.

Her lips are parted—but she does not speak;
Through breaking cloud
She looks beyond the Moment and she sees
The vision of her future Destinies,
And on her ears
Breaks that triumphal Music, loud and yet more loud,
To which mankind is marching on to seek
In thought and action unimagined spheres.

She stirs at last—slowly her arms outspread
As though to gather all her children to her breast,
For on her head
The Sun, uprisen, has shed
The crowning glory now of Motherhood—
O be thou merciful, be thou brave, and wise,
That from thy womb arise
Strong sons and daughters unto noble ends ordained,
For thou art Joy, and thou our ultimate Good.
Safe in thy sunshine may thy minstrels sing;
And every helpless thing
In thee find comfort, sanctuary, and Rest,
And, unprofaned,
May Beauty blossoming
Like thine own wildflowers, in thy pathway spring.
It is thy birthday—O behold we stand
Content to wait and serve thee, dear and lovely land.

It may be of interest to read Professor Brereton's comment upon the winning Ode.
It was couched in these terms:

"I give first place to *Australia in Luce*, by 'L'Inconnue,' because it is, in a definite sense, more memorable than the others. Its simple, beautiful imagery, though not perhaps remarkable for originality—the personification of sunrise must be as old as the mind of man—gives it unity. The whole poem makes a single impression, and there is no blurring or effacement. The technique is adequate. The music and the movement generally are dignified and calm. . . ."

The poems which were adjudged to be second and third in order of merit were also published by the paper in subsequent issues.

The question of the literary censorship which the Federal Government has seen fit to establish over the importation of books and other publications has long been cause of debate; and in the early part of 1930 the friction which it had caused came to a head. To make the position clear, it must be explained that the gauntlet which has to be run by any such importation is a double one. It must first satisfy the Federal Censor—who is a Customs official not necessarily possessed of, and very often not possessing, any particular literary comprehension. His dictums are subject to no particular board or judge of appeal, the Minister for Customs being the last authority, if any aggrieved person desires to have the decision of the censorship official reviewed. The tendency is, as is only natural, for the Minister to uphold the fiat of his officer if possible, and unless, or until, he reverses it that fiat stands. Presuming, however, that the imported publication *does* pass the Federal Cerberus, its troubles are by no means ended. For it is quite possible for the police of any State, if they think, or are informed, that the publication in question offends against the canons of good morals, to seize and impound all copies of it that are exposed for sale and bring the vendor before a magistrate's court on a charge of selling indecent or profane literature. The magistrate is thereupon compelled to read the allegedly offending passages and if, in his opinion, the charge is proved the impounded publication may be destroyed and the accused vendor convicted and punished. And as there is no possible standard by which the decency or indecency of any particular publication can be gauged except the personal opinion of the magistrate, and as that opinion may—and, indeed, must—vary with the personal idiosyncrasies of the particular Solon on the bench, it will be evident how parlous is the path of the bookseller who imports any publication at all, except the heavily bowdlerised and the unexceptionally innocent.

In the early months of 1930 two instances of the difficulties which these various provisions could create occurred almost simultaneously. The first was the seizure by the Sydney Police of certain copies of *All Quiet on the Western Front*, a book which had been passed by the Federal Censor and which the booksellers had placed upon their counters in readiness for the great demand which, judging by its popularity elsewhere, they were justified in believing would also occur in Australia. Indeed, a great many copies had actually been sold before the police took action. The bookseller from whose shop the books had been taken was brought before the Court and convicted; the books were ordered to be destroyed, and every other bookseller in the State was at once confronted with the serious dilemma that he would have to withdraw every copy from sale or run the risk of being publicly declared to be a vendor of indecent literature, and fined into the bargain.

The second incident was the decision of the Federal Censor to refuse permission for the importation of Mr. Norman Lindsay's much-talked-of novel, *Redheap*. The story was an unpleasant one, and the treatment of its theme by no means compensated for its sordidness. The novel created, as we have said, considerable comment, although there is little doubt that the interest displayed was the effect rather of the Censor's action than of any intrinsic literary merit in the book. The *HERALD*'s opinion of *Redheap* was expressed in a leading article in the issue of the 19th April, 1930, under the caption of "Literary Matricide," and written before the censor had decided to ban the book. The writer attacked the novel, as will be seen from the extract which we quote below, not so much for its sordidness as for its "uselessness" and for the bad taste displayed by the author in disparaging his country. The article ran thus:

A distinguished Australian artist has written a book. It turns out to be a satire of what is not worth satirising—life in the typical small town. . . . Parts of it are heavily unpleasant. One Victorian legislator has already asked his Government whether the volume cannot be vetoed. Little is likely to come of that, unless it be a certain added advertisement. But the thing which most strikes the mind is the smallness of the object pursued in so large a fashion. . . . The writer of *Main Street*, bitter as he was towards the United States, was at any rate dealing with a subject of imposing size. . . . But the little, decaying townships which are scattered here and there throughout Australia—can any man say that these are worthy the powder and shot of a would-be genius? Some critics may delight to see it done; may speak in customary phrase of the “merciless exposure.” But the point is that nothing exists which is worth exposing. . . . As the peg for a brief sketch or two, the theme may pass muster. But as the pretext for a full-sized book, it fails to satisfy the adult mind. . . .

In all ages writers have now and again exercised the right to deal very candidly with either their native land or their human parents (a closely similar theme, when the matter of good taste is under consideration). . . . Every such case can only be decided on its own merits. . . . The way a man does it—that is the only answer. Savage joy in condemnation nullifies all the benefit that might have been derived from necessary censure. . . . Nobody at heart really admires the man who runs his native country down. Enemies of that country may use him gladly enough, but nevertheless they despise him while they do so. . . . As for slander of a social character, usually through the medium of sensational fiction, it can scarcely work such harm as political misrepresentation. But it does little credit to either the heart or the art of its authors.

That was the *HERALD*'s opinion of the book. But it was opposed to its being officially censored, on grounds which were equally logical. For the official action, whether morally right or wrong, was beside the point, which was, that large numbers of copies of the book had been ordered, and that a large section of the public objected very strongly to having the nature of their literary pabulum fixed for them by anybody, let alone an official whose capacity to decide the matter was not only not established, but, to put it mildly, was exceedingly doubtful. Considerable discussion took place about this matter, both in the press and on the platform; and deputations interviewed the Minister for Customs as to the Federal position and the Premier of New South Wales as to that of the State. But in the end nothing came of the agitation; the position is to-day exactly where it was, and where it will probably remain. Nor was any other result probable. For, as experience has proved, not only here, but in other countries, the problem of the censorship is a difficult one to handle. The *HERALD* took an active interest in the matter; many contributors aired their respective views in its columns, and on the 24th May, 1930, it set out the problem and its views thereon in a leading article. We quote from it as follows:

The issue is a twofold one. Firstly, should there be a censorship at all? Secondly, if it be held desirable that there should be one, what form should it assume? Few would deny that some sort of control is necessary; otherwise, liberty would degenerate into licence. . . . But is a censorship needed to prevent this from happening? Is not the law against obscene publications an adequate safeguard? In determining whether a book falls within that category, the courts usually follow the dictum of Cockburn, J., in a leading case on the subject. He said: “The test of obscenity is this, whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences.” No doubt this definition leaves much to be desired. It allows an extremely wide discretion and introduces the personal equation which should be excluded from the administration of justice. It has produced decisions that are wrong-headed and ludicrous. Nevertheless, for protection against vicious literature, we would be wiser to rely upon the law against obscenity, capricious in its operation though it may be, than upon censorship which would make the whole of our reading depend upon the individual prepossession of the incumbent of the post.

The one advantage that can be claimed for a censorship is that it offers the booksellers a guarantee. The certificate of the censor should render them immune from legal proceedings in respect of a given book. But, as we have seen, the Australian system has not even that merit. And the

idea of a literary censorship is repugnant. On the objections to the institution we need scarcely enlarge. It enables a few officials with the best of intentions to dictate to grown men and women what they shall or shall not read, and it shackles the intellectual development of the nation. The world of thought is free; so, within the limits indicated, should be its expression. Britain, France, Germany and other countries which have produced magnificent bodies of literature have no censorship. Are Australians so susceptible to evil suggestions in the written word that they should be wrapped in swaddling bands? Are they incapable of discriminating between good and bad? The existence of a censorship can be regarded as casting a slur on the ethical sense of the nation. However, if we must have one, it should, at least, be composed of persons of high literary qualifications. It should be an independent board, and not merely a branch of a department; it should have jurisdiction over all books, not merely those which are imported; and on it the Universities and other educational agencies and the bookselling interests should be represented. But even a board of this character would not reconcile us to a censorship. "To the pure all things are pure," wrote Milton, the great champion of freedom of speech, "not only meats and drinks, but all kinds of knowledge, whether good or evil; the knowledge cannot defile nor consequently the books, if the will and conscience be not defiled."

And with this frank exposition of its opinions we can turn from the story of the *HERALD*'s associations with literature and consider, in their turn, its associations with the particular form of "Art" to which that generic term is usually applied—the work of the brush, the pencil and the sculptor's chisel.

As in dealing with literature, it was found convenient to divide the subject into periods, so is it convenient to do the same with art. But there the similarity of treatment must stop. For whereas Australian literature—and, for that matter, Australian music and drama—were actually in being at the date of the *HERALD*'s birth, Australian art was hardly known at all before the 'eighties. It is true that, long before then, there had been artists in Australia and that a fine body of work had been accomplished by them; but that work had been almost altogether the product of visiting painters, and their names may easily be told upon the fingers of the hand.

Those years from the foundation of the Colony to the birth of our own art may, once again, for convenience sake, be divided into two periods—the first of them extending from the days of Phillip to the early 'thirties, the second covering the fifty years thereafter. The majority of the artists of the earliest period were attached either to men-of-war or to one or other of the exploring ships that visited Port Jackson. Of the former, brief mention may first be made of the work of Sydney Parkinson, who came to Botany Bay with Cook in the "Endeavour." But as practically the whole of that work was confined to the delineation of the plants and animals of the new continent, his name is only mentioned for the sake of completeness. In Captain Hunter's diary we meet with one of the earliest sketches of the locality wherein the new settlement had been laid, and this, representing the appearance of Sydney Cove in 1788, is reproduced on page 5 of this history.

Other visiting artists of somewhat similar calibre were C. A. Lesueur and Nicolas Petit, who accompanied the French navigator and discoverer, Nicolas Baudin, on a voyage to Australia in 1800, during which an extensive area of the coast of the continent was explored and surveyed. Augustus Earle, artist and traveller, was in Australia during the years 1825-8, and his visit resulted in a considerable number of paintings and sketches which have both artistic and historical value. In 1843 Harden Melville, an artist attached to H.M.S. "Fly," painted a good deal in Northern Australia, and in the years 1847-1850 a man who was to win greater fame in quite a different field was also painting and sketching in Australian waters. This was Thomas Henry Huxley, who was attached to H.M.S. "Rattlesnake" as surgeon and artist. About the same time Charles Meryon, a well-known etcher, was in these waters, as an officer on the French

corvette "Le Rhin," and devoted a considerable portion of his time to sketching the coastal scenery of this continent and New Zealand.

About the end of the 'twenties the settlements of Sydney and Hobart had grown to sufficient size to warrant a number of artists taking up their residence there, and a few of them managed to make a living—though a poor one—by painting the portraits and residences of some of the leading citizens. Among these were J. W. Lewin—the earliest of them all—and the two Robert Reads, apparently unrelated, who between them covered the period between 1819 and 1849. But the most notable of them was John Glover, who had had a long and successful career in England and France, and who came to Tasmania in 1831, at the age of 64, and continued to paint there until his death, an octogenarian, in 1849. One of Glover's pictures is in the National Gallery, London, and another in the Melbourne Art Gallery, while many others are to be found in the private and public collections of Tasmania. Other painters of this period were Thomas Bock, who also worked in Hobart; Benjamin Duterreau, who resided and painted both in Tasmania and Western Australia; and a third, who, if he were not famous as an artist—and he was by no means a bad one—was certainly notorious in other ways. This was Thomas Wainewright, the forger and poisoner, who, being sent out to Australia for his country's good, obtained commissions for several portraits whilst still a convict, and carried them out with excellent results. Wainewright, indeed, was so "artistic" that it is said that he confessed to having poisoned one of his victims "because she had such thick ankles." In 1842 he petitioned for a ticket of leave, and although the privilege was refused, he was granted "third-class" wages—presumably on account of the manner in which his brush had gratified his influential "sitters." Another convict artist of an earlier date was John Eyre, two of whose panoramic sketches of the Sydney of his day serve to illustrate this history.

With the arrival in Sydney of Conrad Martens, the history of Australian art—or of art in Australia—reaches its first really notable landmark. Martens was born in London in 1801, the son of a Hamburg merchant who encouraged him in the practice of his art. A student of Copley Fielding, the fashionable painter of the moment, he received a thorough grounding in drawing and water-colour painting; and in 1832 set out on the long voyage which was to lead him at last, *via* South America, Tahiti and New Zealand—and during part of which he was with Charles Darwin on the "Beagle"—to Australia. He arrived in Sydney in April, 1835, and remained here until his death in 1878. For the first thirty years of that long residence he practised his profession always with artistic, and not infrequently with financial, success. Relatively speaking, that is; his "best year" having returned him £350. In 1863, having become "too old to paint," he was made assistant librarian to the Parliament of New South Wales. His income was mainly derived from the painting of portraits; but he also found a ready sale for his water-colour sketches of Sydney Harbour, of which he had painted a great number. His was a successful brush, and although at times he failed to give the true Australian atmosphere, his light effects having rather the sedateness of an English sun than the ardour of an Australian one, yet of his skill and artistry there can be no question. Martens was a man of taste and wide reading; and he must ever stand in the forefront of our painters as being the first who really exploited with his brush the beauties of Port Jackson.

The name of John Skinner Prout must be added to that of Martens as that of an artist of this period who painted well and widely in Australia. His pictures have a finer glow than those of Martens, perhaps, but in general the work of the latter is superior. Prout endeavoured to promote the interests of his art by giving lectures on it to the

good people of Sydney, and there are several advertisements in the *HERALD* calling attention to the merits of these addresses. A number of his works are treasured by the Trustees of the Sydney Art Gallery. The first of our marine painters—and he may be really called an Australian, since he came to Sydney in early childhood and remained here all his life—was Frederick Garling, who painted, it is said, every vessel that entered Port Jackson Heads between 1830 and 1870. Garling held the office of Landing Master during that period, so that his opportunities for satisfying his hobby were sufficiently ample. But although Garling holds priority of time as a marine painter in Australia, certainly the first in point of merit is Oswald Brierly, who, before he came to the antipodes at all, had gained a considerable reputation in England and had exhibited at the National Gallery and elsewhere. Brierly reached Sydney in July, 1842, and—strange occupation for a painter—assisted his friend Benjamin Boyd to “run” the latter’s whaling enterprises on the South Coast of New South Wales! A few years later, however, he accepted an invitation from his friend, Owen Stanley, the captain of H.M.S. “Rattlesnake,” to accompany him on a survey voyage to the north of Australia, and the experience enabled him to paint a series of marine pictures whose success decided him to “stick to his last” for the future. In 1850 he accepted another invitation from the captain of H.M.S. “Meander” for a cruise among the Pacific Islands, and eventually returned in that vessel to England. In 1854, as the result of his spirited paintings of naval engagements in the Baltic and Black Seas, he was brought to the favourable notice of Queen Victoria, and thereafter he enjoyed the Royal favour to such an extent that in 1874 he was appointed marine painter to the Queen and, in 1881, to an official position at Greenwich. He was knighted in 1885 and died in London nine years later. Brierly did an immense amount of work in Australia, and many of his paintings are preserved in the various galleries of New South Wales, the Mitchell Library alone having over two hundred of them. He found numerous private patrons also, and, in particular, his work was greatly admired by John Fairfax. The maker of the *HERALD* purchased his *H.M.S. Galatea Entering the Heads*, and the picture is still in possession of the Fairfax family.

This reference makes it appropriate to mention here the peculiar interest taken by John Fairfax and his descendants—and in particular by his son, Sir James Reading Fairfax—in all forms of art expression. Their gifts and bequests to the various Art Galleries have already been referred to; but since that reference was made, by the will of the late Geoffrey Evan Fairfax the Sydney Art Gallery has received a further valuable bequest of Oriental china. It may be added that the proprietors of the *HERALD*, from first to last, have never failed to lend a practical support to any movement tending to foster the cause of Australian art in general and that of New South Wales in particular.

The first reference to the formation of an Art Gallery in Sydney that we can find in the *HERALD* files takes the form of an announcement in the issue of the 26th April, 1871, to the effect that the New South Wales Academy of Art had been formally constituted the previous day under the presidency of T. S. Mort. Premises were leased in Elizabeth Street and classes were held there by—among others—Signor Simonetti, who has already been referred to as the sculptor responsible for the statue of Captain Arthur Phillip in the Palace Gardens, Sydney. In 1875 the Government established and subsidised this Gallery of Art, or, as an old document which now lies before the present writers calls it, “the Gallery of the Academy of Art.” This document is dated October, 1877, and is of considerable interest, not only as evidence of the existence of the Gallery, but as providing particulars of the personnel of its Trustees and many interesting details of the treasures that it contained. We therefore quote it here in full:

LIST OF PICTURES IN THE GALLERY OF THE ACADEMY OF ART
(Elizabeth Street, near Hunter Street)

TRUSTEES:

Sir Alfred Stephen, K.C.M.G. and C.B., Chairman.
H. C. Dangar, Esq., M.P. J. R. Fairfax, Esq.
E. Du Faur, Esq. E. L. Montefiore, Esq.

OIL PAINTINGS:

PEACE BE TO THIS HOUSE - - - - - By W. C. T. Dobson, R.A.
THE MORNING AFTER THE GALE - - - - - By W. Melby
MADONNA AND CHILD (Roman Copy), after Murillo - - - - - By a Roman Artist
WINTER MORNING MOUNT DISAPPOINTMENT - - - - - By J. W. Curtis
LUCERNE - - - - - By J. B. Payne
CHAUCER READING HIS POEMS BEFORE JOHN OF GAUNT - By F. Madox Brown*
A SALMON POOL, CONNEMARA - - - - - By C. Colles Watkins, R.H.A.
(Presented by F. H. Dangar, Esq.)
THE SYBIL (Roman Copy), after Romanelli - - - - - Presented by R. Wynne, Esq.
SPANISH GIPSEY - By Julia Lersig; Presented by Geo. L. Montefiore, Esq., of Brussels
MOUNT OLYMPUS, TASMANIA - - - - - By W. C. Piguenit
(Purchased by subscription and presented to the Academy)
THE WEALD OF KENT - - - - - By G. Cole
THE WORLD AND THE CLOISTER - - - - - By A. Zona

WATER COLOURS:

APSLEY FALLS, NEW ENGLAND - - - - - By Conrad Martens
EAGLE CRAG, BORROWDALE - - - - - By J. M. Richardson
A STREAM FROM THE DOCHART, N.W. - - - - - By Paul Naftel
THE ROAD TO THE PEAT BOG, NEAR BARMOUTH, N.W. - - - - - By H. Mole
A SKETCH OFF REVEL - - - - - By O. W. Brierly
CATTLE - - - - - By H. Brittan Willis
MILL, ARUNDEL - - - - - By J. W. Whympier
A STUDY - - - - - By P. De Wint
DITTO - - - - - By W. L. Leitch
ON THE COAST OF CORNWALL - - - - - By W. Cooke
DITTO DITTO - - - - - By Ditto
THE VALLEY OF MOTUPIKO - - - - - By J. Gully
AN EARLY STUDY - - - - - By Samuel Prout; Presented by T. S. Mort, Esq.

In addition to the above, there are on view at the Gallery at present (October, 1877), several Oil Paintings and Water Colour Drawings by well-known artists, kindly lent to the Academy by the Hon. John Frazer, M.L.C., and by Dr. Fortescue.

This Gallery, intended as the commencement of the long-projected "Art Gallery of New South Wales," is open to the public on every Wednesday and Saturday, from noon to dusk, free of charge; and all classes of the community are invited to pay it a visit.

* This is a very large picture and is not yet hung for want of space.

The last paragraph is of particular interest, since it shows that apparently no Art Gallery other than this one in its then present or previous forms, had been known in the Colony. It may be added that the first six pictures purchased for this "Academy" are still exhibited in the present Art Gallery in the Sydney Domain, the original portion

of which was opened by Lord Carrington in December, 1885, and the additional courts in 1897, 1904 and 1906. The collection has grown steadily from the little "list" quoted above until to-day it numbers some six hundred oil paintings, 500 water-colours, 900 specimens of black and white work, and nearly two hundred pieces of sculpture, together with a large exhibit of ceramic ware, bronzes and other objects of art. Unhappily the Trustees are dependent entirely upon State grants and subsidies, with the result that the Gallery is often starved and never enabled to add to its treasures to the extent that its importance deserves. In this respect it is much less fortunate than its sister Gallery in Melbourne, which, thanks to the beneficence of the late Alfred Felton, has the income of a bequest which amounts to more than half a million sterling to draw upon annually. Nevertheless, the Sydney Art Gallery can show a representative collection of modern works contributed to by the leading artists of Great Britain and the Continent, while its Australian Court is finely filled.

But this reference to Art Galleries has carried us a little ahead of our chronicle. Let us return for a moment to the 'fifties, a decade which the excitement of the gold discoveries helped to make memorable in many other ways. So far as art was concerned, its effect was manifested mainly in Victoria. In 1857 an Exhibition of the Society of Fine Arts was held in Melbourne and is memorable for the work shown there by a group of artists who had settled in the southern Colony. Among these exhibitors was Nicholas Chevalier, an accomplished and cosmopolitan artist who had, before his arrival in Australia in 1855, been engaged in England, on two very different commissions—the one being to illustrate the *Nineveh* of the archæologist Layard, the other to design the setting for the *Koh-i-Noor*. While in Victoria he drew the first cartoons to appear in Melbourne *Punch*, initiated Australians into the mysteries of the art of chromo-lithography, and won with his oil painting, *The Buffalo Ranges*, the prize of £200 offered by the Trustees of the Melbourne Gallery for the best painting by a resident artist. In 1867 he went to New Zealand and in 1868 returned to England, where, after many active and prosperous years, he died in 1902. Another of the exhibitors at the 1857 Exhibition at Melbourne was Eugene von Guerard, son of the court painter to the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, and still another was that J. A. Gilfillan, who, in his *Captain Cook Taking Possession of New South Wales*, was responsible for what is generally regarded as being the first Australian history picture ever painted. The exhibition is also notable for the fact that Margaret Thomas, our first woman sculptor, sent in a medallion which attracted considerable attention.

Australian sculpture, indeed, irrespective of the sex of its exponents, began only a little before this. From 1843 to 1849 Charles Abrahams, the pioneer of the art in these climes, worked at his chisel in Sydney, and among other honours holds that of having used it on the first piece of local marble ever to have received such attention in Australia. A few years later he was followed by a very much better known artist in the person of Thomas Woolner, R.A., who visited Sydney in 1852, stayed there two years, and during that time modelled a number of portrait medallions of local celebrities. Woolner was also some years later to be given the commission for the statue of Captain Cook which now stands in Hyde Park, Sydney. Contemporaneously—or nearly so—with Woolner's visit, Charles Summers became a resident of Melbourne, and executed there a number of important works, the best known of them being the Burke and Wills group, which was the first bronze statue to be cast in Australia. Summers lived in Melbourne until 1866 and early in the 'seventies his position as the leading sculptor in Australia was taken by that Achille Simonetti to whom we have already had occasion to refer. With Simonetti must be mentioned the portrait-painter, Guilio Anivitti,



THE SQUATTER'S DAUGHTER.

This picture by George Lambert, A.R.A., was painted on the estate of Sir Granville Ryrie at Michelago in Southern New South Wales.

[Oil painting in the possession of Mr. George Pitt-Rivers, of London.]

who worked in Sydney contemporaneously with him. Both were instructors at the Academy of Art, and just as Simonetti is represented by the statue of Phillip, probably our best Governor, so is Anivitti represented by the portrait of Badham, certainly the finest scholar we have ever known. For Charles Badham, who, by a chain of curious circumstances, was led to accept the Chair of Classics and Logic at the Sydney University, was described by Grote as "the greatest of living scholars," by Newman as "the first Greek scholar of the day," and by *The Quarterly Review* as one who "could impart instruction to the ripest scholars of the age." And for nearly twenty years Charles Badham lived and worked in Sydney; in 1884 he died in Sydney in the University he had loved and worked for so well, and in Sydney his name will be long revered.

We come now to the 'eighties, the period when Australian artists—either Australian-born or Australian by long residence—first began to take their rightful place in the history of our national art development. But before actually proceeding to review the activities of this period it is necessary to say a few words about a painter, not an Australian, but who by his work in this country and the influence which he exerted upon our local artists was very largely responsible for that development. Abram Louis Buvelot was a Swiss who came to Victoria in 1865 and almost immediately attracted attention by the excellence of his landscape work. Three of his pictures are in the Melbourne Art Gallery, where a Court has been named after him. His influence on the men who were presently to constitute the original group of purely Australian painters was, as we have said, considerable; and is particularly noticeable in the work of such men as Streeton, Roberts, McCubbin, and others of whom we shall have presently to speak. But although, in a sense, Buvelot is the "father" of our local art, there was at least one native landscape painter who practised his art some time before Buvelot's arrival in Australia and whose work was marked by both grace and skill. This was W. C. Piguenit, whose best-known picture, *Mount Kosciuszko*, now hangs in the Sydney Gallery.

Probably the main factor which operated in delaying the "arrival" of the Australian-born artist, was the curious prejudice against the locally-manufactured article which has done so much harm to Australian industry in every field. It is only of late years that this prejudice has been overcome; but it is satisfactory to record that, so far as works of art are concerned, at any rate, not only has it been overcome but has been overcome to such an extent that the works of our own artists are now preferred by Australian connoisseurs almost to the exclusion of all others. The public galleries, of course, still purchase a considerable number of oversea works, but even there the tendency is of late to increase the purchases of native talent, while, as far as the patronage of the general public is concerned (unfortunately not large at any time) it may safely be said that for every "foreign" painting purchased, at least a score of "local" pictures are sold. In the 'eighties, however, the prejudice against the home article was very strong and very effectively controlled the activities of the native-born artist. But in 1899 an exhibition of local works which can well be termed historic was held in Melbourne. It was known as the "Exhibition of 9 x 5 Impressions," since most of the exhibits were of the impressionistic school and were painted on the "9 x 5" lids of cigar-boxes. The principal exhibitors were Tom Roberts, Charles Conder, Fred McCubbin, Louis Abrahams and Arthur Streeton. The "impressions" caused considerable pain to the critics of the day, or to the majority of them, although there were not wanting a number who ventured to say that the exhibition marked a great advance in Australian art and gave good hopes for its future. At any rate, the exhibitors sold enough of their "impressions" to enable them to carry on.

A little later on a second group of painters became prominent in the art circles of Victoria. This included, among others, such men as E. Phillips Fox, Max Meldrum, Will Dyson and the Lindsays.

In the early 'nineties Conder went to England and presently turned his attention almost exclusively to fan painting; Roberts, after painting a number of pictures descriptive of Australian pastoral life—his *Golden Fleece* in Sydney Gallery is perhaps best known of these—devoted his brush to portraiture; and McCubbin found his finest scope in depicting the struggles of the early settlers. *On the Wallaby* in Sydney Gallery and *The Pioneers* in the Melbourne Gallery, probably represent his finest work. But it was Streeton, of all those whose names we have so far mentioned, who exercised the greatest influence on Australian painting as a whole. In the words of Lionel Lindsay, himself an artist and a member of an extraordinarily artistic family:

"Streeton brought to a golden harvest the efforts of his companions in impressionism. His remarkable dexterity, his ability to profit by suggestion and his unerring sense of the paintable world enabled him to climb with singular swiftness into his place as the first great painter of Australian landscape. . . . Streeton's influence has been wide and profound. He clarified the vision of his brother artists, being the first painter to realise the gum-tree's bronze and difficult greys and to generalise its foliage. . . . Though born in Victoria, Streeton developed his art in Sydney, and its beautiful colour, which he rendered so truthfully, is perhaps the reason that Sydney artists are better colouratists than their Melbourne brethren, while the latter are finer draughtsmen."

So far, in dealing with this creative period, we have confined our attention almost wholly to Victorians, and since the movement may be said to have originated there, the priority is justified. But things had been moving, too, in Sydney. Among the exhibits at the Great Exhibition of 1879-1880 there had been included a number of Australian works of art, and principal among these had been the paintings of Piquenit, Arthur and George Collingridge, Louis Frank, James Dalgarno, J. C. Hoyt, J. Gibb, John Gully and others. A considerable amount of interest had been expressed by the public in this display, and several of the pictures had been sold. This was so remarkable a result that in July, 1880, a number of Sydney artists decided to form a new association for the exhibition and sale of pictures—the only institution of the kind then in existence being the "Academy of Art" to which reference has already been made. Accordingly "The Art Society of New South Wales" was constituted, with J. C. Hoyt as its first president, George Collingridge as its vice-president and E. W. Minchin as secretary and treasurer. Unfortunately, the fire which destroyed the exhibition building also destroyed the majority of pictures that had been exhibited there, and which it had been intended should form the nucleus of the new Society's first "show." However, a black and white exhibition was held in the vestibule of the Town Hall in March, 1883, and from that time onwards the Society has held its exhibitions in Sydney, more or less irregularly at first, but for many years now, annually. Among the more famous of its earlier exhibitors, members or committeemen, were Frank Mahony, a fine painter of horses and stock in action; B. E. Minns, whose aboriginal studies are deservedly popular; Henry Fullwood, a landscapist of skill; William Macleod, a portrait painter of talent and a man noted for his willingness to help his brother artists in every way; Livingstone Hopkins, the caricaturist "Hop" of the *Sydney Bulletin*, and a versatile artist; Phil May, subsequently to become the world's most famous master of black and white; Rupert Bunny, who, by gaining a *Mention Honorable* at the Paris Salon of 1890, holds the honour of being the first Australian artist to receive a European award; John Longstaff (the artist responsible, it will be remembered, for the portrait of Sir James Oswald Fairfax, presented by the members of the *HERALD* staff to that gentleman on the occasion of his

receiving his knighthood), the winner of the first Travelling Scholarship awarded by the Melbourne Gallery, and subsequently a portrait painter who achieved distinction and a knighthood in England; W. Lister-Lister, who became president of the Society in 1897, has retained the position ever since, and whose *Ever Restless Sea* is one of the most popular pictures in the Australian Court of the Sydney Gallery; and many others. During the past fifty years many artists of note in Australia have exhibited with the Society—to which the prefix “Royal” was added by permission of King Edward in 1903—and at the present time it has a membership of about two hundred, among whom are included Charles Bryant, R.O.I., the marine painter; James R. Jackson, a landscape and figure man; Sydney Long, A.R.E.; J. S. Watkins, T. Friedensen, A. Datillo-Rubbo, Lawson Balfour, Charles Wheeler, W. A. Bowring, R.O.I. (whose portraits of the late Sir James Oswald Fairfax and his brother, the late Mr. Geoffrey E. Fairfax, hang side by side upon the wall of the HERALD board-room), C. E. Tindall, Alfred Coffey, J. Salvana and D. G. Reid.

In 1895 a number of the leading artists associated with the Art Society, objecting to the preponderance of power that the constitution of the Society placed in the hands of laymen and amateurs, broke away and formed a new association which—with a sarcastic thrust at the parent body—they called “The Society of Artists.” “For,” said Mr. Tom Roberts who proposed the new name, “it has been proved possible for an ‘art society’ to have many members who are not artists, but such a thing is clearly not possible with a ‘society of artists.’” The logic was unanswerable, and the new name was adopted *nemine dissentiente*. Roberts was elected chairman, and the committee consisted of Fullwood, Mahony, Souter, Long, Watkins and Streeton. In September, 1895, the new society gave its first “show,” Sir Henry Parkes performing the opening ceremony. The function was successful, several pictures being bought by the Trustees of the National Gallery; and among the exhibitors was Julian Ashton, who was elected chairman of the Society two years later. Ashton is one of the principal figures in the story of modern Australian art. Born at Penzance, Cornwall, and at an early age proving himself in his chosen profession, he emigrated to Australia in 1878 at the age of twenty-seven to take up work on the Melbourne *Illustrated News* and *The Australasian Sketcher*. In 1883 he came to Sydney, and after three years’ travel making sketches for *The Picturesque Atlas of Australia*, he settled in that city and at once became prominent in its art circles. In 1889 he was appointed a Trustee of the New South Wales Art Gallery. He was President of the Art Society from 1886 to 1892 and of the Society of Artists in 1897-8, and, later on, for a long period of years. In 1899 he resigned his Trusteeship of the Art Gallery, but, by means of the school of painting which he had established in Sydney, and from which have graduated so many of our leading native artists, he continued his activities in the cause of Art. It was mainly owing to him that a scholarship of £150 per annum was awarded to the late George W. Lambert, which enabled that rising artist to pursue his studies in Europe and gain the experience which made him master of his craft and led him to an associateship of the Royal Academy. Ashton was also instrumental in enabling the genius of Norman Lindsay to come to its full flower, and in procuring by Governmental aid a pictorial record of those nooks and crannies of Old Sydney which the passing years were rapidly eliminating. As an artist Ashton’s chief claim to remembrance lies in his portraiture, of which the *Sir Henry Parkes* (1890)—now in the Sydney Gallery—and the *Henry Gullett*—the one-time Associate Editor of the HERALD—are the most notable examples.

In 1898 an exhibition of Australian art was held at the Grafton Galleries, London, thanks largely to the energies of Ashton and the munificence of Miss Eadith Walker, a

well-known Sydney philanthropist and art lover. The comments of the English press were, on the whole, commendatory, and the exhibition excited considerable interest.

In 1902 it was suggested by the then Minister for Education, in whose department lay the supervision of governmental activities in art, that the two societies should once more unite, as, in his opinion, their amalgamation would be for the benefit of both. Such a suggestion had much of a command about it, since in his hands lay the continuance of the subsidies, and, consequently, with considerable misgivings on both sides, the union was effected. But it was, and could only be, with such deep differences between the leaders on each side, a temporary and superficial healing of the breach; and in 1907 the two Societies resolved themselves once more into separate entities, in which state of division they have ever since remained.

The first show of the resurrected Society of Artists added the notable name of Norman Lindsay to the list of its exhibitors. Lindsay had been represented at previous art exhibitions, but only by some early drawings. He now appeared in the full flush of his genius. The exuberance and originality of his drawings and the perfectly marvellous light effects with which he managed to invest them, moved the critics to admiration, the while his disregard of the conventions—to put it mildly—shocked them into protest. From that day to this, in black and white, in oils, in water-colour and in etching, his productions have been at once the most talked of and the most brilliant exhibits at every show at which they have appeared. But though he has ventured into many mediums for the expression of his art, it will ever be by his drawings that he will be best remembered.

Another feature of that first exhibition of the resurrected Society of Artists was the contribution by Will Dyson of a remarkable series of cartoons and caricatures, a medium in which he was presently to find world-wide fame. And a third feature of it was the first appearance of J. J. Hilder, a young water-colourist whose early death deprived Australia of one who did great things for art and bid fair to do still more. The merit of his delicate work was quickly recognised, and practically the whole of his paintings in the exhibition were sold, though at figures which would make the mouths of present-day collectors of them water with eagerness.

Two other artists who contributed to the success of the Society of Artists' next exhibition in 1908 were Hans Heysen and Hardy Wilson. Heysen is a South Australian whose early work was sufficiently promising to induce a private friend and patron to send him to Europe. He returned a fine craftsman, and his work to-day, both as a painter of still-life and flowers, and as a landscapist, is original and effective. Hardy Wilson is an architect whose varied skill is best expressed, perhaps, in his studies of our early colonial architecture, and especially that effective branch of it represented by the work of Greenway, whose relations with Macquarie have already been referred to.

Later exhibitions of the Society of Artists have brought before the public such fine recruits to our native army of artists as Douglas Fry, whose love of a good horse was only equalled by his skill in painting it; Florence Rodway, whose name will be best remembered by her portraiture in pastel; Lionel Lindsay, distinguished painter and etcher; Blamire Young, originally a realist but latterly a decorative painter of marked ingenuity; Elioth Gruner, an artist whose grapplings with the problems of light and colour have carried him from success to success until he stands to-day in the forefront of Australian landscapists; Howard Ashton, Robert Johnson, Albert Collins and J. Muir Auld, all noted for their effective landscape work; Norman Carter and W. B. McInnes, portrait painters of distinction; Thea Proctor, noted for her decorative work and superb drawing; John D. Moore, whose work, both in oils and water-colour, is

always refreshing; Daryll Lindsay and Harold Herbert, two excellent water-colourists; Margaret Preston, whose floral and still life studies express an individuality which have made them very much sought after; and Sydney Ure Smith, who, first in black and white and subsequently in the field of etching, has done so much to place on record the old odd corners and by-ways of Sydney. He is technically one of our finest etchers, and the value of his work is largely added to by its historical interest. As founder and managing director of the various art publications of *Art in Australia*, he has, moreover, put his fellow Australians largely in his debt; for, by common consent, the artistic merit of these productions has never been equalled in Australia and rarely in England or America. Mr. Ure Smith was elected President of the Society of Artists in 1921, and has held the position ever since. He is a Trustee of the Sydney Art Gallery and has been prominently associated with the organisation of a number of art exhibitions in Sydney and elsewhere.

In sculpture, Australia has not many names to show; but one, at least, is world-famous. This is, of course, Sir Bertram MacKinnal, R.A., who, born in Melbourne in 1863, was attracted from his early youth to the profession he was to adorn. In 1882 he went to Europe and studied both in London and Paris, returning to England in 1886 to carry out a number of commissions that had been entrusted to him. In 1891 he settled in Paris and in 1893 exhibited at the Salon the original model of his famous *Circe*, now in the Melbourne Art Gallery. For this work he was awarded a *mention honorable*. During the next few years his reputation increased quickly; he received many commissions in England; he exhibited at the Royal Academy for the first time in 1894, and has been represented there regularly ever since. He was elected an Associate of the Academy in 1909—the first Australian to receive that recognition—and a full member in 1922. He was knighted in 1921. His work is widely represented. The Chantry Bequest has placed his *Diana Wounded* and *Earth and the Elements* in the Tate Gallery; his Queen Victoria memorials stand in Lahore, Blackburn and Ballarat, and his equestrian statues of King Edward VII. in London and Calcutta. He is responsible for the memorial tomb of King Edward and Queen Alexandra in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor; and he has statues of King George V. at Delhi. Since the war he has been commissioned to erect a number of memorials to the fallen; these are erected at Islington (for the South Africa Government), in St. Stephen's Hall, Westminster, in the playing fields at Eton, at Melbourne and at Sydney. The Shakespeare group presented to the citizens of Sydney by the late Mr. Henry Gullet is also his work.

Incidental mention has already been made of a number of sculptors who visited and in some cases resided in Sydney or Melbourne in the latter half of the last century; but the name of one other at least should be added to the list. This was the French artist, Lucien Henry, a pupil of Viollet Le Duc, who, flying from the Commune, arrived in Sydney in 1871 and obtained a position on the teaching staff of the Sydney Technical College. His attitude towards Australian art was memorable, since he initiated and developed the use of native fauna and flora in architectural decoration. Although in this particular respect he has had too few followers, his influence on our art in other ways is as undeniable as it has been beneficent. Other Australian artists of the chisel who have achieved distinction are Harold Parker, whose beautiful *Ariadne* is in the Tate Gallery; C. Web Gilbert, who is the official sculptor to the Australian War Museum, and is also represented at the Tate Gallery, and by a number of war memorials, including those at Mont St. Quentin and Port Said; Nelson Illingworth, a specialist in portrait busts; George Lambert, who, in addition to his activities as a painter and draughtsman, has also done remarkable work as a sculptor; Douglas Richardson, per-

haps the most distinctively Australian of present-day sculptors, and G. Raynor Hoff, a winner of the Prix de Rome, who, in 1924, was appointed superintendent of the newly-created school of sculpture at the Sydney Technical College. Among the women sculptors, Dora Olfen and Theo Cowan are perhaps the most distinguished.

Although the association of the *HERALD* with painting and sculpture has necessarily been less close than with the sister arts, since such an association can, as a general rule, be effected only by notices of art exhibitions and editorial support of art matters generally, yet it has not failed to seize every opportunity to do what it can to establish and forward the interests of our native brothers of the brush and chisel. Every "show," no matter how small the number of its exhibits or how unknown the artists who promote it, is attended by the *HERALD*'s special representative and is duly "noticed" with a kindly comment where kindness is possible, but always with care and sincerity. Every movement which has for its object the advancement of art has the paper's support and sympathy; and its leading articles have time and time again been devoted to the consideration of its interests. It should also be added that the proprietors of the *HERALD* and the *MAIL* have taken every opportunity of publishing in those journals, since and so far as it has been mechanically possible to do so, reproductions of the principal exhibits at the various art shows of the day.

The difference towards, and, indeed, the bias against the Australian artist, to which we have referred as so unhappy a characteristic of the Australian public until quite recently, was a theme on which the *HERALD* expressed itself very freely on more than one occasion; and an extract from the leading article of the 23rd September, 1911, written upon the occasion of the holding of an exhibition of the works of Rupert Bunny, may well be given as an example of its attitude in this regard:

For some years Sydney has been considered to be in disgrace among artists, and more especially among Australians who have gained a high reputation in Europe. In recent years there have been exhibitions in Sydney by three men whose claims to have been established are beyond all question—Mr. Streeton, Mr. Fox and Mr. Lambert. It is unfair to say of any of them that it was a failure. There were the usual number of visitors who seem to wish to judge a picture by their sense of smell, and of critics whose remarks, casual and ignorant, were a prolonged source of irritation to the artists and their deputies—a proverbially irritable tribe. But in each case numbers of students and amateurs came again and again and confessed their gratitude, both for the pleasure and the knowledge they had gained. Still each of these exhibitions was a failure from one important point of view. Mr. Streeton was so dissatisfied that he refused to exhibit here again, and both Mr. Lambert and Mr. Fox took the most valuable of their pictures away with them. There was a complete failure on the part of those of our citizens wealthy enough to buy works of art. The consequence, so we are told, was a resolution on the part of artists, who, like other people, have to live by the sale of their works, not again to expose themselves to the certain loss of an exhibition before an unappreciative public. Mr. Bunny's appearance, after these warnings, may be a sign either of his courage, which is an indispensable element in success, or of his opinion that the judgments of his colleagues, though natural, are premature. . . . The appetite grows as it is satisfied, and Mr. Bunny, we feel sure, will prove that the failure of Mr. Fox and Mr. Lambert was more apparent than real. Nevertheless, the best he or they can do is to cultivate the taste and to increase the knowledge of a minority. It is for the minority to endeavour to cultivate in the community that impatience with slovenliness, with ugliness, and with superfluity that has become part of their existence. The one and the sufficient justification of the demand for assistance by the State to art is that ultimately the influence and of the contact with true and beautiful things will transform the lives of the great body of citizens. It is for this reason that we sympathise with and support the views of the deputation who recently advocated the expenditure of an annual sum of money in the teaching of applied arts. They show that they are determined to begin by making the foundations sound. Australia has singularly failed to make use of the wealth of material and of talent at its command. We have been content to live surrounded by inferior representations of the objects of European scenery, and have neglected either to enjoy

the beauties of our own or to make use of the surest method of sharpening the faculties of observation of our own students. Yet, as the deputation were aware, no national art is possible until the people of the nation become accustomed to surround themselves with, and to demand its fruits, not as a luxury, but as part of their every-day life.

In the last year of the Great War, the Royal Art Society and the Society of Artists both held exhibitions, and more than usual interest was attached to these, inasmuch as it had been generally expected that the War would have affected, if not the manner, at least the matter of the paintings exhibited. But those expectations were doomed to be unrealised; for the exhibitions were in all respects very much as they had been before. The *HERALD*, in its leading article of the 11th October, 1918, entitled "War and Art," makes reference to this point and comments upon it in the following terms:

In the two exhibitions of paintings held annually by the artists of Sydney, the public has recently had the opportunity of judging for itself the effect of four years of war upon Australian art. . . . It would, however, be fallacious to contend that the immediate effects have been entirely baneful. Official artists at the front have added to the world's treasures canvasses which, in addition to giving genius a new expression, will serve as inspiration to those who may approach war subjects in the piping times of peace. In this respect Australia has been backward in seizing opportunities for securing works by her own artists at the front which would constitute an historical record of inestimable value. It is therefore to be hoped that Mr. John Lane Mullins' suggestion that the necessary arrangements to secure this record should be expedited will not be permitted to pass unnoticed. . . . We look for the soul of the artist in the work which he produces, and, if he is to achieve success, he must put himself into his art. But the war has not helped the artistic temperament. It has revolted the soul of the artist. . . . Art is not concerned with the beautiful alone, but few people outside of Germany will find pleasure in contemplating the battered remains of Reims Cathedral, or the shell-torn landscape of France. If we are to have war pictures at all, the material and local colour must be obtained on or near the battlefields. Those artists who have not had the necessary facilities for such work are no doubt well advised in following the course which they have adopted in revealing the beauties of their own lands, where they find ample scope for their talent. While Streetons and Lamberts are not discovered every year, the recent exhibitions have shown that Australia still possesses men who can turn out work of a very high quality, notwithstanding the unsettled conditions brought about by the war.

In July and August, 1921, the *HERALD* published a series of articles—and backed them up with a "leader"—advocating the establishment of a subsidised Art School in Sydney, properly equipped and staffed after the manner of the leading Art Schools of Great Britain. The articles created considerable correspondence and not a little opposition, there being several art schools and classes already in existence. And although the opposition was strong enough to give the authorities sufficient excuse—and they wanted little—for not accepting the suggestion of the *HERALD* contributor, yet the discussion and correspondence, which the publication of the articles evoked, showed how keen was the interest in their subject and provided sufficient justification for their appearance. Moreover, they gave the *HERALD* an opportunity of expressing its own views on the subject in a leading article on the 22nd July, 1921, from which we quote as follows:

The hackeneyed old Latin tag asserts truly enough, that art is long and time is short, but when consideration is given to the position of art in New South Wales, the temptation to parody the proverb by reversal of its terms proves irresistible. With us, though the time has been long, art is short indeed. Again and again the advantages of, even the necessity for, a properly founded and properly conducted art school have been advanced in these columns. Frequently the leading artists of the State have spoken and written upon the subject; deputations have urged it upon many links in the long chain of our Governments; every method which could be devised has been adopted to put the train in motion—and yet it stands to-day unengined, empty, at a trackless siding. . . . The National Gallery is merely a means whereby good pictures are exhibited to the public; an art school would be the means whereby possible artists would be taught to paint

good pictures for themselves. In art (speaking of it, of course, in its special application to painting, drawing, and sculpture), we have put the cart before the horse. We have got the exhibition before the school. . . . While we retain a gallery of paintings and make no provision for painters, how can Australian art be fostered? And surely the fostering of Australian art is important. It is admitted, at once, that there are schools in Sydney, and that they are doing good work. But that work is curtailed by the limitations of the sphere in which alone they can operate. The school which is being maintained at Darlinghurst under the ægis of the Technical College authorities is admirably managed and obtains admirable results; and our two rival art societies must also be remembered in this connection. But the latter are to a large extent confined to evening work, and the attendance may be, and often is, of a lax, desultory nature, while the Technical School is not intended to apply at all to advanced instruction in pure art. . . . Once more we are compelled to ask why Sydney is so lacking where Melbourne, for instance, is so well equipped? Certainly no cause is apparent which cannot be overcome without much difficulty. We have the men with the necessary training and enthusiasm for directors and instructors; we have in abundance the material for such men to exercise their training and enthusiasm upon with success, and if money is required for upkeep purposes, cannot a scale of fees be arranged by which that money can be garnered?

In October, 1923, mainly as the result of a suggestion from the late Lord Northcliffe, who visited Australia in 1921 and expressed himself as being considerably impressed with the work of our native artists, a second exhibition of Australian art was organised by the Society of Artists and held at the Royal Academy, London. The project meant a good deal of work for all concerned, and the committee of management and selection had not only an invidious but an extremely difficult task, which was made even worse by certain inter-society jealousies. The collection of funds was the main trouble, but by various means—private donations, proceeds of the sale of gift pictures and an artists' ball, etc.—considerably over £2,000 was eventually raised. The pictures submitted for selection were judged in Melbourne and Sydney and were then shown to the public in the gallery of the Public Instruction Department, Sydney. The HERALD, in a leading article of the 16th June, referring to this preliminary exhibition and congratulating its organisers upon their activities, declared that the London Exhibition should be a good advertisement for Australian art and artists, and then proceeded to criticise some of the exhibits in the following terms:

Several critics have charged the selectors with having omitted to place upon the walls a proper portion of landscape work, while others have alleged that of the landscapes which are shown too many are of a sadness and a greyness which are entirely un-Australian. Do the selectors stand acquitted of these charges? We think not. There is truth in the statement of "An Australian Student," whose letter appeared in our issue of yesterday, that one of the main objects of the exhibition is to show "the difference in light and landscape from what is usually seen in the old world," and in his implication that that object has not been adequately attained. There is not sufficient of this class of work, and the selectors can hardly be heard to plead that the reason of the shortage is lack of material. The comparatively few landscapes shown serve but as savouries or *hors d'œuvres* to a heavy banquet. They titillate our appetite and sweeten our remembering taste. Lord Forster, opening the Exhibition, commented on and regretted this lack of pictures showing the peculiar charm of our scenery and atmosphere, and he was eminently right. If it be no too late, this very evident lack should be remedied. . . . There is one other criticism which must be made, and made as strongly as words can do it. The selectors have seen fit to include a number of works—mainly black and white—which are frankly indecent and which should never have been shown at all, much less chosen to represent Australian art. On some of them, when previously exhibited, we passed a similar criticism, and we now repeat it. The brilliancy of the genius which produced them is not, cannot be, denied, nor can their cleverness and mastery of line be questioned. Indeed, it is because of these very qualities that they are criticised. There is no prudery in this protest, although we shall, of course, be charged with it; but merely the desire to speak of what we believe to be "mean things" with indignation. We recognise the right of every citizen to choose for himself within a most elastic limit what books or pictures he pleases, but



"The Three Sisters"—a well-known beauty spot near Katoomba, New South Wales. The deep and winding gorge, whose hazy outlines show behind the "Sisters," is one of many such features of Blue Mountain scenery.



Near Wiseman's Ferry, New South Wales. A reach of the famous Hawkesbury River, some thirty miles from Sydney. The rich flats, the level stream and the rugged hills are the typical features of a view that the Sydney Mutt photographer has beautifully caught.

we do not recognise the right—and must protest against its claim—of anyone to thrust upon this exhibition, in the high and sacred name of art, a set of pictures whose subject and execution would suit better the pages of the *Satyricon*.

This frank declaration aroused a storm of controversy. On the one hand, the *HERALD* was charged, as it had prophesied, with prudery, and was variously referred to as “Mrs. Grundy,” an “early Victorian Wowser,” and—as usual—a “Granny.” On the other hand, a very large body of support was forthcoming, the paper being commended for saying publicly what a considerable section of the community had been privately thinking for long enough. The committee, however, refused to eliminate the pictures objected to, and they were duly exhibited in London.

In May, 1919, Mr. William Dixon, of Sydney, who had for many years been collecting Australiana of all kinds, but chiefly in the form of pictures of early Sydney and portraits of the men and women who had played a prominent part in the history of the Colony, wrote to the Principal Librarian of the Public Library in the following terms:

Dear Sir: As you are aware, I have a number of valuable pictures packed away, as I have no room to display them. Most of them are of historical value, apart from any artistic merit, and it would be a good thing if they were placed where those interested could see them. It is my intention that, sooner or later, they shall go to form part of a national collection.

I understand that it is intended to proceed with the library building in Macquarie Street; and that a picture gallery is part of the scheme. Should this gallery be built, I will, on its completion, present to the trustees of the library the following pictures:

- 1.—Portrait of Capt. Cook by Sir Joshua Reynolds.
- 2.—Portrait of Capt. Cook by Unknown Artist.
- 3.—Portrait of the First Viscount Sydney, by Gilbert Stuart.
- 4.—Portrait of Governor Phillip, artist unknown.
- 5.—Portrait of Governor Phillip, artist unknown.
- 6.—Portrait of Mrs. Phillip, artist unknown.
- 7.—Portrait of Governor Macquarie.

I would also be prepared to place in the gallery a large number of pictures on the condition that I retain a life interest in them, with the remainder to the Trustees of the Library.

All these pictures, whether given at once or not, would be subject to the following conditions:

- (a) That no stamp duty, probate, or any other tax, whether Federal or State, will be paid by me.
- (b) That no reproductions are to be allowed during my lifetime.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM DIXON.

The Trustees of the Library were naturally delighted at the opportunity to obtain a collection whose value and variety they knew was very great. They therefore did their best to induce the Government to hasten the building of the gallery, which, according to the original plans, was to be added to the Mitchell Wing—so that the offer might be accepted. But the usual delays followed, and if Mr. Dixon had not been public-spirited beyond the ordinary and possessed of amazing patience, he would, disgusted with the cavalier treatment he received, have withdrawn his offer and thereby inflicted on the State an irreparable loss. Fortunately he was not that sort of man. He reiterated his offer, and, though the Government of the day went out of power without doing anything to enable it to be accepted, and was followed by other Governments, who did precisely the same thing, he kept the offer open until his persistence, aided by the continued appeals of the Library Trustees, carried the day.

In June, 1924, when the terms of Mr. Dixon's offer were still unaccepted and the whole matter was “in the air,” the *HERALD* published two articles explaining the posi-

tion and appealing to the Government to come to an immediate decision. The appeal was effective, and within a few months the official announcement was made that the necessary building was to be started at once. But it was not until 1929 that the "Dixson Wing" of the Mitchell Library was completed and Mr. Dixson's collection of pictures were placed in position there—a collection which turned out to be even more complete than had been anticipated, and which has given the City of Sydney a picture gallery of Australiana unique in its historic and artistic interest. The following description, taken from the *HERALD* of the 19th October, 1929, will convey to the reader some idea of the nature and value of Mr. Dixson's gift:

The collection offers a wonderful pageant of Australian history. To mention only a few of its treasures, there are a series of landscapes by Conrad Martens depicting Sydney in 1841; the famous portrait of Sir Joseph Banks by T. Phillips, R.A., a replica of which hangs in the Royal Society's Rooms at London; Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait of Captain Cook; and the earliest large picture that is known of Sydney Cove—an oil painting by T. Watling, done in 1794. Students of Australian history can find strenuous interest in trying to set a date to various pictures which at present stand undated, because Mr. Ifould and his assistants have not had time for the necessary research. Art-lovers will find that the appeal of the exhibits is not merely historical, even though historical significance was the basis on which they were collected, but that many of them, such as G. Rowe's paintings of the Victorian goldfields, have a strong artistic value as well. . . . On one side of the Banks portrait hangs Francis Holman's painting of Captain Cook's ships, the "Resolution" and the "Adventure," at Long Reach, in 1772. On the other hangs *The Death of Cook*, a painting by John Webber. Webber was a member of Cook's last expedition, and so this version may be regarded as authentic, even though those who were on the ships could not have seen much of what happened. . . . Besides that of Sir Joseph Banks, there are portraits of Governor Macquarie, Governor Phillip, Viscount Goulburn (a large oil painting by Pickersgill); of John Macarthur, the founder of the Australian wool industry; and of Viscount Sydney, after whom the city of Sydney was named. The portrait of Viscount Sydney is by Gilbert Stuart—a fine work, with beautiful textures and a noble simplicity, in its general effect, showing the British Home Secretary as a young man. One of the Macquarie portraits is by R. Read, Senr., who had given more attention to caricature in black and white than to serious oil paintings, and consequently produced rather a muddy effect in the flesh tones of the Governor's face, even though he expresses piquantly the sitter's characteristic traits. . . . Among the rest of the exhibits, mention must be made of the group of forty or more water-colours of Sydney by S. Elyard, which have a wall to themselves; of Colonel Light's painting of Adelaide in 1839; and of the two splendid pictures by Conrad Martens, *Sydney Heads* (a vividly dramatic storm scene) and *Illawarra*, depicting a fairyland of vines and tree ferns and cabbage tree palms.

Our national art—in New South Wales, at any rate—has been too long neglected by the State. But Governments are notoriously hard to move where votes are not concerned, and the grants and subsidies, which should have been generous, have often been negligible, have never been enough, and have occasionally failed to materialise at all. This state of things has always been particularly obnoxious to the *HERALD*; and on several occasions the paper has commented upon it with considerable vigour. In 1927, during a controversy over the necessity for erecting the pylons of the Harbour Bridge, Mr. Ifould, the Principal Librarian at Sydney, was led to remark that the cost entailed by their erection, to satisfy what was by no means a necessity and which many thought would not even be an ornament, might very much better have been used in assisting the various art and kindred institutions of the State, which were so notoriously starved. The *HERALD* was prompt to seize the opportunity thus provided, and an article which appeared in the issue of the 27th October, 1927, under the caption of "The Starvation of Art," taking Mr. Ifould's comment as a text, set out with considerable particularity the actual position of the institutions referred to. After referring to the assertions of Mr. Ifould in detail, the writer continued:

Mr. Ifould stated that the statutory endowment of the Sydney Art Gallery and Library have remained the same for 30 years. But he did not state—as he might have done—the amount of those endowments. It is almost incredible, but nevertheless it is strictly true, that they amount to the paltry total of £2,000 per annum in each case. And that sum is supposed not only to cover the cost of new “works of art” for the gallery, or books, manuscripts, magazines, etc., for the library, but of every other expense—except salaries and wages, of course—incidental to the upkeep of the institution. It is true that additional special grants are made from time to time. Clearly they must be, or the institutions would have to close through sheer inability to carry on. But those special grants are obtained only after the most persistent and almost abject appeals; and are even then so insignificant and altogether inadequate that the whole business of maintaining institutions which ought to be the pride of the State has become a beggarly hand-to-mouth affair which is at once a disgrace in ourselves to permit, and an unhappy reflection upon the authorities who are responsible for it. Only recently the most urgent repairs to the Art Gallery had to be left undone because the only funds available were the poor remnants of the annual endowment; and the Trustees declined to use them for such purposes. For if they did they would thereby render themselves unable to pay any attention at all to the æsthetic needs of the institution. And, after all, the prime object of an art gallery is surely to encourage art, and its funds are more properly applicable to the purchase of pictures than to the repairing of walls. Again, the Trustees of the Library have been for years urging Government after Government to instal a proper system of fire extinguishers throughout the building. But it has not yet been done; nor does there appear to be any near prospect of its being done. It seems almost inconceivable that such a gross neglect should be allowed to continue. But there it is. The contents of the Library are, by their very nature, extraordinarily inflammable. They are also of very great value; and in many cases irreplaceable. Yet for want of the comparatively small sum required, the risk—the grave risk—of their destruction has to be continuously incurred. . . . Is it any wonder that Mr. Ifould, knowing these things and being so closely concerned in them, should have spoken out as he did? If he believed that the pylons are not essential to the construction or maintenance of the bridge; or even if he had reason to believe that there was doubt upon the point—and that there is considerable difference of opinion among competent authorities is clear—he was not only justified in his comment, he was bound, holding the office he does, to make it. And if by making it, he has drawn attention to the disgraceful neglect of the artistic and educational institutions of this city, it will certainly not have been made in vain.

Unhappily, things remain to-day much as they were when that article was written; and the problem of keeping these institutions going is one that continuously taxes to the utmost the administrative capabilities of those entrusted with their maintenance.

On the 30th May, 1930, Mr. G. W. Lambert, A.R.A., to whom we have already referred on several occasions, died suddenly while staying at a farmhouse near Sydney. By his death Australian art suffered the loss of its greatest representative, for Lambert was unquestionably our leading artist, and had been so for many years. Born in the city then known as St. Petersburg in 1873, he was brought by his grandparents to Sydney and shortly afterwards entered the art school conducted by Julian Ashton. Lambert's work soon began to attract attention, and in 1899 his *Across the Blacksoil Plains*, which was purchased by, and still remains one of the most popular pictures in, the Sydney Art Gallery, made his name familiar to everyone at all interested in art matters. In 1900, having won a scholarship offered by the Society of Arts, he went to Paris, where he studied under Colarossi, and then, crossing to London, he settled down to do black and white work for *The Strand* and *Pall Mall* magazines and gave himself seriously to the study of portraiture. In 1903, again in 1905, and thenceforward every year until 1911, his portraits appeared at the Royal Academy; and by 1914 he was generally recognised as one of the leading portrait painters of the time. He was a foundation member of the Modern Society of Portrait Painters, a member of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers, and an Associate of the New Salon in Paris. His reputation had, indeed, by this time spread far beyond the boundaries of Paris and London, and in 1911 his Academy picture, *The Mask*, was exhibited in Venice and

bought there for the St. Petersburg Gallery. During the war he served as a works officer of the British Timber Supplies Department until 1917, when he was appointed official artist with the Australian Light Horse in Palestine. Immediately after the war he was commissioned by the Australian Government to paint a series of pictorial records of the landing at Gallipoli, the charge at Beersheba and other famous deeds of the A.I.F., and to obtain the necessary colour and information he made a tour of the subject regions, returning to Australia in 1921, to complete his work. This he did with brilliant success, and the pictures are now numbered among the treasures of the Australian War Museum. In 1922 Lambert was elected Associate of the Royal Academy. At the time of his death he was at work, *inter alia*, upon a war memorial to be erected in St. Mary's Cathedral. Soon after his death a sale of his pictures was arranged by his trustees and, considering the financial depression in which Australia was involved at the time, it produced extremely satisfactory results, the total sales realising over £6,000.

The HERALD of the 30th May, 1930—the issue which announced his death—published a lengthy and appreciative notice of his life and work, and on the following day devoted its leading article to a consideration of the same subject. From this article we quote as follows:

George Lambert was so great an artist that his loss to Australia will be adequately measured only in the course of the years. His title to eminence was based not only upon his imaginative powers and his knowledge of the inner meaning of the work to which he has laid his hand. Its foundation was all the more firmly established because he had thoroughly studied the essential things of his profession. Never was there a keener draughtsman than he—and, after all, draughtsmanship is one of the fundamental principles which the student must master if he wishes to make substantial advance in his career. Sometimes one is forced to the conclusion that its value is almost entirely disregarded to-day in the exploits of many of those who are attracted by the glitter of modern experiments. But Lambert was never one of these. He was too secure in his own ideals; and, moreover, he was too well grounded in the basic principles of art. All who know his work—and who does not?—are aware, not merely of the strength and fluency of his line, but of its decision and certainty, the fruit of the severe discipline of his student days, when Julian Ashton directed him in the hard, unrelenting lessons of sturdy craftsmanship to the development of that commanding technique which served him so well in his position as one of the most distinguished artists of his day. . . . Within the wide frontiers duly defined by the canons of art, there is a freedom practically as limitless as the air itself. George Lambert knew how to exercise this freedom. He did not frown upon any new movement simply because it was new. He tested it by those rules which he knew so well—and without which there can be no art worthy the name—and he used whatever was in it that he deemed of good purpose. When he went abroad in his early career, he shrewdly studied all the new influences to which he was subjected, and in the light of the discipline of his student days, and the insight of his own mental equipment, he was able to distinguish the artistic from the merely adventurous. He found himself reconciling in his own work, for example, the bravura of the French school with the solidity of English Art. He was dashing enough to be modern, but it was a modernity governed always by the principles in which he had so securely grounded himself before he embarked upon his career.

A Lambert Memorial Exhibition was held in the last months of the year 1930. The response by the owners of the artist's work to the request for the loan of their pictures was prompt and generous, and, except for the absence of sculpture, the exhibition was in every way worthy of Lambert's great reputation. The HERALD, in the issue of the 26th November, referred to the work of the artist in the following terms:

Lambert, in his lifetime, it is said, never had what is known as "a one-man show," and if he had, it could not have attained the sustained interest and full survey of the present exhibition, for he painted these pictures, and devised these drawings, at various periods, in his student days, and in his full maturity; and they stand as a living memorial to this artist of all the talents.

Those who visit this exhibition—and they should include every man and woman who has even the smallest interest in art, and its development in this country—will perceive, as they

never could have perceived under ordinary conditions, how opulent were Lambert's gifts, and how diversified the use he made of them. Visitors to the public galleries, and to the exhibitions of the art societies, have admired individual examples of his work; but here they will see nearly 200 of these examples—not of one period, but of all; not of one class, but of many—portraits, genre studies, landscapes, all endowed with his imaginative power, his insight, his perfect technique. It is remarkable that there is no exhibit of his sculpture, a field in which he was just as certain as in any other; but as it is, the exhibition is a great tribute to his genius, and those responsible for it are to be congratulated for having furnished this opportunity of surveying, in this manner, the achievements of a man who has established so high a standard for Australian art.

And with this eloquent and appropriate tribute to a great painter we close this all too hasty record of the association of the HERALD with Australian art.

SECTION XIV.

THE "HERALD" AND EDUCATION

THE story of the growth of educational reform in that area of the continent known as New South Wales may be divided into three parts—first, the unorganised, or partly subsidised attempts of private religious and semi-official enterprise during the first forty odd years of the Colony's history; second, the initial and somewhat hazy efforts of the Government to establish a system of public education—efforts which began in 1836 with the attempt by Governor Bourke to institute what was known as the "Irish National System," and continued until 1866, amid a maze of jealousies and divided controls; third, the institution of complete Governmental authority which began with the Public Schools Act of Henry Parkes in that year and culminated in the organisation of the present "free, secular and compulsory" system, with all its various interlacing channels of supervision and control, whereby it is made certain that practically every youthful citizen of the State between seven and fourteen years of age shall receive a sound primary education; and shall also be given the chance to proceed, if he so desires, through the secondary and high school courses, and, finally, by means of bursaries, scholarships and exhibitions, to the University itself. This general classification and division omits, of course, all consideration of the vast system of private schools—including the "Great Public Schools," which correspond to the Public Schools of England—which steadily each year sends forth a growing flood of youthful students to take their place in the world. They are the expression of private enterprise; and their only present association with the State school system is that the "leaving certificate" issued by the latter, if it covers certain specified subjects, stands as the equivalent to a matriculation pass, and thereby absolves the grantee, whatever may be the nature of the school which he attends, from the necessity of sitting for the ordinary matriculation examination before entering upon his studies at the University. In these circumstances, although the members of the *HERALD* proprietary have ever been closely associated with the Great Public Schools, and the paper itself, through its news-columns, has largely interested itself in them, they have hardly called for editorial treatment; except, perhaps, in those earlier days of their existence, when the conditions under which they were carried on justified their being regarded as semi-public institutions and therefore subject to criticism. But in the development of our State educational system generally, the *HERALD* has always been deeply interested, and has paid to it the concentrated regard which its importance has deserved. The paper has changed its opinions on occasion, but can never be charged with indifference towards any phase of the subject.

It is essential that a few words be devoted here to the story of education in Australia during the years prior to the birth of the *HERALD*, in order that the reader may understand, not only the position of affairs when that event took place, but also the attitude and comment of the paper thereon. Although Governor Phillip's instructions, when founding the Colony, had included a direction that 200 acres in the vicinity of every

township should be reserved for the maintenance of a teacher and, although there were a number of children among the community which landed in Sydney Cove on that historical 26th January, 1788, no teacher had been included as a member of the company. It was not until four years later that the Rev. Richard Johnson, Chaplain of the first fleet, commiserating the state of the settlement from the standpoint of education, appealed to, and obtained from, the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts the sum of £40 to be devoted to the payment of £10 to each of four teachers whom Johnson undertook to find among the more educated of the community. A little later on we learn, from a despatch of Phillip referring to the destruction by fire of the church which had been used as the first schoolhouse in Australia, that from 150 to 200 children were being educated at the time under Mr. Johnson's supervision. In 1796 Governor Hunter appealed to the Home authorities for a public school for the care and education of the children "to save them from certain ruin." But the British Government refused to entertain his request, and, although the Church Society in London endeavoured to encourage the emigration of school masters, very little was done in this respect, with the result that, in March, 1802, Governor King, in a despatch referring to the children of the Colony, who then numbered slightly over 1,000, was forced to assert that "finer and more neglected children" were "not to be met with in any part of the world."

It is interesting to note, by the way, that King ordered that the proceeds of certain Customs duties should be devoted to the erection and maintenance of a building for the reception and education of children. His action may have been illegal—it was certainly neither prompted nor confirmed by the Home authorities—but it was notable, not only for its proof of the practical sympathy, which was one of King's most praiseworthy characteristics, but for the fact that it was the first instance on record of any British Government having granted money for the purpose of education. It was in 1802, moreover, that the young Colony set another educational precedent for the world to follow. This was an arrangement entered into among themselves by the settlers in the Windsor district, whereby each of them agreed to pay 2d. per acre for the maintenance of a school for local children. This anticipation of the "school rate" system, afterwards adopted in England, remained in existence for some years and provided not only a benefit to the district, but an irrefragable proof of the enterprise of the Windsor settlers in the cause of education.

In November, 1806, Governor Bligh, in his first despatch from Sydney, asked the British authorities to send out four "respectable married men" as teachers, and added that at that date there were over 400 children being educated in various parts of the Colony. On the festival of the King's Birthday, 1807, Bligh personally examined 200 of these youngsters and complimented them on their proficiency. The picture of the martinet of the "Bounty," the irritable occupant of the vice-regal chair in his Majesty's penal colony in Sydney, thus engaged is hard to visualise, but it certainly provides a pleasanter aspect of Bligh than the majority of those drawn of him by historians.

It was in this year (1807) that the Rev. Samuel Marsden, a name celebrated in our early annals for many things besides his religious, missionary, and philanthropic work—for he was, on the authority of Governor King, "the best practical farmer in the Colony," and his political and administrative activities were a constant source of trouble to the Governors of the day—the Rev. Samuel Marsden, we say, being at the time in England, managed to induce the Home authorities to meet the crying needs of the colonists for education by establishing a number of schools in the principal centres. The expenses of these were met—following the unauthorised precedent set by King five

years before—by ear-marking for that purpose a portion of a fund raised from the Customs duties and commonly known as “orphan dues,” its original application having been for the purpose of maintaining the orphan children of the Commonwealth. But beyond this the authorities at Home did very little, and most of the educational progress of the Colony was the result of private work, for there were already several private schools functioning in Sydney and Parramatta.

The advent of Macquarie, however, greatly improved matters. With characteristic energy he established two charity schools—one at Sydney and another at Parramatta—within two months of his taking office, placing in control of them two members of a band of missionaries who had been driven to Sydney from Tahiti as a result of a native rebellion. These two men were the first school teachers in Australia to receive salaries from the public purse. Six months later Macquarie was able to report the institution of schools in several districts; and in 1815 he even managed to start a school at Parramatta for the “civilization and education of the aborigines.” This institution was carried on with such success that in 1819, when it held its “anniversary examination,” in which one hundred white and twenty aboriginal children took part in “a competition for prizes in the rudiments of education, morals, and religion,” the second prize—much to the satisfaction of the adjudicators and auditors—was won by a pure-blooded native girl. The school, however, gradually petered out and was disbanded after a life of eleven years.

In 1818 Macquarie was able to write:

The school establishments are neither as extensive nor as perfect as could be wished, yet they are increased in number and improved in the description of their teachers. I have much pleasure in observing that, in addition to the public endowments for the dissemination of the first principles of education in Sydney, Parramatta, Windsor, Liverpool, Newcastle, Hobart Town, and Port Dalrymple, there are schools at Richmond, Pitt Town, Wilberforce, Castlereagh, etc., where the rudiments of education are given in a tolerably fair and extensive degree. We possess various classical schools at Sydney, Castlereagh, etc., but notwithstanding the increase in the number and respectability of our schools they are still inadequate to the great work of rendering education co-extensive with the population.

For many years, as we have seen, a proportion of the receipts from the Customs had been devoted to the maintenance of the orphan schools, and in the year of the Macquarie letter which we have just quoted, the school fund had received the considerable sum of £2,534 from this source. In 1820 it was increased to £3,203, and further orphan schools were thereupon instituted by order of the Governor.

But the principal event of 1820, from an educational point of view, was the arrival in Sydney of the Rev. Thomas Reddall, specially appointed by Earl Bathurst (then Secretary of State for the Colonies) to introduce the “English National System” of education into Australia. This system had been founded by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, and its main features were that its control should be in the hands of the Anglican Church and that a monitorial supervision of the junior pupils by the seniors should be fostered. By March, 1821, Reddall had “reorganized the male orphan school on the Bell system” with happy effects. Macquarie was greatly interested in Reddall’s work; he sent his son Lachlan to him as a boarder, and he commenced the building of the present Supreme Court in Sydney as a school for the activities of the new system. Reddall, however, considered the design as by no means appropriate to the methods associated with that system, and Greenway then designed for him the building which for many years the residents of later Sydney were to know as the Girls’ High School.

Mr. Commissioner Bigge, in his reports to the Home authorities upon the Macquarie regime (to which reference was made in the first section of this history) dealt

very exhaustively with the educational needs of the Colony, and strongly recommended that the "English National System" should be largely extended so as to cover all the public schools of the Colony. Earl Bathurst promptly accepted Bigge's advice and in 1824 he instructed the Rev. Thomas Hobbes Scott, who had been Secretary to Bigge on the latter's visit to Australia, to report and advise upon the best method of obtaining a permanent provision for the church and schools of Australia. Scott completed his task in March, 1824, and drew up a comprehensive and, indeed, able scheme of primary, secondary, and higher education. But it proposed, in pursuance of the methods of the English National scheme, to place the whole educational processes of the Colony in the hands of the one religious authority. And as the Church of England managed such things in England by means of "Corporations," Scott naturally recommended that it should be managed in Australia in the same way. His scheme found favour with the British Government; he was appointed Archdeacon of Sydney at a salary of £2,000 per annum to carry it into effect; and he arrived in Australia in May, 1825, with the draft charter for the constitution of the Corporation in his pocket. Owing to various delays, however, it was not until March, 1826, that the "Church and Schools Corporation"—a body that was to create infinite discord throughout the Colony—was legally brought into existence. The Trustees took over the twenty Government schools then in existence, and Archdeacon Scott started out to enlarge the Corporation's activities with a zeal which might well have been tempered with a little more discretion. He needed funds, and so he worried Governor Brisbane to hand over to the Corporation all the lands to which its charter gave him any possible claim. But this claim was of such a wholesale nature that Brisbane demurred. It was a "sacrifice," he said, which he must refuse, unless and until direct orders to the contrary were given him by the Secretary of State. And with his refusal he set in motion that tremendous tide of opposition to the Corporation which was to sweep it out of existence eight years later. Men of all classes recognised at once that the effect of the charter would be to throw the whole control of education into the hands of the Anglican Church, and the main opposition to the Corporation which was to sweep it out of existence seven years later. Men who, usually in opposition to one another, found themselves now united in a common cause. These two bodies were the Roman Catholics and the "Dissenters"—a term which, in this case, included the Presbyterians. Both found in the Corporation an enemy whose operations would, if not checked, reduce them, as that outspoken Roman Catholic divine, Dr. Ullathorne, put it, "to worse than Egyptian bondage." Under the leadership of the Doctor the members of his church founded the Catholic Education Society to resist the activities of the Corporation; the Wesleyan Methodists instituted and organized incessant protests, and the Presbyterians, whose spokesman was Dr. Lang, were equally strenuous in their opposition. That they had good reason for their objections is shown by the fact that, during its short existence, the Corporation managed to obtain possession of no less than 435,765 acres, and to obtain from the Government amounts varying from £19,000 to £20,000 a year. It must be added, however, in justice not only to the Trustees of the Corporation generally, but to its founder, Archdeacon Scott, in particular, that its educational work at any rate was well done. It had doubled the number of the schools of the Colony, whilst reducing the cost of conducting them by one-third. The saving, however, was mainly obtained at the expense of the unfortunate teachers, whose salaries—according to the despatch of Governor Darling, dated 1st August, 1829—"were kept at the lowest level at which it was possible to induce a creditable person to engage in the occupation of teaching."

The British authorities decided—prompted thereto in part, no doubt, by this despatch—to revoke the Corporation's Charter; but the notification of this decision apparently did not reach Sydney until the middle of 1831; and, although the management of the Corporation was temporarily delegated to five Commissioners, its formal revocation did not take place until 1833, when its estates reverted to the Crown. It was therefore, while the Corporation was in this state of suspended animation that the *HERALD* came into being. The paper was, from the first, strongly opposed to the exploitation of the Colony which the Charter of the Corporation not only permitted but encouraged, and it did not hesitate to express that opposition very trenchantly. In its seventh number—30th May, 1831—published before the decision of the Home Government to revoke the Charter had been officially notified, it commented "with surprise and regret" on the fact that the sum of £17,000, "or one-seventh of the whole Government revenue," had been devoted during the previous year to the Trustees of the Corporation. Its protest ran, in part, to the following effect:

We contend that the system is radically bad and never can be efficient. . . . We shall set our face against the partial distribution of public property under the misapplied name of a general benefit, as well as the misdirected appropriation of a large grant and the establishment in perpetuity of a Corporation, which is manifestly paid in all its parts by Government cash, and whose superfluous agents are also reimbursed by direct calls upon the colonial revenue.

Again, in its twelfth number—dated the 4th July following—when the intention to revoke the Charter had been made known, its leading article was equally to the point. We quote from it, as follows:

Another object against which we have directed our observations . . . is the Church and Schools Corporation, which has hung like an incubus on the country since it was founded. . . . It is saying no more than what every man feels to be true, that if it had continued to afflict the country with its reserves, it would have sowed the seeds of the most determined hostility to all its supporters. . . .

Before we make any reference to the paper's attitude towards the educational crisis which followed upon the elimination of the Corporation, it will be of interest to refer to some of the advertisements which the paper published in the first few years of its existence. For, from a perusal of them we may glean some small idea of the private schools ("seminaries" or "educational academies" their proprietors usually preferred to call them) of those early days. There were a number of these small and essentially private establishments whose careers, one fears, were in the large majority of cases almost as transient as that of an ephemerid, but which deserve some mention at this stage. A survey of the files reveals a host of references to these, and from them we select the following:

In the issue of the 28th March, 1833:

GRANTHAM HOUSE ESTABLISHMENT, LIVERPOOL.

Mr. Cooper, recently from London, begs respectfully to announce that he is fitting up the above establishment for the purposes of Boarding and Day School, for which it combines the advantages of ample accommodation, pure air, retirement, and spacious play grounds.

The establishment will consist of two distinct branches—the one a Preparatory School for young gentlemen under twelve years of age, which will be under Mr. Cooper's own immediate care—the other, a Seminary for a limited number of young ladies, to be conducted by Miss Cooper, with the assistance of her parents.

Having been engaged, for the last two years, in the scholastic duties of one of the first Seminaries near London, Miss Cooper flatters herself that, with the experiences she has thus acquired, united to unremitting zeal and assiduity, she will secure the confidence and approbation of those who may kindly honour her with their support.

On the 11th of the following month, Mr. George Todd introduces himself and his accomplishments in true Johnsonian style:

CLASSICAL AND COMMERCIAL ACADEMY.

Mr. George Todd, of Queen's College, Cambridge, son of Dr. Todd, Vicar of Hales Owen, in the County of Salop (Old England), in placing himself to the attention of the Ladies and Gentlemen of this Colony, as commencing in the Scholastic Profession, trusts, that having had eighteen years' experience in the Collegiate and Public Schools of Great Britain, he will not be deemed presumptuous in soliciting the favour of a share of their patronage and support, which it will be ever his highest ambition to merit and retain.

His course of Lessons will comprise the Higher branches of the Mathematics, with the Elements and Data of Euclid, Trigonometry, plain and spherical, Mensuration, Geometry, Algebra, Fluxions, Conic Sections, etc., etc. Latin and Greek on the Hamiltonian system, so much approved of in the British Territory—English Grammar, Composition and Elocution, Astronomy, Geography, with the use of the Globes, Technica Memoria, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Land Surveying, both with Chain and Theodolite, Merchants' Accompts, etc., etc., and in every branch of Education essential for the liberal professions.

The mystical system introduced to the public, by the would-be expert travelling professors of writing in Great Britain, will be introduced to the attention of Mr. Todd's pupils, by which he can expeditiously teach the art in a few weeks, and he pledges himself to qualify any youth, both in Writing and Arithmetic, in twelve months, for any situation in the usual affairs of life.

His Academy is in a large, commodious room, adjoining the late Cumming's Hotel, Macquarie Place, where references of the first respectability will be given by Mr. Todd.

N.B.—Terms may be known by applying at the Academy, between nine and three o'clock. Macquarie Place, Sydney, April 9, 1833.

On the 26th June, 1834, we are made acquainted with a lady whose catalogue of accomplishments is as staggering as it is truly Early-Victorian:

BUNKER'S HILL ESTABLISHMENT FOR A LIMITED NUMBER OF YOUNG LADIES.

Within three doors of the late Residence of the Archdeacon, commanding extensive views of the whole Harbour, Government Domain, etc.

Mrs. Boatright respectfully returns sincere thanks to her Friends for the Patronage she has received during the short interval of her Establishment, assuring them of her zealous endeavour to merit a continuance of their favour and kind recommendation. Mrs. B. having given a fortnight's Vacation to her Pupils (which terminates on the 5th July) and having made suitable arrangements for the extension of her Establishment, she will feel gratified by an addition to the present number of Pupils, being desirous to meet the wishes of her numerous Friends, and to render the Terms of the various accomplishments as moderate as possible.

TERMS, PER ANNUM.

Board and General Tuition—comprising English Reading, Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Plain and Ornamental Needlework, etc.	30 Gs.
Music	6 Gs.
Singing	6 Gs.
Drawing	6 Gs.
French	6 Gs.
Italian	6 Gs.
Geography, with the use of the Globes	6 Gs.
Dancing	6 Gs.
Day Boarders	20 Gs.

Each Young Lady to be provided with Bedding, Silver Spoon and Fork, six Towels.

Washing, four Guineas per Annum.

Young Ladies as Day Pupils, partaking of the foregoing Instructions in every respect—Three Guineas per Quarter.

Where there are two or more of one Family, a deduction will be made.

N.B.—Mrs. B. particularly wishes to notify, an agreement for a Quarter's Notice previous to the removal of a pupil, or the Quarter paid for.

The following useful and ornamental Arts and Accomplishments are taught by Mrs. Boatright, *viz.*, Wax and Rice Flowers and Fruit from Nature; Chinese Method of Japanning; Painting on Glass; Velvet Painting; Claude and Indian Tinting; Oriental Painting; Maltese Transparencies, without the aid of colour; Mezzotinting; Embossed Flowers, an elegant Relievo for superb Dresses, etc.

Private Lessons to Ladies (by Mrs. B. at her Residence) in Music, Singing and any of the foregoing Arts and Accomplishments.

There are many other advertisements of a similar kind, but those we have given above will suffice.

Three other scholastic institutions, whose birth synchronized very closely with that of the *HERALD*, may also be referred to here. These were The King's School, The Sydney College and The Australian College. One of Archdeacon Scott's pet schemes, and one which he had hoped to inaugurate under the provisions of the Church and Schools Corporation, was that of founding a boarding school for the benefit of scholars of a superior class to those for which the Corporation's ordinary schools were intended. Scott had been unable to carry out his design; but his scheme was taken up and elaborated by his successor, Archdeacon Broughton. On Anniversary Day, 1830, Broughton laid before Governor Darling the outline of a plan for such a school—or, rather, for two such schools. They were to be instituted at Sydney and Parramatta respectively and were to be "of royal foundation under the patronage of the King of England and to be termed The King's Schools." The only variant of the original scheme was that the Sydney school was to be attended by day scholars only, while the Parramatta school was to be made available both to day scholars and boarders. The scheme was approved by the Home authorities and The King's School was opened in Sydney in January, 1832, under the headmastership of the Rev. George Innes, M.A. But on the death of that gentleman, less than a year afterwards, the activities of the school (whose attendance roll never exceeded eight) stopped, never to be restarted. The King's School, at Parramatta, however, was much more successful. It was opened on 13th February, 1832, under the headmastership of the Rev. Robert Forest, and its career of usefulness has continued—with an interregnum of three years in the 'sixties—until the present day.

The second of the institutions referred to had its original scheme propounded earlier than that which developed The King's School; but it was not translated into effect until the latter had been in existence for some time. In October, 1825, a number of prominent persons in the Colony formed themselves into a Trust for the purpose of erecting and endowing a Grammar School in Sydney. Brisbane granted them a piece of land "near the Racecourse" (then in Hyde Park) for the purpose, and in November a headmaster was chosen and arrangements made for the immediate commencement of the school in a house rented by the Trustees. A score or more of pupils were enrolled and operations were begun; but towards the end of 1826 all work at the school was stopped, the Trustees deciding to expend their funds in erecting a school building of their own. But nothing was done—despite an attempt in 1828 by Dr. Bland to vitalize the scheme—until the beginning of 1830, when the foundation stone of the building (a portion of the present Sydney Grammar School) was laid by the Chief Justice. In June, 1835, the school was opened, with Mr. W. T. Cape, of whom mention has already been made, as headmaster. The school was known as the Sydney College, and prospered for several years; but, owing to the financial depression in the early 'forties, the pupils gradually decreased in number and the college was closed in 1848. In 1851 the building was purchased and temporarily occupied by the newly-born Sydney University; but in 1856—the Sydney Grammar School having been incorporated the year

before—it was repurchased by the Trustees of that institution and the new school was formally opened in August, 1857. Its progress since then has been continuous.

The failure of The King's School in Sydney was probably mainly due to the competition of the third of the institutions we have named—*viz.*, the Australian College, founded by Rev. Dr. Lang on 15th November, 1831. The college is described in the advertisements which appear in the early issues of the *HERALD* as “an institution for the education of youth in literature, philosophy, and science, and open, like the Scotch colleges, to youth of all religious denomination.” But, despite this avowed catholicism, the Australian College, being under the administration of such a man as Dr. Lang, was certainly just as devoted to the interests of the Presbyterian Church as The King's School was to those of the Church of England. There were four “departments” in the College—Classical, Mathematical, Commercial, and English. All four were in charge of a Presbyterian clergyman, the Mathematical Department being supervised by that Rev. John McGarvie, to whose close association with the early *HERALD* we have already devoted considerable attention.

The fees for tuition at the Australian College were fixed on an exceedingly low scale, but, despite this, or perhaps because of it, its fortunes were never bright. Its scholars gradually declined in number from the year 1838—probably its best year—until 1841. In April of that year it closed its doors, to be opened five years later for a further period of eight years. But in 1854 the end came and the Australian College ceased to exist. Its establishment had been assisted by a loan from the Government, but the rest of the cost had been subscribed by Dr. Lang and his friends. The *HERALD*, as we have seen, had much to say about the Australian College and the ways of its founder—particularly with regard to the Government loan and its repayment—and it will be remembered that on one occasion the paper was drawn into a series of libel actions over the matter, from which it did not escape altogether scathless.

Governor Bourke arrived in Sydney towards the end of 1831; and he at once adopted a more liberal attitude towards education than had been exhibited by his predecessors. Despite their desire to extend the field of education, practically all the governors, from Phillip to Darling, had had the authority of the Church of England in such matters so impressed upon them by training and tradition that they regarded any other with suspicion. But Bourke was a man of different calibre, and in 1832 he strongly recommended the adoption by the Colony of the method of education known as the “Irish System,” in lieu of that “English National System” which had, up to that time, been given almost exclusive support by the Government. The “Irish System” was the outcome of a scheme proposed in 1831 by the Hon. E. G. Stanley, then Chief Secretary for Ireland. It differed from the English National System in many ways; and in one, at least, that was radical. Instead of being denominational and exclusively Anglican in its control, the “Irish System” was based upon the principles of united secular, but separate religious instruction. Parliamentary grants were entrusted to a Board of Trust representing all denominations; no child was required to attend religious instruction against the wish of his parents, but at appointed times the children of every denomination were enabled to have religious instruction from their respective clergymen if it was so desired.

This scheme had received a very mingled reception in Ireland. The Roman Catholics welcomed it warmly at first; but, after a while, believing it made too many concessions to the Protestants, they opposed it; the Anglicans in the main accepted it, but only with reluctance; the Dissenters objected to it very strongly indeed. But it remained in force and undeniably produced good results; and there were logical

reasons, therefore, why Bourke should think its introduction into New South Wales would produce good results there as well. "In a new country," he wrote, in a despatch on 30th September, 1833, "to which persons of all religions are invited to resort, it will be impossible to establish and endow a church without hostility and a great improbability of its becoming permanent. If support be given to the three grand divisions of Christians" [by which he meant the Churches of England, Rome, and Scotland] "I conceive the public treasury might in time be relieved of a considerable charge." The conception was reasonable, and Bourke's suggested scheme might well have met with approval from the colonists. But instead of approval it aroused a storm between its supporters and opposers that lasted until the late 'forties. The support came, generally speaking, from the local and Home authorities, the opposition from the general community of the Colony. The latter carried the day for the time; and nothing further was done until 1841, when regulations were issued (on the 24th September) making provision for Government grants in aid of all schools, without regard to their denomination, but proportioned to the number of the children of indigent persons who were enrolled there. There were many objectors to this system, and a great number of scandals arose in the attempt to carry it out. In the first place, many of the Protestant leaders and, in particular, those of the Church of England, objected strenuously to any system whereby State aid was granted to Roman Catholic schools; and this sectarian dispute created a trouble which, even to-day, although the incidence of it has been almost completely reversed, is still in malignant existence. It was also discovered that a number of parents were illegitimately utilising the "indigent person" provisions and obtaining free education for their children while being really well able to pay for it. Other objections there were; but these were the main ones. The HERALD apparently left these regulations of 1841 uncommented upon; nor did the disputes which they created draw from it any editorial reflections, a silence which is all the more curious considering the interest with which a little later on it regarded educational questions and the activity it then displayed in its advocacy of, or opposition to any proposal affecting the subject. Its policy, indeed, at this time seems to have been rather one of "wait and see" than of active intervention; its belief being, apparently, that whatever objections there might be to the system based upon the regulations, at least that system ought to be given a fair trial. Indeed, when in 1843, Dr. Lang attempted to persuade the Legislative Council to amend the system then in vogue, and moved that it was "the duty of the Government to make suitable and adequate provision for general education," by ending or amending the regulations in favour of a State system which should "fitly recognise the religious scruples of the community," the HERALD almost in so many words expressed the policy of *laissez faire* which we have ascribed to it. It is difficult to read any other meaning into such articles as that which appeared upon the 29th September, 1843, and from which we quote as follows:

Dr. Lang has given notice of a series of motions respecting Education, which he cannot have the slightest hope of carrying. . . . That it will be extremely difficult to devise a system of education that shall be applicable to all classes of the community, is evident. We fear it cannot be done. . . . We would suggest to the Council that the motions are altogether premature; the business on hand already will occupy more time than the majority of the members can afford to give to it, and it is useless therefore, we think, to introduce other business. . . . Under these circumstances, therefore, we think the best course the Council can pursue is to postpone the whole question until next year; it is useless to occupy their time by considering abstract resolutions which can end in no practical result.

Again, on the 10th October, immediately before the motions of which Dr. Lang had given notice were to be discussed by the Council, the HERALD published a leading article reiterating, in almost the same words, its belief that the whole matter should be shelved for a year. It called upon Dr. Lang to withdraw the motions, and, in the event of his refusal to do so, the Council to reject them without discussion. Dr. Lang was hardly the man to be moved by a HERALD appeal or a HERALD argument, but the fact remains that he *did* withdraw the motions, and the whole educational question was thereby allowed to stand over. On the 12th October, two days later, the HERALD congratulated the doctor on his action:

It will be seen by our Council report that Dr. Lang, yielding to the general sense of the public, and the request of many of the members of the Council, has withdrawn his resolution respecting education until next session, which we need scarcely say we think was the most judicious course that could have been adopted. We have all along avoided entering into the general question, confining our remarks to the assertion that the resolutions were opposed to the interests of the Church of England. That the members of that Church think they are so opposed is proved by the circumstance of nearly seven thousand signatures having been appended to petitions against them in the County of Cumberland alone in a very few days. . . .

For the time being, therefore, things remained *in statu quo*; and the schools, denominational or otherwise—and they were mainly denominational by now—continued to receive their proportionate subsidy from the Government. Next year, however, the whole matter came to a head, as the result of Robert Lowe securing the appointment of a committee to report upon “education as suited to the needs and wishes of the community.” The committee reported in due course strongly in favour of a scheme based upon the Irish National System which Governor Bourke had proposed twelve years before; in other words, it advocated a general instead of a denominational, system of education, and recommended that Government aid should be granted only for the promotion and maintenance of such a scheme.

The report met with general disfavour. Both Protestants and Roman Catholics opposed it, because it would strike from the school syllabus that scriptural instruction which each believed should provide, in one form or another, the very basis of an education. A public meeting was convened to discuss the question and was held on the 3rd September. “Held,” perhaps, is the wrong word. It was attempted to be held; but owing to the violence of the audience, who would neither listen to the official speakers, nor give quarter to their own unofficial ones, it was broken up “with most admired disorder.” Thereupon the Protestant sects, under the leadership of the Bishop of Sydney, and the Roman Catholics, with Bishop Polding at their head, convened and held two separate meetings, at each of which motions condemnatory of the proposals of the Educational Committee were carried with unanimity and enthusiasm. The curious position had arisen that, while each of the two great denominations was still wildly at variance with the other, and referred with virulence to one another’s proceedings, each was in its own way striving with all the arguments at its disposal towards the same end, namely, the prevention of the establishment of the system so strongly advocated by the committee. The HERALD, also, was on the side of the oppositionists, and based its opposition on the same grounds as those taken by the Protestant leaders—and for that matter by the Roman Catholics, too—and it devoted a series of leading articles, firstly to a detailed examination of the proposed scheme, and secondly to a general condemnation of it. We quote freely from these articles, since they set out very well not only the paper’s particular attitude, but also the whole history of the movement from its introduction by Governor Bourke to the excitement which followed upon the publication of the Select Committee’s report.

On the 4th September, the leading article is concerned with the public meeting which had been held the previous evening to consider the whole question, and which ended as we have described above:

It will be seen by the report which appears in another column, that the meeting of the friends of General Education was dissolved yesterday without doing any business, in consequence of the disorderly and disgraceful conduct of a mob of illiterate persons, principally Irish, who rushed into the theatre the moment that it was opened.

After a little trouble a hearing was obtained for the Rev. J. Saunders, but the moment he mentioned the name of Stanley, a howl burst forth that would have done credit to a batch of New Zealanders, but which could not have been expected from a body of men brought up in a Christian country. And what was the subject to be discussed?—whether or not a certain system of education should be introduced into this Colony: those that sent these people to the meeting (for the people themselves knew very little about the matter) were opposed to that system; but instead of trusting to argument to convince their opponents, or, what would have been the proper course, calling a meeting of those of their own views, and drawing up a petition stating the arguments in favour of their opinions, they placed the whole question upon this one point, who could make the greatest noise—and the opponents of the measure were the conquerors. So far as mere physical strength—brute force—went, the mob had the advantage.

But the most distressing part of this disgraceful proceeding, is the conviction which all must entertain, that the Rev. J. McEncroe was the prime mover and instigator of the whole proceeding. That he got up the movement and that the mob was entirely under his control, and that, instead of using his influence for the purpose of keeping them quiet, he endeavoured to excite their feelings; else why did he refer to O'Connell's trial? This allusion could have been made with no other object than to inflame the passions of the misguided men to whom he was addressing himself.

There is to be a meeting of the Roman Catholic community held in a few days, for the purpose of petitioning the Legislative Council on this important subject, and as the law now stands, it is quite right that their voice should be heard in the matter, but this course should have been adopted before the proceedings of Monday and yesterday. We trust, however, that Archbishop Polding will take the opportunity of expressing his opinion of the conduct of Mr. McEncroe and his adherents, which has excited an almost universal feeling of disgust throughout the city.

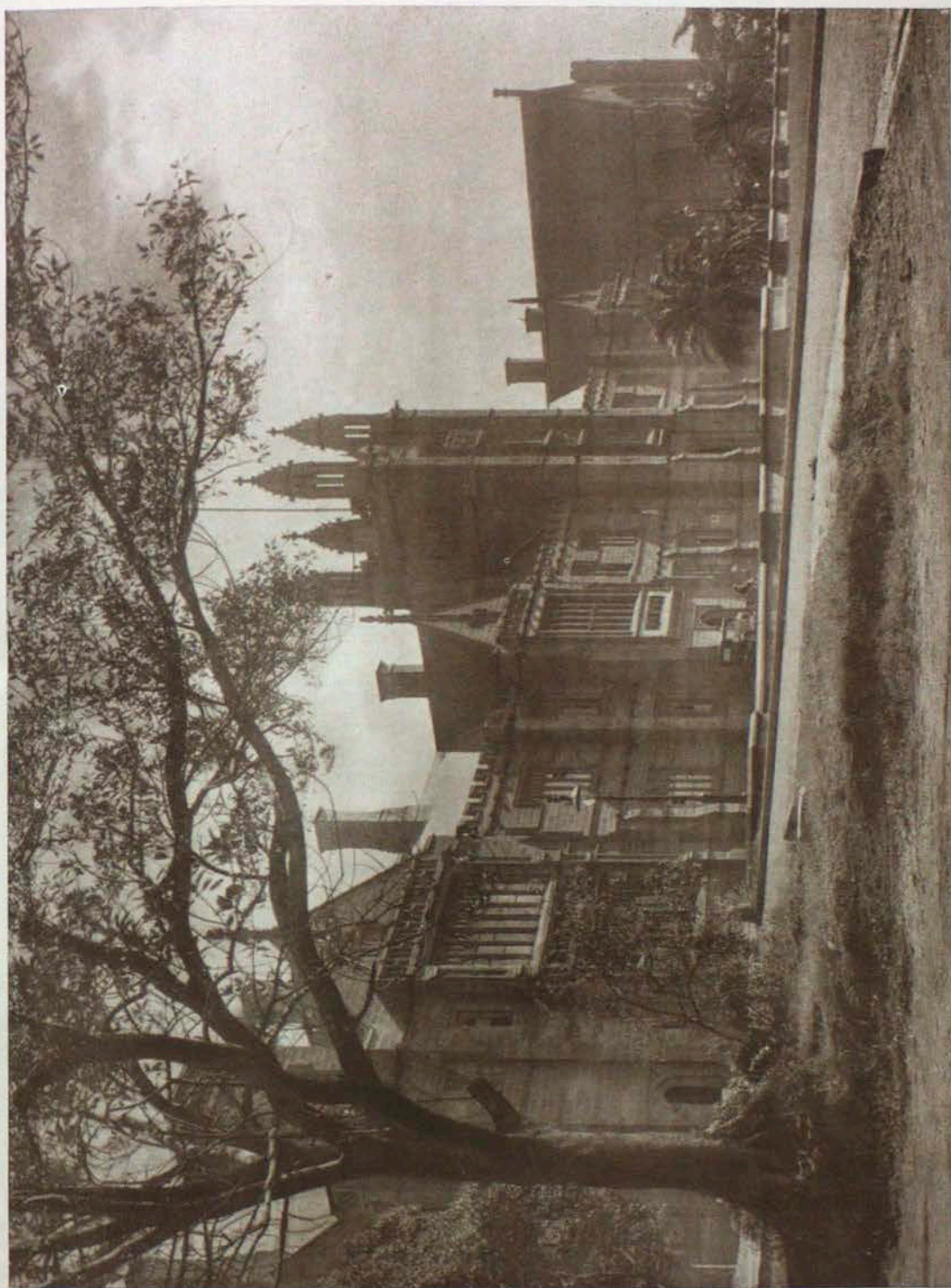
To anyone not acquainted with the HERALD's own sympathies in this matter, that article would seem to make it clear that the paper was one of the "friends of General Education" to which it refers in the opening sentence. But, as we know, it was itself as strongly opposed to "General Education" as—and much more logically than—any of the mob whose violence is deprecated. It was the method, not the fact, of their opposition to which the paper objected; its own feelings on the matter are best gathered from the series of leading articles which appeared upon the 7th, 9th and 10th of the same month, and in which it examined with particularity the objectionable "Irish National System" upon which the proposed scheme of the committee was based. Here are the relevant extracts from these articles, arranged in order of their appearance:

7th September, 1844.—On the 21st June, a Select Committee was appointed by the Legislative Council for two purposes, namely:

First.—To *enquire* into, and report upon, the state of education in this Colony; and

Second.—To devise the means of placing the education of youth (meaning education at the public expense) upon a basis suited to the wants and *wishes* of the community.

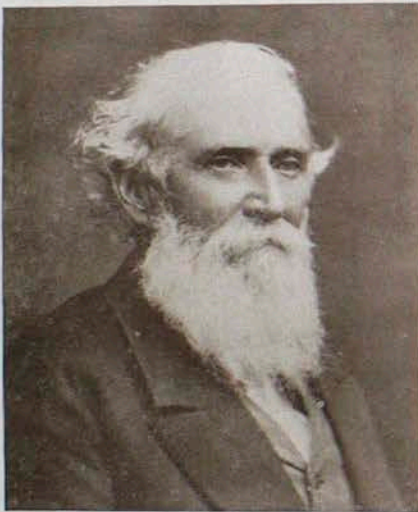
That is, they were to collect evidence as to what the community wishes; and then, upon the basis of testimony thus procured, they were to devise such a system as should at once supply the wants thus described and meet the wishes thus expressed. They were to examine witnesses, and a true verdict give according to the evidence. The first they have performed, we will not say *well*, because we think both the selection of the witnesses and the conduct of the examination might have been more judicious; but as to the second of these duties, we would ask, have they performed it at all? They have given a verdict; but is it according to the evidence? They have devised a plan of comprehensive education; but is it placed "upon a basis suited to" what they have ascertained to be "the wants and *wishes* of the community?" If the balance of testi-



The imposing main building of the University of Sydney. In the clock tower over the principal entrance, the central feature of the picture, is the Carillon, installed as a War Memorial.



The Sydney Boys' High School at Moore Park, opened on June 10, 1928. The Sydney Girls' High School occupies a site that practically adjoins, and both overlook a wide expanse of park lands.



Sir John Robertson, several times Premier of N.S.W., a persistent advocate of national education, but noted mainly for his association with the land laws.



Physical training plays an important part in the education system; morning drill at a country school.

mony is to be determined on the ordinary principle of numbers, then it is quite clear they have come to a decision not only not justified by the evidence, but in direct opposition to it. Of the twenty-one witnesses examined, only five are avowedly in favour of the system recommended by the report (several others, however, are favourable to general education), the remaining sixteen being for the most part avowedly hostile to it. If the balance is to be determined by the competency of the witnesses to have formed a well-weighed opinion, the result is still more unfortunate; for, without intending the slightest personal disrespect, we can have no hesitation in saying that of the five gentlemen whose opinions are in accordance with that of the Committee, only two appear to have made themselves masters of the subject; whilst, of the sixteen dissentients, a large proportion exhibit marks of deep and matured reflection upon the whole question. . . . Touching the "Irish System," we thought that the "*wishes*" of the community had been made sufficiently intelligible by the proceedings of the year 1836. The demonstration then placed on record was so clear as to have admitted of no misconception and so decisive as to have left no room for question or demur. . . .

9th September, 1844.—. . . We have now to enquire whether anything has occurred to render that system less "subversive" *now* than the Protestant manifesto pronounced to be *then*, "of the fundamental principle of Protestantism." . . . It is clear that the opposition of 1836 *was* "TO THE SYSTEM"; equally clear is it that the opposition was founded upon information diligently acquired, and upon conviction deliberately formed. . . . Now comes the question, has the Irish System undergone any material change? Is it essentially different in 1844 from what it was in 1836? If not, the Protestant body are as much bound to oppose it now as they were then. Tell us not of "change of *circumstances*." Have *principles* changed? Has *Protestantism* changed? Has the position of the *Bible* changed? No! These remain firm as a pillar of adamant—immutable as the truth of God. It becomes us, then, as the sons of a Protestant ancestry who maintained their principles in the face of the scaffold and the stake, to abide by the same principles at all hazards, setting circumstances at defiance, and bidding consequence take care of themselves. *Fit justitia, ruat cælum.*

In 1836 Protestants maintained that schools in which Protestant children were to be educated at the public expense ought, in school hours, and as part of the school business, to teach the religion of the Bible *out* of the Bible; and that, under any circumstances, to exclude the Bible from these schools, or to *permit* its exclusion, and to substitute for the sacred volume tables of extracts made therefrom, *ad libitum*, by human authority, would be "subversive of the fundamental principle of Protestantism." The Irish system did thus exclude, and did thus substitute; and therefore was unanimously opposed. Do Protestants still hold to these points? If they do not they are traitors to their faith. If they do, does the Irish system still clash with them? Or has it undergone such modifications as to have conceded all that the Protestant conscience ought to demand? We have heard and read that it has. But where are the *proofs*? We have looked for them, but we have looked in vain. . . . The Bible, together with all other "religious exercises," is excluded, as a school book, from school business, and from school hours. The book written by the finger of the Most High is forbidden to intrude into the scholastic operations of the day. It must hide itself in some dark corner until these occupations be over; and then, if it so please "the local patrons" it may venture to come forth, and impart, as by stealth, its life-giving truths to the remnant that are left. . . .

The issue of the 10th September, 1844, contained the reports of two meetings held by the Protestant and Roman Catholic members of the community respectively, to protest against the proposals of the Select Committee. The reports occupy no fewer than eleven full columns! As the preceding issue had reported the meeting of the "Friends of the Irish System" to the extent of 14 columns, it is clear that no one could with justice have charged the paper with exhibiting an unfair prejudice against those who ventured to oppose its opinions.

Robert Lowe, despite his strong adherence to Anglicanism, was, as we have said, one of the leading supporters of the "Irish System"; and at the meeting in question he moved the principal resolution in favour of the Select Committee's proposals. Other prominent speakers were Dr. Lang, the Rev. Dr. Ross and the Rev. J. Saunders, all three holding responsible positions in their respective churches. The attitude of the

HERALD was adversely commented upon, and the paper was challenged to suggest any other scheme which would be an improvement upon that proposed by the Committee. In reply, the leading article of the 3rd October following said:

Objecting as we do to the general system recommended in the report, we have been challenged to name a better. We candidly acknowledge that if no system will unite the children of Protestants and Roman Catholics which does not exclude the Holy Scriptures in the Authorised Version, we despair of any general system ever being invented, or, rather, ever being brought into successful operation. This is a point upon which Protestants ought to be firm as adamant. How far the Roman Catholics might be disposed to accept united education without requiring this impracticable surrender at the hands of their Protestant brethren, it is not for us to conjecture. But such a surrender ought never to be made—and, in our opinion, never will.

Putting aside all controversial topics, however, and looking at the question simply in a practical point of view, we would respectfully ask the Council how is this Irish System, if adopted by law, to be carried out? Without wrangling about the numbers and character of the signatures to the petitions that have been presented pro and con, we would beg honourable members to reflect that three of the leading religious denominations of the Colony have declared their insuperable aversion to it. On the one hand, the Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodists, and on the other the Roman Catholics. We are aware that in each of these bodies there are individual members who support the system; they form the exceptions, not the rule; the dissentients, not the authoritative majority. So far as the clergy have spoken, their testimony is clear and decisive against the measure.

The proposals came on for discussion before the Council the same day as that on which this article appeared, and the debate was a protracted one. It was reported with the amazing detail for which the HERALD was renowned—an editorial note at the end of Dr. Lang's speech apologising for the somewhat unusually summarised form in which the last portions of it appeared, on the ground that its length, which "unexpectedly extended to three hours," effected the "bodily exhaustion of the reporter"!—and, after having been slightly amended by Wentworth, the proposals were carried by one vote. Whereupon the HERALD, on the 14th October, published the following comment:

Such a majority as this, on such a question, coupled with the declared sense of the great mass of the people, so far from a triumph, must be regarded as a virtual defeat. If we demand a poll of the community, and take as the return the number of signatures to the petitions presented for and against the measure, and the number of votes on either side in the Council Chamber, the result will appear as follows:

Against the measure:

Petitioners	25,000
Councillors	12

In favour of it:

Petitioners	4,000
Councillors	13
		<hr/> 4,013

Majority against it	<hr/> 20,999
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This is the decision of the *Colony*; and in the face of a majority so astounding, how can it be expected, on any sound principle of political economy, or any known principle of human nature, that the system can be actually carried out? The old proverb says, one man may lead a horse to the pond, but a hundred cannot make him drink. The more classical illustration of the honourable and learned member for Sydney says, "Although the Legislature may plant in Australia the garden of the Hesperides, they cannot compel its people to eat the golden fruit." The dry fact signified by both metaphors is, that, although an Act of Council, in virtue of Thursday's vote, may build schoolhouses and appoint schoolmasters, it cannot compel the attendance of scholars. So long as the parents are free agents, and so long as they conscientiously persist in objecting to the Irish System of education, so long must legislation like this remain a dead letter. . . .

The writer then went on to comment upon the real effect of Wentworth's amendment to the original proposals:

The only point of any value gained by Mr. Wentworth's successful amendment, as contradistinguished from the original proposition of Mr. Robinson, is, that *some few* existing schools are not to be deprived of pecuniary assistance from the State. . . . But in its application to schools to be established hereafter, Mr. Wentworth's measure, if an amendment at all, is a very equivocal one. Its cardinal principle is thus defined:

"That it is advisable to introduce Lord Stanley's system of National Education into this Colony, *with this modification*, that instead of denominations being allowed to impart religious instruction in the schools, the children be allowed to be absent from school one day in every week, exclusive of Sunday, for the purpose of receiving such instruction elsewhere. . . ."

The sum and substance of the Austral-Irish System is, therefore, as regards the immortal interests of children, that neither during school-hours, nor before, nor after, are ministers of religion, as such, to cross the threshold of the school-house; and that as the only equivalent for the loss of these two sources of religious knowledge, the children will have a *chance*, but no *certainly*, of reading extracts from the Word of truth.

That this system will not prosper, will not work, we are quite convinced. We beg, therefore, with all deference, to remind the several denominations who have opposed its introduction, and who will feel doubtless bound to withhold from it their countenance and support, that they have incurred a fresh responsibility to their God and country, a redoubled obligation to exert their utmost energies for the promotion of the great work of sound religious education. And if the recent agitations on this momentous subject have but the effect, as in England and Ireland, of exciting the zeal of good men to more earnest and systematic efforts for the welfare of the rising generation, our Select Committee, though frustrated in its own designs, will not have laboured in vain, nor spent its strength for naught.

Perhaps because of the Pyrrhic nature of the "victory" of the supporters of the proposed educational innovation, its opponents still proved too strong. The new system was shelved; and matters remained very much as they were for at least four years. In 1848 a very cumbrous and unhandy system of dual control came into force, whereby the wishes of both "denominational" and "general" supporters were sought to be met. A "Board of National Education" was established, to work in conjunction with a "Denominational Council"—the latter being composed of duly appointed representatives of the four main denominations in the Colony, empowered to allocate the educational grants made by the Government to such schools. The effect was not happy; the usual result of trying to please everybody was achieved, and a species of jealous rivalry sprang up between the two controls that lasted for nearly twenty years. It was only ended by the Public Schools Act of Sir Henry (then Mr.) Parkes, which that enlightened statesman put upon the statute book in 1867. During this twenty years' interregnum the *HERALD* had little to say—and little occasion to say it—upon the subject of primary education; and it was only when the Public Schools Act was introduced by Parkes that the matter again became a burning one. But before discussing the *HERALD*'s activities in this connection, another educational question arose wherein the paper duly played its part, and to which we now must turn our attention.

It was in 1849 that Wentworth obtained a Committee of the Council to report upon the best way of forming a University for the City of Sydney; and it was in furtherance of the recommendation of this Committee that during the latter part of that year he was able to introduce and carry to its second reading a Bill to create the institution so near his heart.

On the day before the introduction of the measure—3rd October, 1849—the *HERALD* gave the proposal its blessing in the following very doubtful terms:

It is the intention of the majority of the Legislative Council to found a University. In the present state of the Colony we believe that a good Grammar School would be of more practical benefit. If, however, we are to have a University, we agree with Mr. Wentworth that it must

be open to all classes, and having no religious tests. But we do not agree with that gentleman that therefore no clergyman or minister of religion shall have any share in its management, either as visitor, member of the governing body, or professor. . . . Will a gentleman be less able to teach classics, or mathematics, or natural philosophy, because he is a clergyman? We hope the Legislative Council will not sanction any clause that may prevent the Senate from appointing to any office the most fit person they can find to fill it. . . .

Considerable delay arose over the appointment of the original Senators, and it was not until the session of 1850 that this difficulty was overcome and the University Act placed upon the Statute Book. The HERALD had again protested against the proposed total exclusion of the clergy from its management or staff, and in committee the opinion of the House was so definitely against the proposal that the obnoxious clause was amended to permit of not more than four clergymen being appointed to the Senate. In this form the Bill passed on the 1st October, 1850, and in this form it received the approval of the HERALD.

Two years later the University was opened by Sir Charles Fitzroy. In the interim the gold discoveries had changed the whole outlook for Australia; and had changed, too, the outlook of the HERALD. The change, doubtless, accounts for the warmth of its welcome to the new institution, as compared with the coolness of its previous references thereto. The ceremony was described at great length by the HERALD's reporters in the issue of the 12th October, 1852; and the leading article of the following day is devoted to the same great subject. Among the Fellows who were present on the occasion was "the noble Wentworth," as one of the speakers very aptly termed him; and we can well believe that the event was to him one of very joyful significance. He had worked long and zealously for the consummation at which he was now participating, and among those who shared with him attendance at the celebration there was none who had done more to make that celebration possible. In rendering him this tribute, both press and platform combined to join; and none was more eloquent in its recognition of his services than the paper which had at first been none too cordial towards the object of them. Its leading article upon the inauguration ceremonies left nothing unsaid in this regard; and the extracts from it which are quoted below will show how deeply and sincerely the HERALD recognised alike the work and the man who had been so steadfast in its accomplishment. Said the writer:

Monday was a memorable day in the Annals of Australia. There was then laid the foundation stone of a moral and intellectual fabric which, as we all fondly hope, will for all ages be an ornament and a blessing to these ends of the earth. Amid the assembled rank, intelligence and beauty of the metropolitan city of the metropolitan colony of Australia, was inaugurated, to use the words of the Rev. Professor Dr. Woolley, "the first Colonial University in the British Empire." And it is a proud though not vainglorious reflection, that this honour should have been reserved for what was once the most insignificant and insecure of all the dependencies over which the sceptre of that mighty empire extends. . . . We confess that when the Act for incorporating and endowing a Sydney University was passed by the local legislature, we had doubts whether the measure was not premature—whether the Colony was sufficiently advanced in population and in wealth to justify the adoption of a measure so ambitious and so costly. Such doubts no longer exist. Though only two years have passed away since the law was enacted, the brief interval has sufficed to work a stupendous transformation in the whole aspect of our destinies. . . . Whether we calculate the moral certainties as to the rapid and continuous spread of population throughout our territory, or the probabilities of our becoming as a people eminent for material wealth, we can arrive at no other conclusion than that in thus providing the means for the high intellectual culture of our youth, our Legislature has acted a judicious and timely part, and conferred upon these provinces a boon more valuable because infinitely more seasonable than was imagined at the time. . . .

The institution emanated from a Legislature whose members were of various and irreconcilable creeds, and whose choice, therefore, was between a comprehensive system or none at all. It was

designed for a community also divided in matters of religious belief, but at whose joint expense the institution was to be endowed: it was inevitable, therefore, that either one class of the community must be favoured at the expense and to the exclusion of all others, or the University must be based on a principle which should concede to all sects a free and equal participation of its benefits. The University of Sydney is then, in a theological point of view, the only one which the Legislature could have given, and the only one which could have suited the population whose funds are to support it.

But while the science of theology is necessarily excluded from the University, "the nursing mother of literature," it is competent to the respective religious bodies of the Colony to organise collegiate institutions, combining theological instruction within themselves, with the benefits of the University affiliation. It behoves them to enter upon this great work in a liberal and zealous spirit, suited to the critical aspect of the times, and calculated to give free scope and diffusive energy to the national institution which now invites all without distinction, to partake of her maternal offices.

As has been said, the awkward dual system of public education introduced in 1848 lasted, more or less unhappily, for some twenty years. It was not until 1867 that it was changed; and the man mainly responsible for the change was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Parkes. When Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Martin, on the defeat of the Cowper Ministry in January, 1866, was commissioned by the Governor, Sir John Young, to form a government, much to the surprise and annoyance of a number of people, he included Parkes in his Cabinet, giving him the important portfolio—second in importance, indeed, only to his own—of Colonial Secretary. The HERALD was neither very greatly surprised, nor particularly distressed, at the coalition of these two men who had so often and so bitterly opposed each other. It had long had a belief that Parkes was not only the coming man, but a man who deserved to arrive. So far back as 1859, when Parkes, after obtaining from Chief Commissioner Purefoy his discharge from the bankruptcy occasioned by the failure of *The Empire*, had been thereby enabled to re-enter Parliament, the HERALD had made no secret of its belief in his future. It is true that, in referring to his bankruptcy proceedings, it said with a certain amount of savage sarcasm that he had not so much been whitewashed as "Purefoyed"; but it salved the taunt elsewhere by asserting that he was a man of power and influence, and the admitted leader of the democracy. "Who has the right to say"—it asked—"he is not qualified to be a representative of the people? Unquestionably there is no man before the electors who would represent a larger amount of popular aspirations or who would represent them with greater intelligence and discretion." This was all the more handsome of the paper, since it was naturally opposed to Parkes's dalliance about this time with that protectionist policy which, later on, he was to join with it in fighting to the utmost limit of his powers. During this same election campaign of 1859—the first, by the way, ever to be conducted in the Colony on the principle of the secret ballot—it again paid tribute to his worth, though not supporting his return, by saying that, "If we are not greatly mistaken, he is marked out . . . to be the future chief of the democracy and its legislators."

As the years went by, Parkes not only supplied consistent proof of the correctness of the HERALD's estimate of him, but improved his status with the paper by abandoning his protectionist leanings definitely and in terms. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that in 1866, despite its objections to Martin, it should receive the announcement of the inclusion of Parkes in Martin's Cabinet with equanimity. It hoped—and not without good reason—that the virus of protection working in Martin might be offset, if not entirely expelled, by the leaven of Free Trade which ran so potently in the veins of Parkes. As it turned out, the fiscal question played but a small part in the two-years' history of the Martin-Parkes administration. The great feature of that administration

was the passing of the Public Schools Act, whereby the whole question of public education was at last placed upon a firm and logical basis.

On the 12th September, 1866, the day on which Parkes was to move his speech on the second reading of the Public Schools Bill, the *HERALD* dealt with the education question generally, and suggested the principle of the American education system, which it briefly described, as a possible model upon which the new Bill might be framed. On the whole it was favourable to an alteration of the then present system, but preferred to leave detailed discussion of the proposed measure until after its clauses had been made clear to the House. The main objections to the national system, as that then in vogue was generally termed, have been already set out; but, in addition, it had been proved by enquiry throughout the Colony that some new method which would reach the general body of the colonists must be inaugurated, since under the national system the percentage of children obtaining education—particularly in the country districts—was so distressingly small as to constitute a scandal. It was, in fact, estimated on careful investigation that over twenty-five per cent. of the children under fourteen years of age were in receipt of no instruction of any kind, either denominational or secular. Such a state of things could not possibly be allowed to continue, and the argument was one of the most effective in the armoury of the supporters of some alternative scheme. Parkes, in his second reading speech—one of the great efforts of his early official career—made the most of it. Indeed, the necessity to “save the children and make them useful members of society” may be regarded as the main text of his address. The debate lasted five nights, and as there were a number of adjournments, the division on the second reading did not take place until the 11th October. The majority in favour of the Bill was then found to be nearly three to one. The *HERALD* of that day had a leading article—the first of an almost continuous series of over a dozen, which followed the progress of the measure right through its various legislative steps, until it reached the haven of the Statute Book at the end of December. And in all of them the paper strongly supported the Bill.

This article of the 11th October, 1866, may be taken as a key to the general policy of the *HERALD* in this great matter. Whereas, during the denominational campaign against the introduction of the “Irish System” in the 'forties, the paper had been on the side of the objecting sects, and had declared that no system which did not allow for the introduction of scripture teaching on the basis of the authorised version of the Bible could be tolerated, it was now just as strongly convinced that a time had come for that method to be abandoned. It pointed out the faults and the discrepancies, the unwholesome wranglings and the neglects of the denominational-cum-national system, and declared that “those who determine that things shall remain as they are, without any advance or preparation for the inevitable future, will, like all their brethren in every country, belong to the losing party, or, like a stranded ship when the tide forsakes it, be left high and dry.” And the article concluded with this plain statement of the case and of the *HERALD*'s application of it:

... Public schools are established in every country where education has been accepted from the beginning as the business of the State. We believe in theory a far better plan might be found, and that if parents knew and would perform their duty, a father's care and foresight might easily dispense with all this paraphernalia of State education. But it is not with an abstract possibility, or even with a duty considered on the highest grounds, that we have now to deal, but with the fact that certain States and communities have accepted the work of education. To say nothing of the continent of Europe; to say nothing of France, Prussia, or those German States where intelligence has penetrated—to come to men of our own language, we have this system universal in America; we have it almost universal in Canada—a community having the

same elementary character as our own—the same division of religious opinion—the same conflict of Churches—the same clerical obligations. Yet in that country there are public schools on the plan which we have just signified with some accommodation to prejudices, which are found to be associated with useful effort, which it is not desirable to destroy, but to leave to time and circumstances to harmonise and blend with surrounding facts and with the spirit of the age.

Parkes having outlined the principles of his Bill in his second reading speech, the *HERALD* proceeded on the 12th and subsequent days of October to a detailed examination of them. The main alterations from the existing system, it appeared, were as follows: Instead of having two controlling boards, with their continual jealousies and struggles, it was proposed that there should be only one, to be known as the Council of Education. Denominational schools would be allowed to carry on wherever they found themselves strong enough to do so, but to entitle them to any share in the Government grant they must comply with a prescribed attendance of pupils, a prescribed standard of instruction, and be situated a prescribed distance from a public school. Moreover, where the public school was sufficient to meet the requirements of the locality, no assistance at all would be given to a denominational school. Religious instruction in denominational schools would not be interfered with; but in all such schools receiving State aid the full benefit of secular education must be afforded to all children applying for it, without any compulsion upon them to receive instruction in religious matters as well. Finally, in all public schools an hour a day might be set apart for religious instruction; but this was not compulsory; nor, if the hour was so set part, was attendance at the religious instruction to which it was devoted compulsory either. Ordinary secular studies could be pursued during this hour at the option of those responsible for the attendance of the children. It was evident from these provisions that the “denominational” trouble had been very carefully studied. Denominational schools were clearly doomed, so far as Government recognition was concerned; but their extinction was to be effected gradually and with considerable respect for the susceptibilities of those who believed in them. In a word, the Bill sought to improve both the quality and the quantity of the education imparted to the children of the Colony generally; to do it by means of one class of school alone, instead of two; but to do it, not harshly, arbitrarily, and suddenly, but with due respect to the feelings of the denominationalists.

Despite this tenderness on the part of its framer, however, the Bill was received with an opposition on the part of the more rabid of the denominationalists which lacked nothing in bitterness. The proposed Council of Education, of which the Colonial Secretary was to be the head, was extravagantly attacked, the chairman himself being referred to as “the Pope of education” and his subordinates as “his five cardinals.” This was from the Protestant objectors; while from the other side came the assertion that the Bill was a monstrous measure that sought “to remove the Deity out of His place.” Public meetings were called by the extremists of the opposing sects, and fierce denunciation hurled at the Bill and its author, and from the first it became evident that the gist of the attack against it would be consolidated upon this one front. The *HERALD* itself was not altogether free from anxiety on the point; but seeing truly the morass into which denominationalism had already led the Colony, it abandoned its scruples and launched its forces steadily on the side of the Bill.

Here, then, is what it said in its support of a measure which effected so lasting and so radical a reform:

12th October, 1866.—. . . It will be quite possible to meet some of the objections that have been so freely urged against the Bill, if there is any disposition to accept arrangements that do not fundamentally alter its character. But it is clear, and may now be considered admitted, that the sooner the two systems are replaced by one the better. The gain in economy will be the least

part of the gain. We shall be able to raise the status of the schoolmaster, to give him better remuneration, and to improve the quality of the teaching. The object for which the State pays the money will be secured more thoroughly. Objections against a reform which will secure such advantages ought to be very strong if they are allowed to prevail. . . .

24th October, 1866.—. . . If anything is clear, it is that the opinion of the public, so far as it has been expressed, is, on the whole, in favour of the Bill. Not only have those sections of the community represented by Presbyterian, Wesleyan and Congregational Churches, avowed themselves in its favour, but an appeal from those who are hostile to their co-religionists has failed to institute any demonstration comparable with their alleged numerical strength. It stands a conspicuous fact that clergymen of high esteem, whose views and feelings would command a large amount of sympathy from their congregations, have failed to draw around them even a manifestation of opinion in support of their views. In fact, the laity of all denominations are weary of ecclesiastical contentions. The attempt to divide the Colony into five or six battalions at all points armed against each other has produced an inevitable reaction. People of all creeds are so connected together in the social and business engagements of life, and are so perfectly cognisant of the fair intentions of all that it is not possible to create in their minds a permanent distrust. . . .

26th October, 1866.—. . . We quoted the other day a paragraph from "Good Words," in which the writer, describing the common school system of Canada and praising its excellence, predicted that it would fall before the pressure of the demand for sectarian schools, and that the same thing would happen in the United States. But it is four years ago since the prediction was delivered, and the Canadian reports do not indicate its fulfilment. The number of separate schools in Canada is slightly increasing, owing to the zeal of the Roman Catholic clergy in the matter, but they are not increasing in the same proportion as the common schools are, and the popularity of local rates for free schools—which is a thoroughly unsectarian system—is getting more and more confirmed. We fail, therefore, to see any proof that the common school system is inevitably destined to be superseded by the system of separate schools. It is admitted that the former is best adapted for scattered populations, and for a young and growing country. It is not less efficacious in towns, and denominational zeal, though a very potent force, is not omnipotent. In this question the appeal really lies to the parents. They are free to patronise what sort of schools they like best, and as education spreads they may be expected to give their patronage to those schools which best answer the purposes for which schools exist, and, *cæteris paribus*, those schools which represent the nation are likely to be more efficient than those which merely represent a sect. The former will be the larger schools, with the fullest organisation and the best paid masters, and therefore the more likely to supply a superior article in the way of education. Once fairly established, therefore, a common school system is likely to hold its own, and denominational zeal will have to burn very fiercely to consume it. . . .

27th October, 1866.—. . . All, then, that can be alleged against the plan which is to provide general education for the people where the population will admit of no other efficient system is, that it does not teach the distinctions between one religious denomination and another. If people will set up as essential to education all sorts of things peculiar to themselves, of course they may create much embarrassment. But it is only fair to ask whether in all cases and in all places these alleged demands of conscience are treated so, or whether the exigence of the conscience is measured by the probability of obtaining what it asks. . . .

21st December, 1866.—. . . We have in this country secularists, and, on the other hand, those who regard all education as positively mischievous that is not directed chiefly to the knowledge of the rites and dogmas of their faith. Even these would not be sufficient unless they were taught under their immediate control. The colonists, however, are not to be treated as under the domination of any profession. We are not to infer that, because men, even in high positions, take special views, that they carry with them the concurrence of their co-religionists, unless this fact is clearly proved. Nor can we admit the right of any Church to dictate to the State in what way public money shall be spent, or in what way functionaries who receive that money shall be appointed. . . . All we desire is to see the education of the people, and with it the extinction of that rivalry which too often expresses nothing better than a difference of belief. If by extending education we can propagate a practical conviction that we have all equal rights, and that the minority ought not to be trampled upon by the majority, and the majority is nevertheless entitled to protect itself from the tyranny of a minority, we shall have accomplished much towards the settlement of our differences as well as towards establishing education upon a permanent basis. . . .

24th December, 1866.—We repeat that large concessions have been made, not only by members of the legislative body, but also by members of all denominations. Those possessed of great numbers will have still the power, in most instances, to enjoy their peculiar advantages. At the same time, the law as it now stands will recognise the civil rights of every member of the community to the benefits of education and protect them in their enjoyment. Efforts will be made to provide in every locality schools where all children of all sects may meet, while affording in larger operations many facilities for the gratification of denominational predilections. . . .

Although the Act was now in force, the opposition to it was still active. Efforts of various kinds were made to make it unpopular and even to interfere with its operations. But in the end the measure triumphed; Parkes carried out a series of journeys through the Colony, in the course of which he seized every opportunity—or made one where it did not arise fortuitously—to speak upon the merits of the Act and to explain its provisions. As a result, within a few months the measure was so generally and thoroughly comprehended that it became and remained one of the most popular measures ever associated with the name of its author. So closely and immediately was it associated with him, indeed, that when, despite the most strenuous, and in many ways unfair, efforts of his political enemies, the general elections again placed Parkes at the head of the East Sydney poll in December, 1869, the *HERALD* was constrained thus to refer to the event in a leading article:

Mr. Parkes heads the poll. There is no possibility of mistaking the significance of this fact. His name is identified with the Public Schools Act; he introduced and carried it; and, as President of the Council of Education, he has continued to watch over its operation. His warmest admirers do not pretend that that Act was a purely original conception, or that the merit of framing and passing it belongs exclusively to himself. Nor has he, though not deficient in self-appreciation, ever claimed any such monopoly of merit. But this is certain that, however much he may have done for the Act, he has certainly suffered for it. In certain quarters he has been unsparingly abused for his connection with it. His public and private character have both been attacked; and from some things that have been said and written, it might have been inferred that he was little better than the author of all evil for having been the author of the Act. For some time past no uncertain intimation had been given that at the general election, a determined effort would be made to reverse the public educational policy, and repeal or modify the obnoxious law. This intimation has provoked a counter-movement. Organisation has been met by organisation. The rival parties have tried their strength against each other, and now we have the first result. The Public Schools Act is at the head of the poll.

Thus did the *HERALD*, in set terms, assert its attitude, not only to the Act itself, but to the man by whose great offices the Act had won its way alike into the Statute Book and the hearts of the people. The paper had been at issue with Parkes on many previous occasions, and was to be at issue with him again; but from the day the Public Schools Act was introduced, may be dated the growth of that mutual goodwill which in the great years to come was to be productive of such mutual good work.

The Public Schools Act remained in force for a period of fourteen years, and undoubtedly did much to overcome the evils that had been created by the irritating dual system which preceded it. But the denominationalists—and one section of them in particular, *viz.*, the Roman Catholics—were by no means satisfied to let matters alone. The head of that Church in the 'seventies was Archbishop Vaughan, a brilliant speaker and writer who concentrated his attack so consistently and so strongly against the education methods introduced by the Public Schools Act that, by his very eloquence, he alarmed into opposition a host of people who otherwise would have probably been content to adopt a policy of *laissez faire*. It is probable that Henry Parkes himself, having, as the author of the Public Schools Act, a natural affection for the measure, would never have introduced legislation to amend it out of recognition, had it not been for the persistency and virulence of the Archbishop's attacks. Parkes, indeed, expressed himself almost up to the date of his introduction of the Education Act in 1880, as being satisfied with

the working of the Act of 1866; but the intense campaign waged against it by Archbishop Vaughan induced him to change his views, not in the direction of denominationalising the system, as desired by Vaughan and other sectarian zealots; but in favour of secularising it altogether. The attack upon the Public Schools Act was, of course, not confined to the denominationalists; the secularists were also exceedingly constant—and much more logical—in their opposition. Their desire was to see education both free and compulsory, and they believed that it could not be made effectively compulsory unless it was entirely free from the trammels of religious teaching. The Public Schools Act, as we have seen, although it was distinctly in favour of secular education, did nevertheless recognise, and even authorise in certain circumstances, religious teaching; and it was because they believed that this leaven might well in the end leaven the whole lump, that the secularists opposed the Act so strenuously. Archbishop Vaughan, by his attacks, played right into their hands. In the first place, he excited a bitter controversy, by his insistence upon larger rights for his denomination, an excitement which, but for that insistence might well have petered out and left him with a clear field; and, in the second, he caused even the more complaisant of the community to feel that if the privileges which the Public Schools Act had given to the denominationalists could be so contemptuously spurned, there was nothing for it but to make a clean sweep of them, lest worse befall. "While the enemy," they said, "had a foot in the camp, be it ever so slight, the position was endangered." In a word, the Archbishop aroused not only a spirit of retaliation, but a feeling of apprehension. The combination, added to the activities of the declared advocates of secularism, was too strong for him. It convinced Parkes himself in the end, that complete secularisation was the only safe method to adopt; and it enlisted the strong support of the HERALD. But, above all, it enlisted the support of the Public Schools League—a body formed, not, as its name might suggest, to support the Public Schools Act, but one formed to amend it in the direction of that free, secular and compulsory method which was fast becoming the ideal of the major portion of the community.

The champion, and, indeed, the initiator and moving spirit of the League, was an able, versatile and highly accomplished citizen named James Greenwood, of whom it is particularly fitting that we should speak at this point, in view of the fact that he was not only closely associated with Parkes in all stages of the latter's work upon the Education Bill of 1880, but also because he was for some time a leader writer on the staff of the HERALD. While occupying that position he had shown, in particular, such a grasp of educational matters that his articles were universally regarded as of the very greatest value. They were, indeed, and still remain, masterly expositions of the whole subject. Greenwood was a graduate of the University of London, whose natural gifts for oratory had induced him to become a minister of the Gospel. He was a Baptist, and on coming to Sydney he acquired such a reputation for eloquence and scholarship that his congregations were remarkable both for their size and for the intellectual standing of their individual components. When the Public Schools League was founded, he at once became its principal spokesman. He left the Church and took up journalistic work that he might advance its interests, and, finally, in 1877, he abandoned journalism for politics in the same cause. In that year he came before the public in the interests of the League as a candidate for East Sydney—the very electorate for which Parkes was one of the representatives and for which he also was again a candidate. Greenwood stood as a supporter of Parkes, whose sympathies were by now strongly in favour of non-denominational education; but, curiously enough, while Greenwood was elected, Parkes was defeated. The defeat was a bitter blow to him; and, although he was soon

re-elected, it deferred the introduction of his proposed educational amendments for three years. For it was not until April, 1880 (Parkes and Robertson having formed, in December, 1878, that Coalition Government which was such a surprise to the community and which proved so great a success), that the Public Education Bill, largely framed, there is every reason to believe, by Greenwood, was introduced by Parkes and placed upon the Statute Book. It is a curious reflection that, although to Sir Henry Parkes is almost invariably given the credit of being responsible for the educational system which, with certain amendments, is still in force to-day in New South Wales, much of the responsibility for it should be shared by two men whose names are not usually associated with it at all in the general estimate. These two men were James Greenwood and Archbishop Vaughan, the prime exponent and opponent respectively, of secular education. The one by his sane and eloquent championship, and the other by the very bitterness of his opposition, joined in a bizarre combination, which was not without its humorous aspect, in bringing about a reformation which had long been overdue.

By the Act of 1880 the Public Schools Act, with its partial recognition of denominational schools, was repealed. The Council of Education was dissolved and the control of public education was placed in the hands of a Minister, specially created for the purpose. Provision was made "for the establishment and maintenance of public schools to afford primary instruction to all children without sectarian class distinction; for the establishment also of superior public schools in which additional lessons in the higher branches might be given; for evening public schools, with the object of instructing persons who had not received the advantages of primary education while of school age, and for high schools for boys and girls in which the course of instruction should be of such a character as to couple the public school curriculum with the University." Four hours during each day were to be devoted exclusively to "secular instruction" (which was held to include general religious teaching as distinguished from dogmatical theology), and it was provided that another hour each day might be set apart "for religious instruction to be given in a separate class-room by a clergyman or religious teacher of any creed, to children of the same persuasion whose parents had no objection."

This small sop to the Cerberus of denominationalism, as may well be imagined, had little effect upon that ravenous animal. Rather did its meagreness spur it on to fresh frenzies. But the die was cast. Denominationalism, as a factor in the public education system of New South Wales, was not only doomed, but dead, so far as any practical possibilities were concerned; it was henceforth to receive no Government recognition and no Government aid.

The new Act made it compulsory for parents to send their children, between the ages of six and fourteen, to a public school for seventy days each half year, unless there were just cause for exemption ("just cause," of course, including attendance at a private school, denominational or otherwise, if the parents preferred the same). But, although compulsory, education was not to be altogether free, unless the parents could show that they were unable to afford the small fee of threepence per week chargeable under the Act. This distinction created a considerable amount of friction and it raised allegations of "pauperisation" and so forth. But it took a quarter of a century to alter it. It was not until 1906 that the fees were abolished and education became, as the founders of the Public School League had long ago desired, as free as it was compulsory. But despite the drawback of the fee question, the educational advancement of the Colony under the Act of 1880 was rapid. The census of 1881 showed that, out of a population

of 751,000 in New South Wales, there were over 195,000 who could not read. By 1901 the illiterates had decreased to a little over 72,000, although in the same period of twenty years the total population had grown to over a million and a quarter.

Many amendments have been necessitated in the Public School System since the Act of 1880 was passed. But in the main these amendments have been but minor ones; and in no cases have they been radical. The people of New South Wales owe many things to the enlightened policy of Sir Henry Parkes; and among the most important of them are those two great measures, the Public Schools Act of 1866, and the Public Education Act of fourteen years later.

The attitude of the *HERALD* towards these great measures has already been detailed in respect to the first, but so far has only been outlined in respect to the second. It will now be necessary, therefore, to add a little corroborative detail to the otherwise bald, if not unconvincing, story of the paper's association with the passing of the Education Act.

The first notable reference to the Act appearing in the paper is the leading article of the 21st November, 1879, which is devoted to a consideration of the second reading speech on the Bill delivered by Sir Henry Parkes on the preceding evening. After referring to the introducer's evident hesitation in doing away with the Public Schools Act of 1866—which had been for nearly fourteen years the apple of his eye—the article proceeds thus:

"... If the first aim of a school system should be the bringing of children of school ages to school, the figures of Sir Henry Parkes supplied last evening showed conclusively that the Government is not proposing a change before it is wanted. . . . The Premier said that there were 168,000 children of school ages in the Colony, and that, reckoning schools of all descriptions, there are only 148,000 children receiving instruction. But from this 148,000 probably not less than 20,000 should be deducted for multiple enrolments. That is to say, about 20,000 who are counted as being in school are not in school at all. Thus it will seem that the children of school ages who are not at school must be set down as nearer forty thousand than twenty thousand. Those who are most familiar with the working of our school system have been insisting, for years past, that some compulsory enactment alone will enable the country to overtake its educational wants. . . . That the new Bill, if honestly worked, will do much towards not only taking schools to children, but towards bringing children to school, is its first recommendation. Its next recommendations are that it will give our school system uniformity and completeness. . . .

Mr. Fitzpatrick, a leading member of the Roman Catholic persuasion, having a few days later spoken in support of the Bill, the *HERALD* seized the opportunity to use his advocacy as a weapon against the attacks of his co-religionists. Thus, in part, runs the article:

"... The hon. member may be thanked for the service he has rendered to the cause of national education. He has furnished an effective answer to the slanders, the complaints, and the exaggerated demands of the authorities of his Church. Claiming to be a good citizen, whether he be a good Catholic or a bad one, his words will carry weight with other members of his Church—and there are many—who take a similar view of their position and its duties. Ecclesiastical influence is not omnipotent, or Mr. Fitzpatrick would not have been found strenuously supporting the Public Schools Act from the outset. And when he stands forward to defend the Public Schools against ecclesiastical attacks, and to combat ecclesiastical claims in language that has no uncertain sound, his words will lodge in the mind of many a Catholic who looks upon this question as one, not of churchmanship, but of citizenship.

It should not be forgotten that the present "turmoil" has been caused by the aggressive movement of the Roman Catholic Bishops, who, in issuing the joint pastoral, incited their flock to open a crusade against the Public Schools. Mr. Fitzpatrick opposes an aggressive movement against the existing denominational schools; but he is at least equally vigorous, whilst more logical, in resisting the attack upon the Public Schools, and showing that the representations made in support of it are either unintelligible or untrue. The Bishops have made the great mis-

take of speaking in the name of their people, and assuming to put forth the claims and give utterance to the complaints of a third of the community. Mr. Fitzpatrick is a representative Catholic, although he did not profess to speak as one. And when he says that the Public Schools inflict upon the Catholics no hardship or injustice; that, instead of oppressing their consciences, the system exhibits a tender regard for them; that the false charges of immorality and lawlessness malign the Colony, and slander the thousands who during the last thirty years have had no other education than such as National or Public Schools afforded, he expressed opinions which thousands of Roman Catholics, who keep their eyes open and their minds clear, will accept. The Bishops tell us that the Public Schools are seed plots of immorality and lawlessness; a leading Roman Catholic tells us it is untrue. The Bishops say that it is tyranny and injustice to tax the Catholics and use the money in maintaining schools which they cannot use; a leading Roman Catholic tells us that there is neither tyranny nor injustice in the matter. The Bishops claim payment by results, and demand consideration for the feelings of one-third of the community. Mr. Fitzpatrick, by the general drift of his remarks, if not in express terms, suggests that if the real feelings of the Roman Catholics were known, they would be found to be of satisfaction with the public schools, and that the alleged discontent and demand for a change and payment by results are fictitious. He has done much to show that the Catholic conscience, of which we have heard so much, must be gauged in the polling booth, and that it would be a grave mistake in politics to take for granted, even upon the authority of a whole library of Pastorals, that it has the form, colour and dimensions which ecclesiastical rhetoric may ascribe to it.

The next day the paper returned to the subject, and, after summarising the previous efforts of the Robertson Ministry to effect a change in the educational system introduced by the Act of 1866, the leading article continues:

... Had that change been carried, it might, perhaps, have arrested any further alteration at present. But the time for the compromise passed by unutilised, and events were precipitated by the action of the Catholic hierarchy. Sooner or later the end must have been reached, but they decided it should be sooner. The course of events could not be turned aside, nor could the public be made go back upon its convictions. The gradual emancipation of primary education from ecclesiastical surveillance was bound to be achieved. The result followed from the operation of an inevitable law. The only question was as to how and when. The Bishops settled that it should be now, and by the present Ministry. Of course, they did not mean that; they meant exactly the opposite. But when men set a ball rolling they cannot always stop it. The Bishops appealed to the people of the country, and the appeal has been answered—and answered in a way which showed that they entirely miscalculated the prevailing sentiment. They said almost bluntly, "Either the Church or the State must rule in this matter, and we say that it shall be the Church." The answer has been echoed back with a variation: "Either the Church or the State must rule in this matter, and we say it shall be the State." The first Pastoral was reserved till the close of last session, and the fight between the Bishops and public opinion has occupied nearly the whole of the recess. The Government has watched the contest keenly, and has had no difficulty whatever in deciding on which side public opinion lies. The Bill they have introduced shows that they consider the time has come for putting the top stone to the National policy, and finally eliminating the ecclesiastical interference. This is a course in harmony with all that has gone before, and is, in fact, but its culmination and completion.

After a lengthy and spirited debate the Bill passed its second reading in the Assembly by a substantial majority. In Committee the denominationalists made a desperate effort to have the Bill emasculated; and on the 20th February, 1880, the *HERALD* devoted its leading article once more to their activities:

Sir Henry Parkes frankly confessed on Wednesday evening, that the Education Bill would not have been so severe against the denominational schools but for the Pastorals. This was but avowing an open secret, for everybody had already formed that opinion. But its avowal in the Legislature led to the retort that the Government should not allow itself to be diverted from its intention simply because a lot of Bishops had behaved foolishly. That, however, is not stating the question accurately. The Education Bill of 1866 tolerated denominational schools, but at the same time clearly established the Public School system as the national one. Up to a certain point, and within certain limits, denominational schools were allowed to receive support. The claim they put forward to vested interests was thus partially recognised. In accepting so low a

minimum as thirty scholars, a great deal more was recognised than was just to the rest of the community, and during the last twelve years we have wasted money over little competing schools that ought long ago to have been superseded. But though a great deal more was thus conceded to denominationalists than the utmost stretch of equity could claim, the ecclesiastical leaders of the Roman Catholic Church rewarded this toleration on the part of the State by an open declaration of hostility against the Government policy. They denounced the Public Schools in language which implied that they were infamous. They insisted that the system of payment by results should be substituted. They announced their intention of agitating ceaselessly till this result was attained, and they called upon all Catholic voters to back them up at the elections. Since the Colony has had free government, no such declaration of distinct and irreconcilable hostility to the law has been made, and, coming as it did from those whose schools were simply tolerated out of a tender regard for vested interests, it called for some notice on the part of the Government. No Government could afford to submit tamely to threats of this kind, still less could it afford to subsidise those who avowed their intention of using every means in their power to destroy the recognised policy of the country. The reply of the Government, as embodied in the Bill, amounts virtually to this: "You have forfeited all claim to any further consideration of your vested interests; for the future your Church will cease to be subsidised, and the Government will recognise as Public Schools none but those that are established and maintained by itself." Judged by any test of statesmanship, or any consideration of public policy, who can say that the reply to the defiant challenge of the Catholic hierarchy is unfair or impolite? Those who voluntarily made a declaration of war are shut out from all complaint if the challenge has an inconvenient rebound. . . .

On the 27th February there was a further "leader" upon the Bill which is worthy of quotation:

If those who find themselves placed on an equality with all their fellow-citizens do not like equality; if they turn round and say, what we want is to have special treatment, then it is they who stand chargeable with wishing to break up the uniformity with which the State should deal with all subjects. . . . The proper rule for the State is undoubtedly to treat all alike. If there is to be any exception to the rule, the exception must be justified on very clear and cogent grounds, it must be shown that the exception ought to be recognised, and that its recognition will not be in any way injurious to the rest of the community. Nothing of this kind has been done, or pretended to be done. All that has been done for the present is for the Catholics to raise the cry that if they do not get exactly what they want, they are unjustly treated.

On the second reading of the Bill in the Upper House, Mr. Dalley, who was a Roman Catholic, having attacked it on the grounds of its being clearly against the wishes of a large section of the community, the *HERALD* answered him in a leading article. Mr. Dalley having also asserted that the denominational schools then in existence had proved their superiority over the Public Schools, the *HERALD* replied to the argument by quoting statistics which established the very reverse, and then continued:

The denominational schools are on the average considerably below the Public Schools in their standard of proficiency, although they have the advantages of half as many more pupils per school throughout the Colony than the Public Schools have. That also might be expected; because they exist for a double purpose. The school is an appendage of the Church; the teacher has a divided allegiance; and the buildings supplied to him, with a few exceptions, are unsuitable for his requirements, however well adapted they may be for ecclesiastical uses. Nor can the State safely permit itself to be the guest of the Churches as the educator of the people, especially when those Churches declare war upon National education, unless it is modified at their dictation.

Finally, the Bill having passed both Houses with very little amendment, and none of that at all radical in effect, the *HERALD*, in its leading article of the 21st April, voiced its feelings of relief and satisfaction.

Thus, then, was the great battle fought and won.

From 1880 onward until the end of the century, the educational system of the Colony was steadily extended and developed, but without suffering any material alteration. In 1902, however, the Reid Government sent Messrs. G. H. Knibbs and W. Turner as Commissioners on a world tour to examine and report on foreign methods in comparison with our own. The *HERALD* published their report on December 8th and 9th, 1903, and its unusual interest prompted the leading article from which the following extracts are given:

The report of the Commissioners on Education turns out to be a sweeping condemnation of our educational system, coupled with a series of definite and concrete suggestions for reform. From the instructions issued to each Commissioner, it would appear that the contingency of a ruthless criticism of the Department was not present to the Ministerial eye. . . . On the other hand, it is their (the Commissioners') opinion that it will take three decades of hard work to bring us abreast of Europe and America in educational matters. They condemn our pupil-teacher system, our school buildings, our curriculum. . . . They condemn the spirit in which we work, the very ideal we set out to attain. . . . They are agreed as to the necessity of abolishing the pupil-teacher system, of giving more thorough training to teachers, of changing the system of inspection, of increasing practical efficiency, by which they mean substantially altering the curriculum, and of bringing school equipment somewhat up to date. It has become clear to them, they say, that the citizens of this State have educational opportunities falling far short of those in other parts of the world. . . . That they have made out their case against the absurd claim of the Department to administer the best system in the world, very few will deny.

An Educational Conference was accordingly decided on, and was held in 1904; and, as a result, many of the defects complained of were removed.

The Act of 1880 made primary education compulsory; but it also made it compulsory for each pupil to pay 3d. per week for his tuition, exemption from payment being granted to the children of indigent parents. This proviso, as we have said, created considerable opposition, since it often led to such parents being branded with the stigma of pauperism, and the stigma being reflected unhappily upon their children. A considerable body of opinion, therefore, clung to the conclusion that, if education were to be generally compulsory, it must also be altogether free. But it was long before the authorities could be converted to this view, and it was not until the 1902 Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education had strongly recommended the change that any ministerial action was taken. Even then, four years were to elapse before the Carruthers Government, in 1906, placed its Free Education Act upon the Statute Book. By this measure the payment of all fees in connection, not only with primary schools, but with superior public schools as well, was abolished. In 1911 the final step was taken by the McGowen Ministry and high school fees were also swept away. From that date until the end of 1922 State education in New South Wales was entirely free in all its branches, but early in 1923 the Fuller Government reimposed high school fees, on the ground that a great number of parents were taking advantage of the existing state of affairs and sending their children to high schools without having the least intention of subsequently utilizing that tuition as it was intended to be used. The Government therefore argued that such parents were not only unfairly causing expense to the State, but were actually handicapping their children in the battle of life. In 1925 the Lang Government again abolished these fees, and, although the Bavin Government, which succeeded to office in 1927, discussed the advisability of restoring them, no such action was taken, and at the present time all grades of State education in New South Wales, from the primary schools to the gates of the University (and even, as we shall see in a moment, past them) are free.

While agreeing generally with the principle that if education be compulsory in the primary grade, it must also be free to those who cannot afford to pay for it, the

HERALD has, nevertheless, always opposed the total abolition of education fees. Its leading article of 14th August, 1906, for example, referring to the proposal of the Carruthers Government to make primary education entirely free, gives its reasons for its opposition to that proposal in the following terms:

There has been no public demand for this change. Public meetings have not been called for the denunciation of the iniquity of charging threepence a week for each child taught, or one shilling for a family of four or more. The cost, indeed, seems moderate enough, and the great majority of the parents of the children who attend the State schools are well able to pay that or a greater fee. These parents are not of the utterly poor class; some of them, indeed, are wealthy persons who choose the State schools in preference to others, and as regards parents less favourably situated, there is no necessity for any new legislation to secure for them the free education of their children. Nobody need pay who is destitute. . . . The remission of school fees means nothing to parents who are well able and thoroughly prepared to pay for their children's education; whilst it means to other taxpayers a definite payment in hard cash or its equivalent, for which they receive no value. Particular taxpayers are relieved of the payment of £75,000 for value received, and taxpayers generally have to make up this amount. Parliament might well consider these points before it commits itself to any proposal for the satisfaction of a demand for free education which has not yet been made.

The HERALD's opposition to the removal of high school fees has been, of course, even stronger than that which it has expressed to the abolition of those associated with primary education. Its attitude on this point, and, indeed, towards the whole question of free education, is well summarised in the leading article of 12th September, 1930, from which we quote below. This article was occasioned by the remarks of some of the speakers at the Annual Conference of the Secondary Teachers' Association, which had been held a few days previously, and its material portion runs as follows:

A recent work by Mr. R. W. Gordon Mackay, "Some Aspects of Primary and Secondary Education," stated that of the pupils in our State primary and secondary schools only a little over two per cent. of those who leave each year enter professions, and even of the boys and girls who leave the secondary schools, less than three per cent. adopt a professional life. Seeing that not all of these are able to make any outstanding mark in their professions, it is perhaps as well that the large majority of secondary course children never arrive at the fifth year at all. Could not the waste of starting them be avoided, or much reduced? The fact should be accepted that a considerable percentage of the population is quite incapable of profiting by higher education. This is not a fashionable belief, and many educational enthusiasts reject it hotly. Yet the evidence which could be marshalled to support it is no mere patchwork of impressions, but substantial enough to satisfy any test which specialists could impose.

Connected not indirectly with this is the question of school fees—at any rate for high schools. It is a fair and natural question to ask whether, if a charge were made, there would not be fewer found to enter so lightly on a course which later they lightly abandon. Learning, costing the pupil nothing, is in too many cases valued at exactly that figure. Side by side with these cases may families be noted making great effort and sacrifice to send their children to one or other of the Great Public Schools. Is the difference an inevitable thing, a natural law? One would really think so, to hear certain utterances. "Any imposition of high school fees," Mr. D. J. Austin told the conference, "would be a retrograde step." Retrogression, or the retracing of steps, is at times a very necessary action. There has been a good deal of it of late, and a scrutiny of sayings once accepted as axioms. For practically a generation it has been the fashion to demand that certain utilities shall be "free"—and only just now are people beginning to discover that the word is a misnomer. There is nothing so free but that somebody has to pay for it, and the bills at this very moment are coming in thickly. The time may arrive, and before long, when it shall be no longer deemed a hopelessly "reactionary" thing to maintain that a toll system, which simply means that the user helps to maintain the road or the bridge by which he travels, is both fair and necessary. The same may apply to higher education. Why, one may ask, was it ever made "free" at all, especially to benefit many who could well afford to pay? Calling upon such people now for any contribution towards a costly system would mean, we are told, "a curtailment of higher education." In reality, it would mean in the main a sensible limiting of opportunities to those who are able and resolved to take advantage of them.



The "Herald" School, which has been in existence for upwards of ten years, is attended every morning, in relays, by the apprentices and junior clerks of the establishment.



A glimpse of the "Herald" Library, which contains several thousand reference books and other records, besides a card index of all the articles and news in the "Herald" itself.



The youth of Sydney has its great day out on the occasion of the Great Public Schools Regatta, which takes place on the Parramatta River at the beginning of May. It is attended by immense gatherings and always is characterised by tremendous cheering and shouting throughout the progress of the races.



The displays by the school children in honour of the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York at the Sydney Cricket Ground, on March 29, 1927, began with their formation of the Rose of York and "Welcome" in living petals and letters across the green, delighting all spectators and amazing their Royal Highnesses.

Reverting again to the general history of our State education, it is worthy of note that, following on the 1903 report of the Commissioners, a College for training teachers was instituted, and in the leading article of 19th October, 1911, the *HERALD* warmly supported a proposal to establish a building for this College within the University. The proposal was adopted and the College has now been successfully functioning there for several years.

In 1912 the University Amendment Act was passed, providing for a grant by the State, reconstituting the governing body, to provide for representatives of the Government thereon, and introducing a system whereby bursaries to the number of 100 yearly at first, and a larger number later, would be awarded to specially selected high and secondary school students to enable them to pass through the University. On October 7th and 9th of this same year (1912) the *HERALD* published two thoughtful articles on the subject by Professor MacCallum, then Dean of the Faculty of Arts, now Sir Mungo MacCallum, Deputy-Chancellor of the University. These, while approving of these new educational advances—as, indeed, did the *HERALD* itself—nevertheless criticised severely the way in which they were expected to operate. In particular, they condemned the financial provisions, which the writer contended would impose too great a burden upon the University's resources. That this forecast has unfortunately proved very close to the truth, is shown by the need for the University Appeal in 1927.

This appeal for funds was launched at a public meeting in the Sydney Town Hall on 9th July, 1927, and its nature was explained by the Chancellor, Sir William Cullen, who presided. Supporting speeches were made by Sir Dudley de Chair (Governor), Mr. W. M. Hughes, and other representative men; and an Appeal Committee, under the Presidency of the Chancellor, the Chairmanship of Sir Mungo MacCallum, and the Directorship of Professor E. R. Holme (and of which the late Sir James O. Fairfax was also a member) was appointed. The object was the raising of £250,000, and the reasons for the appeal may be well gathered from a perusal of the following extracts from the *HERALD* files. The first is taken from the report of the dinner held on the evening of 11th October, 1927, in the Great Hall of the University, on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of its founding. The Governor-General, Lord Stonehaven, in responding to the toast of his health, made the following reference to the finances of the University:

The fact had to be faced that the University was short of funds. He would like to appeal to those who had more money than they required to transfer some of it to the University. During the 75 years of its existence, the University had played a glorious part in the progress of the State. It remained for the people of New South Wales to see that the work already done was only the beginning of a great record.

Lord Stonehaven mentioned that in 1923 there had been a deficit of £8,000, and last year of £2,729, and the University was faced with a further deficit next year. He outlined some of the work that the University was doing for the good of the community in various fields of research and in the education of students free of charge, but pointed out that lack of funds was leading to the neglect of the dual function of the University—that of imparting and augmenting knowledge.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Bruce, in proposing the toast of the University, supported Lord Stonehaven's reference in the following terms:

Many people regarded the £250,000 for which the University was appealing as a sum beyond their powers of raising. He hoped that that spirit would disappear and there would come in its place a recognition of the part that the University had played in the progress and development of the Continent. He hoped that they would not only get that sum now, but would also get whatever they wanted in the future, so that the great work of the University could be carried on. They wanted the people to give not only something that they could spare, but something that they felt it difficult to spare.

In the issue of the 15th of the same month the *HERALD*'s leading article referred to the subject of the appeal in the following terms:

A consideration upon which both the Governor-General and the Prime Minister laid great emphasis was that the duty of a University is not only to impart knowledge, but to augment it. In this direction the University of Sydney is seriously handicapped by want of funds. Research requires leisure, which the overtaxed staff does not possess, and accommodation, which the University cannot provide. The members of the staff can neither engage in original investigations themselves nor train experts to the extent that they would wish. That the University should be starved is, to put it on the lowest ground, inimical to the material future of the State. It is a commonplace that science can promote our development in countless ways. The chemist, the biologist, the metallurgist, the botanist, and their colleagues can give our industries, both primary and secondary, invaluable help. . . . The University does not only teach persons to earn a livelihood; it teaches them to live. It helps to build up character, and it inculcates public spirit. Hence it is an institution in which every citizen, whatever his calling, has a vital interest. This truth has prompted the suggestion that since the well-being of the University concerns the people as a whole, it should be maintained by the State and not by private benefactions. The argument is unsound. Aid from the State is welcomed, but it should not supersede other sources of revenue. A University that leans too much on the State is in danger of forfeiting its independence and losing the distinctive character of such an institution. That warning was uttered by King George V. a few weeks ago at the centenary celebrations of the University of London: it was repeated by Mr. Bruce on Tuesday. Nor is it inconsistent with the prestige of a University to ask the public for support. No question of dignity is involved. The use of the expression "appeal" is unavoidable, but it is a little misleading. Certainly it does not imply that the University has donned the robe of a mendicant, who, cap in hand, whines for alms. It invokes assistance as of right, as a return for services which it has rendered, and for which it has received a woefully inadequate recompense. The benefits it has conferred upon the community cannot be reckoned in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence; now it seeks payment of a tiny fraction of that debt.

The appeal, it is pleasant to add, was magnificently successful. It was closed formally in December, 1928 (although a considerable amount came in afterwards), with a grand total of £348,389.

It may well be added in this connection, as evidence of the fact that it was not only through the instrumentality of their paper, but personally as well, that the proprietors of the *HERALD* took a keen interest in educational matters generally, that by his will the late Sir James Oswald Fairfax bequeathed the sum of £10,000 each to the University and to the Sydney Grammar School. And it was to the University again that, when the Lang Newspaper Tax was declared invalid in circumstances already referred to, the proprietors of the *HERALD* handed over the sum of £10,000, representing the major portion of the proceeds of the extra $\frac{1}{2}$ d. received by them in respect of each paper sold by them during the operation of the Tax.

A further proof of the practical interest of the proprietors of the *HERALD* in education is furnished by their institution in January, 1921, of that school for the benefit of their younger employees to which brief reference has already been made. In the words of the 1922 report of the gentleman who is now in charge of the School, they believed that the "legal age limit of fourteen for compulsory education is for a democratic community dangerously low," and as most of the lads employed on the technical side of the office enter upon that employment in their early 'teens, it was felt that it would not only be a good thing for them, but would also materially increase the general efficiency of the staff, if such a school were in operation. The results have quite justified this belief. Many experiments of the kind have, of course, been tried in a tentative fashion in various parts of the world, but it is believed that the *HERALD* School was the first to be actually established, and is, even to-day, the only one of its kind in existence. The aims of the school are not only to instil education—in the ordinary sense of that greatly misused word—but "to teach its pupils how to live." To quote further from

the report already referred to, "the lad who enters on industrial life at the age of fourteen may be equipped in the rudiments of scholastic instruction sufficiently well to acquit him of the charge of illiteracy, but it is futile to expect him to have acquired a reasoned judgment. In brief, he is not educated. Too often he reacts violently against the restraints of school and abuses his new freedom. He has not yet learnt self-control. He may satisfy his employer as a cog in the industrial machine, but what is his record out of business hours? How is he shaping for the responsibilities of citizenship?" And it was to enable a satisfactory answer to be given to such questions as these that the School was founded.

To do this it was not sufficient that the lads should simply be given lessons, or taught in the ordinary sense. Such a method would simply be to continue a course of life from which the pupil has often an aversion and for which he has very seldom so strong an affection that he can look forward to an indefinite prolongation of it with any pleasure. If such a school is to prosper and to reach its desired ends, then, there must be between its teacher and its pupils a very different relationship than exists in the majority of public, or even private schools. There must be a good deal of the "elder brother" about the master, and a much more unconventional attitude on both sides than usually obtains. Fortunately, this is much more easily arrived at in Australia than in the communities of the older world; and it is largely because of its existence in the HERALD School that it has done so well. So far as details of the institution are concerned, it is sufficient to state that all lads employed by the firm whose ages range from fourteen to twenty-one, are expected to attend the School for one hour of their employers' time each day. In a very few cases—so few as almost to be negligible—this attendance is found to be impossible. But it may be said with literal truth that, apart from these minor exceptions, every youth whose age and position qualifies him for pupillage, attends the school and reaps the benefit of its kindly leadership. No technical education is attempted; that is the province of another department of the paper's activities to which attention will be paid directly. But the pupils are conducted through a course of English, French, Geography, History and Mathematics, which, while in no sense advanced, is yet well sufficient to equip them with, firstly, a good general work-a-day knowledge, and, secondly—and this is the great thing—with that desire to increase their knowledge by their own exertions from which alone true education can be obtained. In addition, a large amount of general work is done in the various sciences; and it is one of the main points of the curriculum to keep the pupils well abreast of the daily happenings throughout the world in every department of life. Lecturettes are also given at odd times on various subjects of interest; and these, by the aid of a fine lantern equipment, are usually illustrated and keenly appreciated. At the end of each year examinations are held and prizes, donated by the members of the firm, are won and handed over at a small informal equivalent to the "speech-day" of the larger public schools. The first principal of the school was Mr. S. C. Smith, M.A., and on his retirement to take over the headmastership of the King's School, Remuera, New Zealand, the present principal, Mr. F. G. Brown, B.A., B.Sc., was appointed to the vacant office.

It may be well to add here that the vocational or technical side of their young employees' education is looked after with equal effectiveness by the proprietors of the HERALD. By the Education Acts of the State, every apprentice to the many various trades represented on such journals as the HERALD and MAIL is required to attend a course of instruction at the Sydney Technical College and obtain regular satisfactory certificates as to his progress. In 1928 the proprietors of the HERALD instituted a vocational class for their apprentice-employees over which one of the senior employees pre-

sides, and by an arrangement with the authorities attendance at this class exempts the pupils from attending the course at the Technical College. They must, however, attend the examination set by the College and obtain the usual certificates as to their proficiency; and the best proof of the efficiency of the HERALD vocational classes is to be found in the fact that of the five pupils which it sent to the Technical College examinations in the first year of its existence, four were successful in obtaining the coveted certificate; while in 1929 eight examinees attended and all passed.

In the year 1926 a joint committee of the Institute of Journalists of New South Wales and the Australian Journalists' Association, acting in collaboration with representatives of the Sydney University who had been appointed for the purpose, succeeded, after strenuous preliminary work, in establishing a Diploma Course in Journalism at the University. We quote the following reference to this matter, which appeared in THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD of 7th August, 1926:

The Institute of Journalists, at its Annual Meeting last night, expressed satisfaction at the inclusion of a diploma course in journalism in the curriculum of the University of Sydney, and congratulated the President (Mr. C. Brunson Fletcher), to whose efforts, the Annual Report stated, the establishment of the course was largely due. The hope was expressed that the course would lead eventually to a University Chair of Journalism. "Without the co-operation of the proprietors of the principal daily newspapers," the report continued, "the work of the joint committees would have been of little avail in beginning a course in the Lent term of University studies. The system of scholarships which has been inaugurated has provided seven students from the staffs of leading journals with their fees paid and the needful time for study given as an essential factor."

In moving the adoption of the report, Mr. Brunson Fletcher stated that a spirit of hearty co-operation had been evident in the recent work of the Institute. It was to be recognised, though, that only the first step had been taken. Effort could not be relaxed. Someone had to be found who would give the prescribed lectures in the principles and practice of journalism. The University was powerless to find him; the Institute would have to search for him. It would need to recognise that his would be heavy work.

The proprietors of the HERALD were greatly interested in the institution of this course. They were among the first to offer the practical assistance referred to in the Institute's report, and they at once made arrangements for, and gave every assistance to such members of their staff as were competent to, and desirous of taking the course, to do so.

The course was instituted in 1926 and students were required to take a year's study in the regular Arts course of the University before entering upon the special course of journalistic lectures. Students had also to have three years' practical experience as working journalists. Owing to various unforeseen delays the special course was not held until the year 1929, when a body of lecturers, consisting almost entirely of prominent Sydney journalists, was appointed to undertake the duty. No less than eight of these lecturers were members of the staffs of the HERALD and MAIL.

The innovation so far, unfortunately, has not been very successful; although a fair number of students have availed themselves of the opportunity thus provided. Only one, however, has so far completed the course. This is Mr. H. K. Wilkinson, a member of the literary staff of the HERALD, who has thus been the first member of his profession to obtain the Diploma of Journalism from the Sydney University. It is perhaps appropriate at this juncture to add that the proprietors of the HERALD have always recognised the value of a University education to a working journalist and to themselves as his employer; and have endeavoured to express this recognition (other things being equal) when selecting members of their staff. Practically every member of the present editorial staff has had a University training or is duly qualified in law

or letters; while more than twenty members of the general literary staff are either students at, or graduates of a University. Sometimes it is possible for such members of the staff to continue their University course as evening students. The late Mr. W. G. Conley, General Manager of the *HERALD*, was particularly keen on the value to a journalist of a high standard of education; and in December, 1923, he addressed the Institute of Journalists upon the subject in a short series of lunch hour talks, which were both thoughtfully considered and effectively delivered.

In common with those of many other countries, the educationists of Australia have of late years been challenging the examination system which, here as elsewhere, is utilised as a test of a pupil's ability. The *HERALD* has had occasion to refer to this challenge more than once. On 3rd January, 1919, for instance, it devoted a leading article to the subject, a material extract from which may appropriately be given here. The article was inspired by a series of letters to the Editor condemning examinations on various grounds, and it runs as follows:

In the correspondence that has been going on for some weeks in these columns, many points of view have been represented; some writers have condemned the system lock, stock, and barrel; others have been willing to concede it a measure of virtue. But there is one matter on which all are agreed, that examinations play far too large a part in the curriculum, and that to their excess may be attributed most of the evils that affect the educational body politic. Examinations hamper the student and the teacher alike; they do not necessarily bring out the ablest candidate; the test of competence that they supply is at best perfunctory. . . . The teacher, too, is affected by the plethora of examinations. He is apt for the sake of the candidate and himself, and for the credit of his school, unconsciously to regard success in examinations as the be-all and the end-all of education. . . . These and similar arguments advanced with greater or less acrimony against the examination system are perfectly true; no one denies that its influence on general culture is bad; no one depends upon it for any merits it possesses. But what the critics forget is, that if it is to be done away with, something must be put in its place. They are quick to see its flaws, but they do not suggest a substitute. . . . In order that the public may be protected, there must be some sort of guarantee that an individual possesses the knowledge he claims, or that the community maintains the standard of literacy which it has set itself. Examinations provide such a guarantee, rough and ready, and by no means infallible; not the best that the brain of man can conceive, but upon the whole the most practical, if financial resources are limited. . . . If there were no examinations to act as a check, much more supervision would be needed, because the average person is not always conscientious, nor is he, as a matter of fact, addicted to general reading. This does not imply that there is no alternative to the examination system; there is the very obvious one which substitutes personal attention and supervision for the mechanical test of an examination. It is incomparably the better system, but it is very expensive—a fatal drawback in the eyes of a country which has yet to realise that any money spent on education is well spent. It requires for secondary schools a corps of inspectors who would watch progress and decide when a pupil was ready to go on to the University. At the University there would be a corps of tutors who would each take a group of students under their wing and develop them largely by means of informal discussion and the like. Under this system examinations can be reduced to a minimum and teachers relieved of much narrowing and unwelcome drudgery, while the pupil avoids becoming an examination hack. But it is costly; it has been reckoned that its effective introduction to our University would mean a subsidy more than double the existing one, and until our legislators look at education from a new standpoint altogether, it would seem that we must get along as best we can on our present lines.

In December, 1923, the subject again came up for consideration by the paper as a result of another attack upon the examination system made by Dr. Neil McQueen, principal of the Presbyterian Ladies' College at Croydon, near Sydney. Dr. McQueen, who is an educationist noted for his frankness, speaking at the Annual Speech Day celebrations at his College, recommended the Public Instruction authorities to abolish a system which Professor Todd, of the Sydney University, had a little while before

described as "a mere scramble for marks." The *HERALD*, in its leading article of 13th December, thus dealt with Dr. McQueen's recommendation:

Examinations are the bogey of the teacher and the pupil alike. The latter hates them for obvious reasons. The former declares that they cramp him and discourage the development of individuality in his charges. Everything has to be subordinated to preparation for these unpleasant ordeals, and studies which would be far more beneficial to the child have to be neglected. Examinations, moreover, are notoriously a most unreliable test. They play into the hands of the self-possessed, the confident, the fluent; while they may not allow an able but nervous child to do himself justice. The teacher, who is in constant contact with his pupils, should be a better judge of their capacity than a board of outside examiners, no matter how conscientious. The educational authorities, in fact, have not a good word to say for examinations. Why, then, do we retain them? Mr. T. A. Lappin, headmaster of St. Leonard's Grammar School, supplies the answer. The parents, he says, look upon them as a necessity. That is the position in a nutshell. Examinations are an arbitrary and rough-and-ready test; but they are a test of a sort, and, apparently, from the point of view of the man in the street, the most satisfactory that can be devised. The demand for examinations comes, not from the educationist, but from the public. The average parent who wishes to know what progress his child is making, the average business man who wishes to engage an employee, prefers the evidence of examination results to teachers' reports. The latter, to his mind, afford a somewhat unsatisfactory basis for comparison, whereas the fact that a person has obtained his leaving or intermediate certificate may not mean much, but the man in the street knows exactly what it does mean.

Another feature of modern "education" that has exercised the *HERALD* considerably of late is the craze for supremacy in sport which tends to creep into some of our modern schools. On this point the paper has had a good deal to say, and to illustrate its attitude on the matter we quote the leading article of 13th May, 1922, as follows:

To-day, with us, the tendency is to overlook the scholar and to consider only the "sport." The inclination is to consider the captain of the "tests" as a greater hero than the senior wrangler, the double first as naught beside the double blue, the winner of the "honours" at the class as inferior to the winner of the "colours" on the field.

This obsession is an anomalous thing. There can be nothing more certain than that it is the man of brains who advances his country rather than the man of brawn. It is not only "beneath the rule of men entirely great" that "the pen is mightier than the sword." That superiority is the common experience of all climes and centuries. Agamemnon dies, but Homer lives for ever—"the swords of Cæsars, they are less than rust; the poet doth remain." England is great because of Shakespeare and Watt rather than because of Marlborough and Dr. Grace. Thus "to everything there is a season and time to every purpose under the heaven," and a moderation in the appetite for sport is as necessary as a moderation in the appetite for liquor. It seems that the time is near when, if this appetite be not checked with discrimination and firmness, its increase will grow with what it feeds on until a future generation may well come to regard the man who can leap more nimbly than his fellows, or who can stroke an "eight" to victory, as indubitably greater than the producer of a noble book, or a great remedy, or a useful invention or a new art. If that day should come when a Ladas shall be honoured by his country above a Diogenes, a Carpentier above a Pasteur, or a Trumper above a Farrer, the present educational system will not be held blameless. If it be placed upon its trial for its responsibility it may be hard put to it to answer the indictment.

Of the three great principles of our "Free, Secular, and Compulsory" system of State education, the second has never ceased to provoke that section of our community which is represented by the Roman Catholics. Over and over again the hierarchy of that great Church has sought to have that principle abolished; over and over again it has protested—and often in most violent terms—against its alleged iniquities. So recently as December, 1927, Archbishop Kelly, the head of the Church in Australia, asserted roundly that "men who uphold the present system of State education are damned"; and that outburst is one of many of a similarly excitable nature that have punctuated the continuous discussion of the matter through the years. In October,

1927, the HERALD published a series of special articles on the subject of the secularization of education (written by a member of its staff); and as they appeared shortly before Archbishop Kelly's sweeping condemnation, it is probable that they were largely responsible for it; since, in the main, they were sympathetic with the system in vogue and submitted strong evidence as to its effectiveness. But a more direct statement of the HERALD's attitude in the matter may be gathered from its leading article of 12th September, 1928. This article was induced by a request from the Roman Catholic Church for State aid for its schools in the Federal Territory—a request which Mr. Bruce had been compelled to refuse. It was written, it may be noted, in passing, just two days after the appearance of the second of those tolerant and generous "leaders" dealing with the Eucharistic Congress, which were referred to, and quoted from, in a previous section of this history; and there could be no question, therefore, that it was provoked by any feeling of bigotry or animus. We quote from it as follows:

Since the State, which provides the instruction, recognises no religion in its official capacity, it rightly insists that its educational activities shall be secular. We would be the last to under-rate the importance of the religious element in education. We believe that it gives the recipient an outlook on life which, however his views may subsequently be modified, helps to make him a good citizen. But we cannot agree that it is the function of the State to supply or subsidise the agencies by which it is imparted. There are many other media. In the first place, there is the home. The lessons learned at the parental knee make the deepest impression. Again, every church has its Sunday school. Also, while the department does not furnish religious instruction, it sets apart time during which clergymen may visit the schools and imbue the young with the essence of their faith. Clergymen of other denominations take full advantage of this arrangement. If the Roman Catholics fail to do so, they can scarcely complain.

The burden of the Roman Catholics' oft-repeated protest is that, in the absence of provision for religious training, they cannot conscientiously send their children to the departmental schools. Hence they are forced to build and maintain schools of their own, while simultaneously contributing, as taxpayers, to the upkeep of the State institutions. We regret that our Roman Catholic friends should suffer from a sense of hardship, but we cannot admit—regard being paid to the circumstances and, especially, to the right of entry possessed by priests of their Church—that it is justified. Roman Catholics are not singular in refraining from availing themselves of a service from which they derive no direct benefit. Indeed, the number of those who are in a similar position probably equals or even exceeds them in the aggregate. . . . The non-Roman Catholic parents who, neglecting the facilities for education offered gratuitously by the State, send their children to these institutions, often at great sacrifice to themselves, are not conscious of any grievance. On the contrary, they are thankful that their resources are sufficient to enable them to do so. Frequently they are prepared to stint themselves in order that the child may secure an equipment which they imagine, rightly or wrongly, will arm him the better for the battle of life. And the State owes a debt of gratitude to all these persons, Roman Catholics and others. Had they elected to patronise the State schools, the expenditure involved in free education would have risen immensely, and the people as a whole would have had a correspondingly heavier bill to foot. This is not the least compelling argument for the retention of the existing system.

This significant expression of the HERALD's attitude on this important principle fitly concludes our reference to the paper's long association with, and continued practical interest in, the great problems of State education.

SECTION XV.

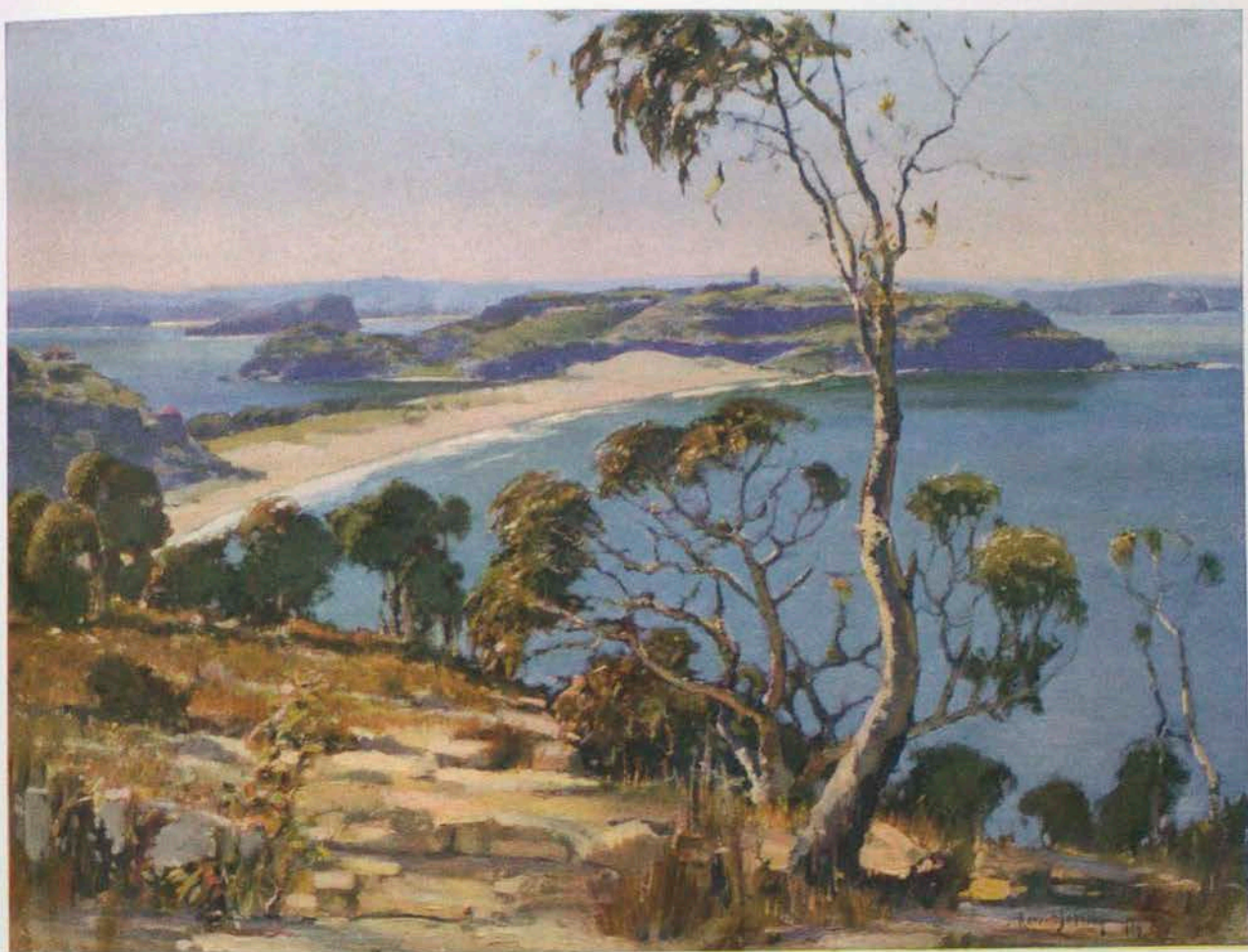
THE SYDNEY MAIL, THE ECHO, AND THE AFTERNOON TELEGRAM

THE SYDNEY MAIL was born when Australia had just emerged from the golden cradle of the 'fifties, for it made its first appearance on the 7th July, 1860. This second great production of the firm was the outcome of a suggestion by Mr. Charles Fairfax. He was so impressed by the fact that no weekly journal was being published for the country readers of the Colony that he impressed, in turn, his fellow members of the firm with the desirability of starting one. Accordingly, on the date mentioned, the first number appeared as an eight-page paper of the broadsheet order, at the price of threepence per copy; and a notice to the public, which it contained, set out the reasons for its appearance. It was "intended to carry out an idea that has long been realised by other daily newspapers. *The Times* publishes on alternate days, under the title of *The Evening Mail*, a paper containing the substance of the news and leaders that have appeared in its daily issues, and it has a large country circulation. The New York and Californian papers do the same, some of them publishing twice and thrice a week, in addition to their weekly and daily issues. Repeated applications have been made to us for a weekly edition of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, and to these we now accede."

That was the idea behind the genesis of the MAIL—that it should be a sort of weekly resumé or echo of the HERALD, issued on Fridays, in time for the country mails, which were then generally weekly. Curiously enough, no mention of the birth of the promising infant appears to have been made in the columns of its elder brother. So far as that paper was concerned, THE SYDNEY MAIL arrived unsung, and, literally, unheralded.

Its birth was at a time when some very remarkable improvements in printing machinery had recently become features of the HERALD equipment. In January, 1860, a new Richard Hoe press, with its six cylinders against which the type formes revolved, commenced printing the HERALD, slow-moving flat-bed machines having been superseded. The MAIL was rapidly printed on this new press, which had a capacity of about 12,000 sheets an hour (printed on one side only), and it therefore began its life with steam power printing. The paper used was similar to that of the HERALD.

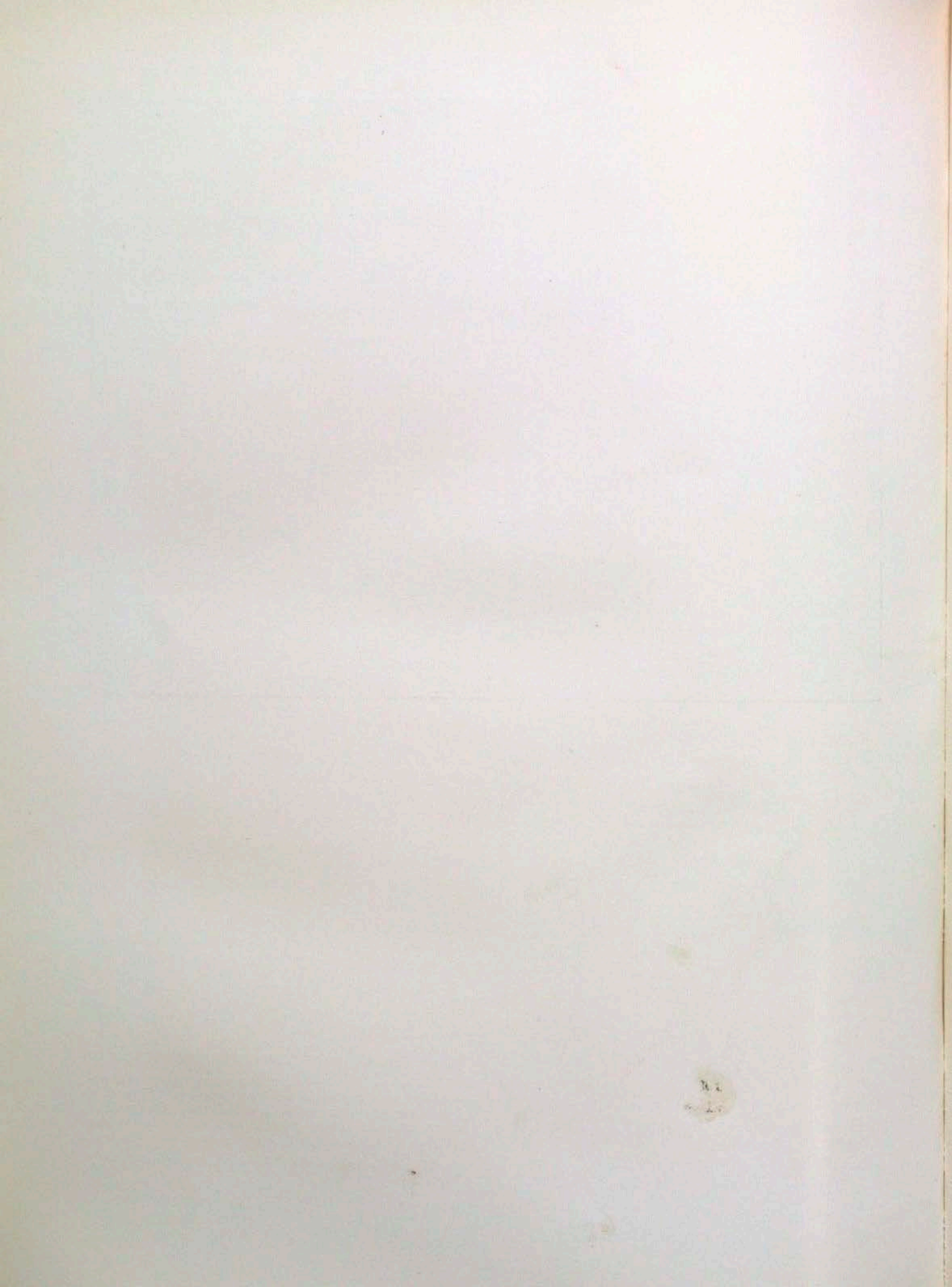
Newspapers of the period were heavy and stolid in appearance. There is no resemblance between the MAIL of to-day and the MAIL of 1860. The editors were economical of space to a degree. Headings in the MAIL, as in other journals, were almost rigidly confined to a single line, and no space of white was allowed to relieve the eye or help the reading, while some of the type was minute. In the first issues there was no advertising beyond a little that was indistinguishable from the ordinary reading matter in appearance. There were no illustrations of any kind. The first issue was of 1,000 copies; but by the end of the year the circulation had grown to 5,000.



PALM BEACH TO BARRENJOEY, N.S.W.

An oil painting by Robert Johnson, reproduced as a supplement to the Sydney Mail Annual of 1929. The artist, in his presentation of this beautiful scene, showing Palm Beach, the Barrenjoey Head, Lion Island and Broken Bay (on the left), has finely captured its vivid atmosphere.

[Original in the possession of Mr. N. A. Thomson, of Sydney.]



A change then took place and the form of the paper was altered from that of the weekly news summary of the *HERALD* to something with more of the appearance of an independent journal. The advertisements were increasing, and the front page was given up to them—all in single column. Auction sales were the most frequent; and among the first advertisers were Richardson & Wrench and Mort & Company.

In 1862 a modest announcement stated that the circulation was between 6,000 and 7,000, and that, next to the *HERALD*, the *MAIL* was the largest newspaper in the Colony. By the end of that year the circulation was over 8,000, the paper became twelve pages in place of eight, and the price was increased to fourpence. A leader on January 3rd, 1863, said: "We know of no instance of similar success in the history of colonial journalism."

The *MAIL* of those years is a wonderfully interesting journal. While apparently the editorial view was that nothing exceeded in importance the views expressed at great length in leaders—some of them two columns long and consisting of a single paragraph—there was plenty of full-blooded news. "Bushranging" was practically a standing heading, so many deeds of these desperadoes having to be recorded; and "Gold News" was another that appeared every week. While full vent was given to editorial opinion on public affairs, one can imagine that the "boiling-down" exercised in connection with the news from England and Europe must have been exasperating to those who were interested in what was happening "at Home."

By 1863 the paper was developing its new form rapidly. Special articles were written for it; there was less of the closely packed type; poetry was sprinkled through the pages, and in general the journal had a lighter appearance.

At the beginning of 1864 the circulation was 10,000, and, at the end of the year, 11,500. In the December of each year from this time on, a special issue was printed, containing stories and magazine articles. These special issues were the forerunners of the popular Christmas Numbers of the present time.

In 1866 the advertising had increased considerably, among the advertisers being the London and Liverpool and Globe Insurance Co., Alcock & Co. (billiard table makers), F. Lassetter, and Elvy & Co. (music warehouse). "Gold News" became "Gold Mining"—the "diggings" having developed reef mining; but there was less bushranging news. In 1867 and 1868 sections devoted respectively to farming and pastoral interests and sporting were permanently established.

By the end of the decade, the *MAIL* had changed into something between the daily newspaper and the modern weekly magazine. Liberality in the matter of headings and larger type was apparent, and the long, solid leaders, in which the writers soared to flights of rhetoric, had given away to a brighter and crisper style which recognised that brevity had its virtues in literature. Its contents at the period still consisted mainly of the news of the week; but there was a strange indifference to "display," as compared with a newspaper of to-day. For instance, while the Maori War was proceeding, no effort was made to direct special attention to it by unusual type or headings; and after the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, the news of that campaign was simply inserted under the heading, "Arrival of the Mail," or "Summary of News by the Mail Steamer *via* Suez." The information was there to be read—information in plenty; but the gist of it was not obtainable, as it would be to-day, by a glance at the headings. Yet when the Mayor of Sydney gave a fancy dress ball, it was chronicled in four columns of type, a line being allowed for each name and the costume worn.

The *MAIL* illustrating, which led up to the present pictorial journal, dates from 1871. Prior to that, no pictures of any kind had appeared in its pages, beyond one or

two woodcuts in the advertising columns. After 1870 the MAIL was enlarged from sixteen pages to thirty-two, and it covered a considerable number of topics. On January 7th, 1871, a full-page portrait of Queen Victoria was given as a loose supplement; and thereafter the supplements were frequent, being, in the main, woodcuts or lithographs. The MAIL pages were then reduced in size to a measurement slightly larger than they are now; and loose supplements were still given from time to time.

One local scene which appeared at an early date (in contradistinction to the obviously "imported" subjects of the supplements) was a view of the Zig Zag railway, in the Blue Mountains, from a drawing by Montague Scott, who appears to have been the first artist employed by the proprietors.

Early in the seventies the MAIL engaged a small staff of engravers. The wood-engraving process in those days was primitive and laborious, the drawing being made in reverse on the wood block itself, the lines being cut out with fine graving tools of varying sizes. The first actual illustration appeared in the pages of the paper itself on July 1, 1871, in the form of a picture of a prize bull in the agricultural section; and this was the first of a series of similar subjects. During the year views and pictures of a general character were printed, the biggest effort being a double-page woodcut of the battery at Middle Head, drawn by Montague Scott.

This was the woodcut era. No more suitable method of pictorial illustrating had been devised, and the art reached a high pitch before it was displaced by the photographic process. The MAIL proceeded slowly with the adoption of illustrations, the pictures being mainly concerned with matters of utility, such as agriculture. Occasionally an illustration of a new building in the city would appear, and there were also the lithographed supplements. The first portrait printed (apart from the supplements) was that of Anthony Trollope, who was then on a visit to Australia. It appeared on October 14th, 1871. At about this time women's interests were given some space, and among the earlier woodcut illustrations were pictures of the fashions of the day.

The first illustration showing an actual event of the week appeared in 1872, when the Prince of Wales Theatre, in Brougham Place, was burned down. More and more pictures appeared thereafter, and the feminine section of the community must have been pleased, and perhaps flattered, at the space devoted to depicting the latest fashions, both in clothes and hairdressing. Their magnificence, as indicated by the voluminous amount of the finery they carried, is impressive.

The serial stories that were being published during 1873 and later were instrumental in producing some good woodcuts, which came from England and were of superior quality to those done locally. A series of sketches of the country towns appeared; and foreign news was also well illustrated. There were, for instance, pictures of the visit of the Shah of Persia to England in 1873 and the arrival of the body of Livingstone in England, from Africa, in 1874. Drawings in December, 1874, showed the hustings erected in Hyde Park, Sydney, for the Parliamentary elections, and a fire at Booth & Taylor's sawmills at Balmain; while two ambitious efforts in 1875 were the Anniversary Day Regatta, and the Commemoration ceremony in the Hall of the Sydney University.

In 1876 the price of the MAIL was raised to sixpence. The illustrations were printed on some additional pages attached to the main portion of the journal, as an illustrated supplement; and in that form they appeared for some time, although in 1876 their character was varied considerably, many woodcuts of the streets of Sydney, the races, and scenic views being given.

As the supplement called for superior printing, the flat-bed cylinder presses of the English Wharfedale type were used for that section. The letterpress section was printed on the new Hoe rotary web perfecting press, which arrived in 1875. Movable type formes were no longer used on the printing press as formerly; the stereotype plate had displaced that ancient system, and the formes were duplicated by means of *papier-maché* matrices, the *papier-mâché* being placed over the type forme and heavy pressure applied in an extremely powerful press. Being flexible, it could be made to conform with the curve of the cylinder, so that when molten metal was poured on it a curved printing plate was obtained, which, after being trimmed, was attached to the cylinder of the rotary printing machine. The paper, instead of being fed into the press by hand, sheet by sheet, was in a roll, and ran continuously into it, being printed on both sides in one operation. The machine cut it into separate sheets, each of which contained eight pages. The letterpress section and the illustrated supplement were then put together by hand. They were passed through another machine and folded by it, but were not wire stapled.

In 1877, a new era appears to have set in. The old crudities and rough sketches that had distinguished the illustrations disappeared, and some very fine work was in evidence. The Russo-Turkish War was in progress, and the drawings and reproduction in woodcuts were excellently done. In 1878, the "Illustrated Supplement" was dropped and the pictures were spread over the pages of the journal itself (as is done to-day), the local artists rising finely to the occasion when special events called. The capture of Captain Moonlight, the celebrated bushranger, was fully recorded in 1879, together with a history of bushranging generally and a number of pictures illustrating the deeds of the men who had won notoriety in its practice. The history and capture of the Kelly Gang in 1880 was similarly dealt with.

The eighties saw the MAIL a very different production as compared with former years. The "news" features became more subdued, in favour of stories, articles, essays, and illustrations. "The Meddler" was a page of light comment on topics of the day, humorously illustrated. Social news and gossip; a column or so of humorous paragraphs; reading matter for children; athletic sports; aquatics; English, intercolonial, and country news; music and the theatres; commerce; shipping; mining; and Church information; together with stories and special reading matter for the country people, made it a journal of great usefulness. The illustrating went ahead rapidly, and some notable events were depicted by the MAIL artists, such as the Hawthorn railway collision in Victoria, in December, 1882, when a great many people were injured; the intercolonial eight-oar race in 1883; the sinking of the steamer Austral in Sydney Harbour in 1882; the great fire that burned down the Garden Palace in the Botanic Gardens; Ivo Bligh's cricket team of 1882; the linking up of the Sydney-Melbourne railways at Albury; the laying of the foundation stone of the City Hall in 1883, the ceremony held at the death of Archbishop Vaughan in 1883; the enthronement of Bishop Barry in the following year; the "freeing" of Pyrmont Bridge, Sydney, in 1884; the opening of the railway to Bourke in 1885; and so on. The Christmas Number of that year was a special effort, with a coloured lithograph supplement, and at about the same time the paper was given a coloured cover. Agriculture and land matters became of greater importance and were given increased space.

In 1885, the most important topic was the Sudan War, and the MAIL dealt with the subject at some length, printing full-page drawings by Mr. Julian Ashton of scenes at the Victoria Barracks and Circular Quay.

Improvements in the machinery equipment continued. In 1882, an improved Hoe rotary press was installed which also folded the papers by means of an automatic attachment, thus avoiding the necessity of a separate operation. The illustrated section, however, still came from the Wharfedale flat-bed presses, into which the sheets were fed by hand. In 1886, another improved Hoe rotary web press with automatic folder was installed. It was specially made to print the MAIL and THE ECHO. The sections of the MAIL were now joined and wire stapled in hand-operated, steam-driven stitching machines.

A further advance in the quality of the illustrations is noticeable in 1886. The proprietors in that year sent to the well-known London engraving house of Dalziel Bros., the Camden Press, for a portrait specialist; and Mr. Frank Godart came out. He took charge of the art department and obtained some new men, one of whom, named Hoddle, had been a pupil of Lassell, a famous London engraver. Another, named Wallace, came from Melbourne, while an American, named Brockway, was also engaged, his being the art of the more modern school. The proprietors also brought from England, about this time, an artist named Norman Hardy, whose work for a long time graced the MAIL's pages.

When Godart arrived he found that the method in use was the old one of drawing on the block and engraving in the ordinary way. This had in England been replaced by the more satisfactory process of photographing the subject and transferring the film from the wet plate to the wood by a process which facilitated the work of the graving tool. Thus the actual photograph was reproduced and there was much less room for complaint than was the case previously. The process subsequently came into general use for all kinds of work, and brought about a great improvement in the appearances of the pages of the journal. The "Illustrated Supplement" section was also revived; and comprised, at times, thirty-two pages of illustrations and reading matter on a finely surfaced paper.

At this time, there was, too, a distinct advance in the literary work. The fiction was of the highest class, the stories being by the most popular authors of the time, whose Australian rights had been obtained by the proprietors. Artists and expert engravers of England were represented in the illustrations that accompanied the stories, as well as in genre pictures, landscapes and notable events, including war pictures. Rolf Boldrewood's celebrated "Robbery Under Arms" first appeared in the MAIL, which published it as a serial in 1882.

The Centenary of New South Wales in 1888 was instrumental in producing an especially valuable collection of drawings and pictures extending over several issues; and, in particular, it included a large supplement by A. H. Fullwood, the Australian artist, showing a view of Sydney as from a balloon. This was a notable specimen of the art of the engraver. It was then the practice, when a large block was being made, to cut it up into sections after the drawing had been made on the wood or transferred thereto, and to distribute the work to a number of engravers. Eventually these sections were assembled and bolted together for printing. Of this view of Sydney there were 112 sections, the whole forming a block 39 inches in width by 23 inches deep. The view, which is reproduced on page 284, showed the whole of the city to the ocean, and the tooling was beautiful in its delicacy. It was at that time the largest wood engraving that had ever been produced in any newspaper in Australia, and the block is still preserved in the archives of the office. The celebrations in commemoration of the Centenary were continued in subsequent issues, with similar views of the capitals of the Colonies. The

opening of the Melbourne International Exhibition in Melbourne was another of the features of 1888 that produced superior art work.

It was towards the end of this year that what might be called the great revolution in newspaper illustrating had its beginning in the MAIL. In October of that year appeared the first print of what is now known as the half-tone photographic process. It was of a group of Parsee cricketers who had visited England, and was without question a reproduction of a photograph, devoid of any work with the engraving instrument. A second picture in the same way was of a scene in Broken Hill, after a fire. It makes a blurred picture in the old files, comparing very poorly with the illustrations of the present times. But there it was—a photograph! On the paper of superior quality now used for the pictures, the old method of placing them all together in an illustrated section having been again reverted to, the woodcuts were showing to great advantage, some really beautiful pictures being turned out, and, altogether, the weekly had reached a very high standard in that respect.

In 1888, a Davis two-feeder pictorial printing machine was installed, and steam power was largely superseded by the more flexible and independent internal combustion engine driven by gas. Type-setting was now becoming mechanised, hand-setting diminishing, owing to the advance of machines that *automatically* set the ready-made type. First came the Hattersley type-setting and type-replacing machines (1895); then followed the Monoline (1902), and finally the wonderful Mergenthaler Linotype machine, which set the type and cast afresh each line. The last-named came into use in 1903, and completely revolutionised the compositor's craft.

In 1889, appeared what was described as "Instantaneous photography applied to animals in motion." It consisted of two pictures of horses jumping hurdles at the Clarence River Jockey Club meeting of that year, the photograph being transferred to the wood and engraved. The letterpress states that the photo. was taken by Mr. Otto Fuchs, a watchmaker of Grafton, who had had no previous knowledge of photography, but had been experimenting. The MAIL suggested that as there were many disputes about racing finishes, the time was at hand for a settlement of such troubles by the application of the camera.

The woodcuts, however, still continued to be the main illustrating medium. The hand of the black and white artist was still favoured, and his and the engravers' skill had been gaining strength. Many fine pictures were given. In the Christmas Number (or "Christmas Supplement," as it was entitled) "Cynic Fortune," a story by David Christie Murray, formed the chief attraction. It appeared with illustrations by R. Caton Woodville, the famous London artist, then at the height of his fame and ability.

Consequent upon these developments, the nineties began as a new era. The MAIL had, in the previous ten years, gone far towards the weekly magazine form, though, for the benefit of its country readers and the farming and pastoral interests generally, the summarising of the news of the week was still continued. But, as communications and transport quickened, the daily newspapers of Sydney were more easily obtainable, and there was consequently not the necessity for filling the pages with records of events and cable news to the same extent as before. Current events were treated by commentators; independent criticism of music, books, and art appeared, together with articles and essays, and the turf was given greater space. In 1891, a column of comment, under the heading "N'importe," was begun; and it continued for many years as a popular feature. Some of the woodcuts in that year were works of the finest quality. Among them may be particularly mentioned the arrival of the Australian auxiliary squadron (full page, September 12), Sarah Bernhardt in Sydney (July 11), the Emperor of Ger-

many in England (September 26), Rudyard Kipling, a portrait taken when the famous novelist was in Sydney (November 21), and the Federal Convention (a double page, March 14).

The final change from woodcuts to process work, however, was drawing near. In July, 1891, a number of half-tone reproductions of pictures at the Royal Academy were given, and at the end of the year the finishes of two races at Randwick were printed "from instantaneous photographs."

The new era had begun. Progress demanded that the paper should take the exact and rapid method, and the demand could not be gainsaid. There was, however, a certain amount of enjoyment conveyed to the artistic by the woodcuts, with their vivid "colour" and sensitive texture; and in this respect the new illustrating system did not show up favourably. The two racing pictures, for instance, were flat and dull; but as against the wood engravings they had the claim of actual representation; and when, on February 6th, the title page of the illustrated section contained a portrait group well printed by the new method, there could have been no doubt about its success.

When the half-tone reproductions were appearing in the English and American newspapers and magazines, there had naturally been much curiosity among local illustrators, and a considerable amount of experimenting went on in the endeavour to discover the secret. Among the investigators was Mr. William MacLeod, an artist whose drawings had at one time been plentiful in the *MAIL*, but who was now on the *Sydney Bulletin*. He and Mr. A. A. Lawson, who was then in charge of the lithographic department of a firm of printers, S. T. Leigh & Co., were enthusiastic experimenters.

The results came gradually. In 1888, the principal firm in Sydney that had taken up the new process was the Electric Photo. Engraving Co., and wash drawings, which had been prepared for the wood-engravers, were given by the *MAIL* to this company to deal with. The first sample of its work was an illustration to a story, "The Strange Adventures of a Houseboat," by William Black, on January 21st of that year. It was flat and poor, and no doubt the wood engravers felt little perturbation over it; but it cost much less than wood engraving, and that was an advantage that could not be overlooked. In June of the same year, a portrait was produced, that of "J. Jones, the Hand-ball Champion." It was timidly put forward, but it was unmistakably a photograph.

The new process was for a while uneven and unsatisfactory, and for a few years longer the wood engraver held gamely to his graving tool. But by 1894 it must have become apparent to him that his hour was at hand. The new process had been improving rapidly, and at the end of this year it was almost entirely adopted; and so, at a period when the wood engravings in the *MAIL* were probably at their best, they were forced out of existence by the undefeatable force of mechanical development.

In 1894, then, all the problems of the new method had been overcome and the slow hand engraving was superseded. Wood engravers were paid up to £7 for a full-page engraving. The engravers offered to do the illustrating at the same cost as that of the process engraving, but the rapidity of production associated with the new method was against them. For seven years, from 1894, the illustrating plates in line, wash-drawings, and photographs were made by the Electric Photo. Engraving Company. The printing improved rapidly, and the *MAIL* became as much a pictorial as a reading journal with the new facilities. Superfine paper was used, and the standard of printing was fully equal to the English and American journals of the day.

In 1902, a process and photographic department was established in the *MAIL* office itself, under the charge of Mr. H. B. Bell. Later, Mr. Blackburn joined the staff as photographer, but when the *MAIL* acquired the services of the late Mr. George Bell, a

quality of press photography was established with set the standard for Australia. Bell's photography was something new in journalistic illustrating for this part of the world, and he was notable for his artistry, his initiative, and his resource. Twelve years later, he was joined by Mr. H. H. Fishwick, who is still on the staff, and has given to the MAIL some of the most striking and picturesque camera pictures that have ever appeared in the Press of Australia. Mr. Fishwick has been instrumental in introducing to camera artists the telescopic lens, which enables quick-action photographs to be taken from a distance. Distance lenses had been previously in use, but it was the new instrument which, when made to the MAIL's specifications by the optical firm of Ross Ltd., of London, made possible the cricketing and racing pictures of the present newspaper illustrating. When the MAIL's cricket photographs of the English visit of 1921 were sent to England, Ross, Ltd., the well-known British makers of optical instruments, etc., wrote that they had created a sensation among the newspaper and camera men of England.

From 1894, the illustrations progressed on the new system, the photographs being varied by black-and-white work, at which artists were employed—in particular on humorous sketches.

At the opening of the year 1897, the proprietors announced that they intended sparing no expense in making the MAIL the "representative Australasian journal," and the pictorial section was extensively provided with photographs on topics of every kind. Notable artists were engaged to supply contributions, among them the late George Lambert, A.R.A.

On the outbreak of the Boer War, Mr. A. B. Paterson ("Banjo") left as the MAIL's special correspondent and photographer, and a series of interesting accounts of the engagements came from his pen, with photographs and rough sketches that were redrawn in Sydney for reproduction. These formed a notable contribution to the history of the war in regard to the contingents that went from this part of the world, since they included sketches taken at Spion Kop, Bloemfontein, Modder Glen, and other places prominent in the fighting.

The inauguration of the Commonwealth was the subject of numerous illustrations, the special issue of January 1st, 1901, containing pictures of the capitals of all the States. The great event was dealt with in various issues for months, and when, later, the site for the Federal Capital was being discussed and selected, the MAIL, as a contribution to the task, published numerous photographs of districts and localities under consideration.

Many notable examples of the photographic, artistic, and printing art appeared in the ensuing years, among which may be mentioned, as outstanding in the matter of enterprise and special treatment: The destruction of Her Majesty's Theatre, Sydney, by fire (1902); the Coronation of King Edward VII. (June and July issues, 1902); the Indian Durbar of 1903; pictures of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5; the San Francisco earthquake of 1906; the American Fleet visit of 1908; Kitchener's visit to Australia in 1909-10; the death of King Edward VII. in 1910; the Coronation of King George V. in 1911; and Amundsen's South Pole discoveries in 1912.

One particular branch of the MAIL illustrating that has made it notable is the photography of champion stud sheep. The pictures have always caused great interest throughout the country generally on account of the very large prices at which the animals changed hands, but the MAIL has been especially popular with sheep breeders on account of the perfect representations given.

Many prominent Australian artists contributed to the illustrations during the decade following the year 1900. The special Christmas issues saw gathered in their pages the work of poets, story writers and black-and-white draftsmen in brilliant array;

and the publication of *THE SYDNEY MAIL* Annual in October, year by year, gave further scope for the presentation of some of the best work that could be produced in the Commonwealth. The artists included Julian Ashton, Percy F. S. Spence, Fred Leist, J. S. Watkins, C. H. Hunt, A. Dattilo Rubbo, Douglas Fry, A. Collingridge, George Collingridge, Alice Musket, Sid. Long, D. H. Souter, W. Lister Lister, W. R. Yetts, J. Muir Auld, Norman Carter, Florence Rodway, S. Ure Smith, Ida Rentoul, Martin Stainforth, and J. E. Ward.

In the last two decades, with the *MAIL* in its present form, a great many other prominent artists have contributed to its pages and to the long series of colour drawings that have been given on the covers. Among the artists may be mentioned Scaccia Scarafoni, whose drawings attracted great attention during the war; G. K. Townshend, W. H. Sheppard, Frank Whitmore, Thos. Friedensen, Neville W. Cayley, Edgar A. Hollo-way, R. G. Russom and Unk White.

The paper has drawn countless distinguished writers as contributors and otherwise. In the earlier years, the works of many English novelists of note were to be read in its columns, the enterprise of its proprietors extending to the purchase of the Australian copyright, and the stories being accompanied by splendid examples of famous black-and-white illustrators, such as R. Caton Woodville, Forestier, Bernard Partridge, F. H. Hardy, Seymour Lucas, and Dudley Hardy.

The list of the authors of the *MAIL* serials is an interesting one, as many of them are among the immortals. These serials were printed in the *MAIL* almost from the outset. In 1863, began "Mistress and Maid," which was given as "by the author of 'John Halifax, Gentleman,'" that being the general designation then given to any work by the author—Mrs. Craik (or, as she is, perhaps, better known, Miss Mulock), who was in the front rank of the women novelists of her time. Thomas Hardy's "A Laodicean," first published in 1881, made its appearance in the *MAIL* of that year, the Australian rights having been purchased. "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" was also secured for Australia by the *MAIL*. It was printed under the title, "A Daughter of the D'Urbervilles," in 1891. Miss Braddon's "Publicans and Sinners" was published in 1873; George MacDonald's "St. Michael and St. George" in 1875; Rider Haggard's "She" in 1887, and his "Montezuma's Daughter" in 1893.

The enterprise of the proprietors was not confined to fiction. One of the publications of great interest at the time consisted of "The Journals of Major-General Gordon at Khartoum." This appeared in the *MAIL* in 1885, and another interesting purchase, Colonel Burnaby's "On Horseback Through Asia Minor," appeared in 1877. Space will not allow of more than the mere mention of the following names, whose work also appeared from time to time in the columns of the *MAIL*: Wilkie Collins, B. L. Farjeon, Charles Reade, Victor Hugo, Anthony Trollope, W. S. Gilbert, Mrs. Oliphant, Walter Besant, Justin McCarthy, James Payn, William Black, Grant Allen, Clark Russell, John Strange Winter, S. Baring-Gould, Jerome K. Jerome, Maarten Maartens, Frankfort Moore, S. R. Crockett, W. Dean Howells, Fergus Hume, Bret Harte, Israel Zangwill, Gilbert Parker, E. F. Benson, Guy Boothby, "Carmen Sylva" (Queen of Rumania), H. G. Wells, Cutcliffe Hyne, Henry Seton Merriman, Eden Phillpotts, Stanley Weyman, Max Pemberton, Philip Gibbs, W. E. Norris, Frank Bullen, Robert Hichens, Rafael Sabatini, Charles Garvice, Mary Gaunt, Marion Crawford, Alice Grant Rosman, and Marjorie Bowen.

The stories of these authors extended over the years of the *MAIL*'s life—practically from the commencement to the time of the war, when their publication ceased except for occasional revivals. Many Australian writers also contributed to its pages, for the



The "Sydney Mail" furnishes a budget of illustrations of the week's events, of which this spirited photograph is a good specimen.



A reproduction of the cover drawing of the "Mail" on the occasion of the commemoration in July, 1930, of its 70th birthday.



J. P. DOWLING
1898-1905



E. BURTON
1885-1898

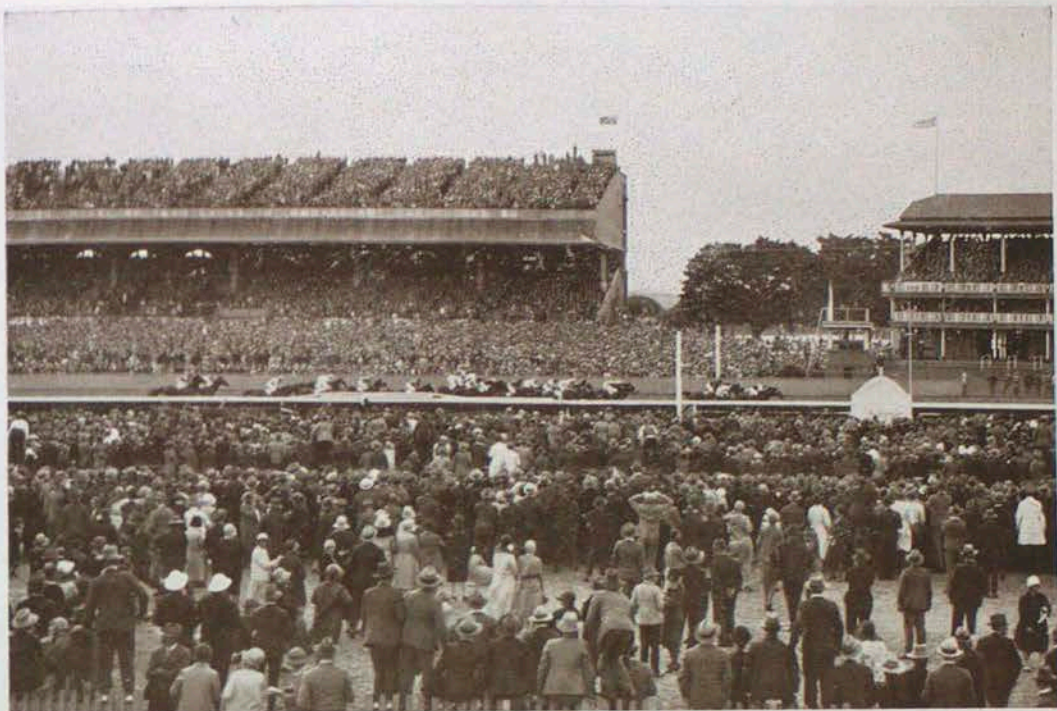


W. R. CHARLTON
1905- —

THREE EDITORS OF THE "SYDNEY MAIL."



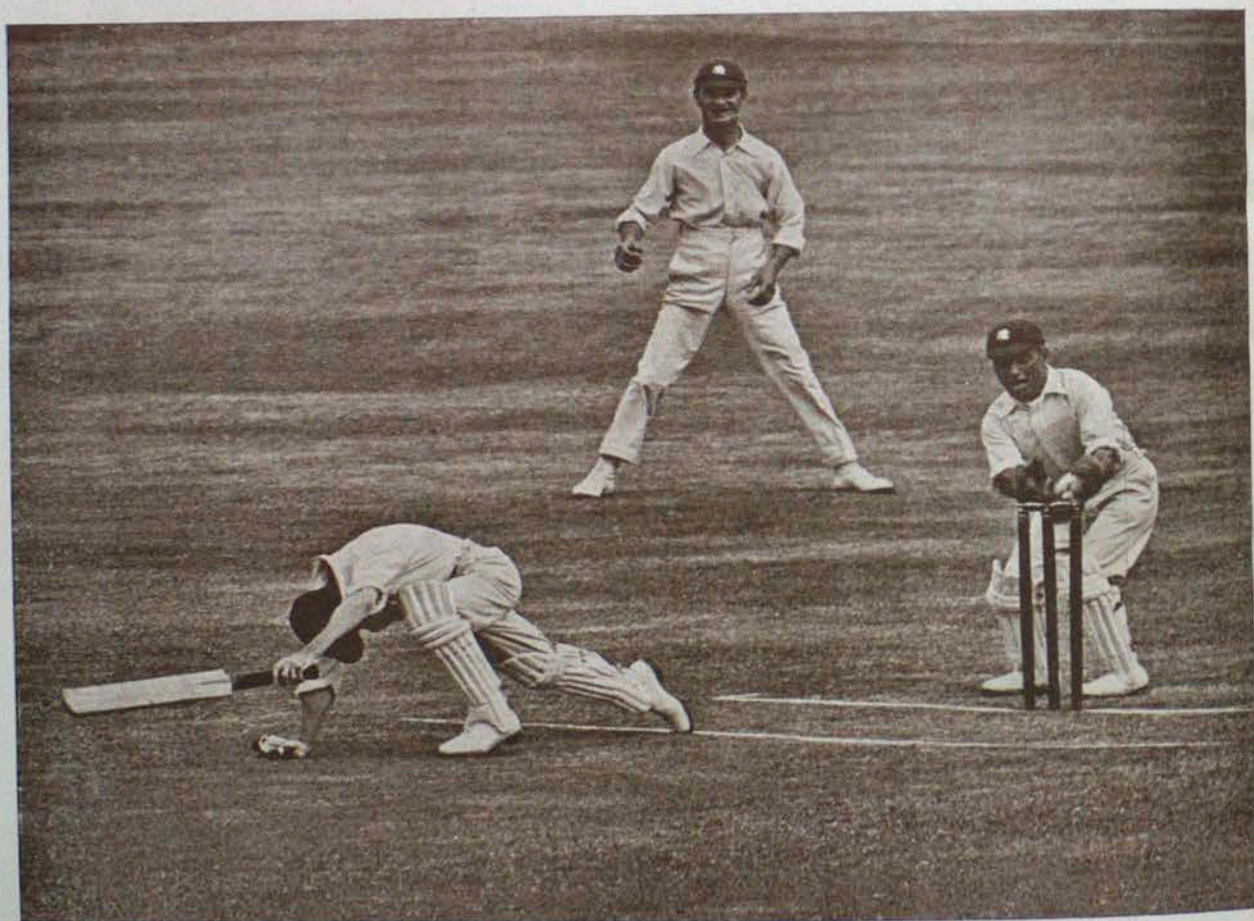
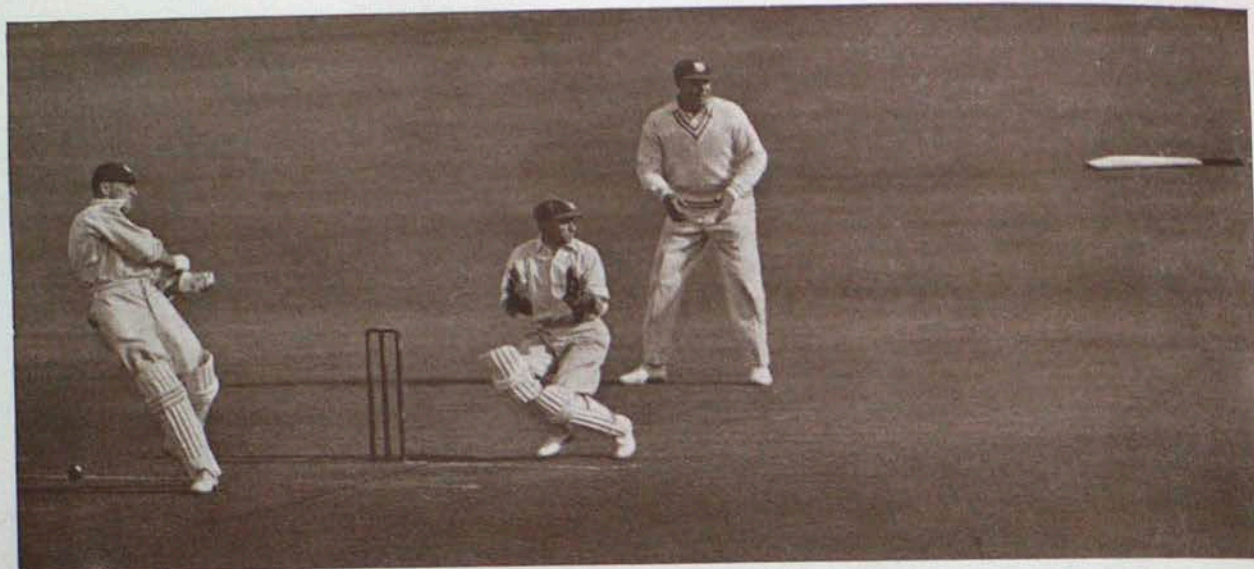
The Australian Horse and New South Wales Lancers rushing a party of Boers caught looting a train near Porter's Hill, on the 2nd January, 1900. Drawn by A. Collingridge from photographs and sketches supplied by A. B. Paterson, the Herald-Mail special correspondent at the front.



Interest in the "Sport of Kings" is extraordinarily keen in Sydney, and all roads lead to the Randwick Racecourse during the Spring Carnival. Scene at the finish of the Epsom Handicap on October 4, 1930.



A fine racing picture from the Sydney Mail, showing the field in one of the big events bunched at the bend as the horses come thundering into the straight.



Two of the Sydney Mail's cricket snapshots, taken at the Sydney Cricket Ground at a distance of 100 yards. In the top picture Hammond, when swinging at a leg ball, loses his bat. Oldfield and Gregory are the other two players. All three are watching the bat, while the ball, after hitting Hammond, falls, unnoticed, on the pitch. (England v. N.S. Wales, 10.11.28.)

The lower picture shows Taylor stumped by Strudwick. The batsman's toe is just outside the crease and the offside bail has been moved perceptibly by the wicketkeeper. Taylor was given out and the decision was questioned. The photograph shows its correctness. (5th Test, 2.3.25.)

proprietors never swerved from the policy of obtaining the finest that was available in home production. In 1878, a prize of £100 was offered for the best story to be written by an Australian resident. It was won by Mr. N. Walter Swan, with a story entitled "Luke Miver's Harvest."

With the new century came great improvements in machinery. In 1900, a Cottrell flat-bed cylinder perfecting printing press was installed, with a Harrild improved folding machine, which served to facilitate the production of the fine art supplements. By 1906, further equipment became necessary, and three Hoe Fine Art Stop-Cylinder Presses were imported. Electricity came into use in the office in 1902.

An important step was taken in 1912, when the proprietors installed, for the printing of the MAIL, one of the most modern rotary printing machines, a Hoe Fine Art Rotary Web Press. With this was effected a complete change in the style of the paper, and it became the MAIL of to-day.

The green cover that had been familiar for many years was discarded for the coloured magazine cover which it still wears; the summarised news of the week that had been given from the beginning went also, and the whole character of the journal was changed.

The present machine is 33½ feet long, 25 feet wide, and over 12 feet high, and weighs 65 tons. It comprises some 70,000 separate component parts. Electricity drives it through the agency of six individual motors, which are automatically controlled from push-button stations and similar contrivances. It consists of three independent, though co-ordinating, printing units, each capable of printing 32 pages—in combination a 96-page magazine.

The machine contains a pair of automatic cutting and folding machines, and three automatic, continuous-sheet feeders which inset the coloured cover and if so desired two distinct coloured supplements. By such means, the loose coloured covers and supplements are inserted and assembled with the other sections. The combined pages are then stitched together with wire staples and folded, and then deposited on travelling delivery belts, which convey the now completely printed and assembled magazines toward the delivery tables and the triple-knived trimming machine, which imparts the finishing touch by cutting away the three rough edges. These issue from the printing machine at the rate of 4,000 in the hour, and in bundles of 25 copies, are passed through the triple-knived "guillotine," then transported, by electric elevator, to the publishing department on the ground floor.

The MAIL magazine press is the largest machine of its kind in the Southern Hemisphere. It prints on three webs of paper—unwound from three separate rolls—in two colours, and in black, or monotone, on both sides of the sheets, in one continuous operation from nickelled stereotype plates. The Dalziel stereotyping process, introduced with the new printing machine, was an entirely new departure, especially created to comply with the high standard of pictorial reproduction that characterised the MAIL illustrations when produced on flat-bed cylinder presses using the original half-tone illustration plates and printing directly from them. Therein lay a problem. The ordinary *papier-mâché* matrix, though well suited for reproducing stereoplates used in high-speed newspaper production, was incapable of reproducing satisfactory casts for an illustrated journal. The disadvantage was overcome by the Dalziel process, in which a chemically prepared plaster of Paris layer was sandwiched between two layers of tissue paper. This resulted in a mould giving a perfect cast of a page of type and amenable to the curve of the cylinder upon which the casting is to be placed. The surface is hardened with a nickel coat electrically deposited on it in a bath. The Dalziel

process was exclusively used for many years in printing the MAIL, but it has been since largely superseded by another method—utilising a standardised dry mould—which completes the work in a fraction of the time formerly required.

Although the flat-bed cylinder printing machines of other days long ago ceased to serve the MAIL, their places have been filled by modern Scott and Miehle two-revolution cylinder presses, which produce, from time to time, the popular multi-coloured supplements and special covers for the MAIL.

With the war came a change in the character of the journal. For a paper of the character of the MAIL, there was a call of a special kind. While the news filled the daily Press, the weekly was there to supply the public with pictorial records. It was the paper's great opportunity. The proprietors converted it almost at once into a wholly pictorial journal. An immense amount of material was obtained relating to the armies in the field. Staff photographers were sent all over the country. They kept up a supply of pictures of the training camps and other phases of home activities; and from the fighting fronts came hundreds of photographs by every mail. So great became the demand for the paper that the circulation commenced to rise rapidly, until it reached 120,000, a figure never before attained by any Australian weekly. The quality of the war pictures and the wonderful variety created such great interest that the MAIL became a truly national journal.

In addition to the pictorial records of the war itself, the resources of the paper were thrown into every movement at home, political and patriotic; and every call, whether in the matter of patriotism or charity, had the strength of the MAIL behind it. The paper in those years began to fulfil the destiny marked out for it as a force in Australian journalism, for never had the power of pictorial illustration been so strongly emphasised.

The war over, the MAIL launched out on a new sphere of activity, that of assisting in the repatriation of the returning men; of continuing the Red Cross work, which it had especially supported during the conflict; of helping the work of the Voluntary Workers' Association, and of endeavouring to solve the many other problems that presented themselves, particularly that of getting the returned soldiers on the land. The war period was a remarkable chapter in the history of the MAIL; the after-war period formed another equally notable. The paper became practically what it is to-day in its general policy of recording pictorially all notable events, with informative and entertaining magazine articles on every current subject of consequence.

It did not, of course, escape the problems that beset journalistic enterprise all over the world at this period. It encountered many difficulties in association with the censorship; and the shortage of printing paper, with the tremendous increase in cost which that shortage effected, was the cause of much grave consideration. At the beginning of 1920, the price, which had been raised to fourpence during the war, became sixpence; but the number of pages was increased and new features were added.

The ten years from 1920 to the present time have seen the MAIL at its best, the pictorial features being strengthened with the aid of new equipment, and every means of facilitating their work has been placed at the disposal of its staff of photographers. During that period, aerial photography has brought a new aspect to the use of the camera, and some of the most striking photographs taken from aeroplanes have been printed. Historical events, such as the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1920, the visit of the British Squadron in 1924, Alan Cobham's arrival by aeroplane from Europe in 1926, the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York in 1927, the Eucharistic Congress of 1928, were re-

corded with illustrations in a way that had never before been attempted in this part of the world.

An immense supply of the finest photographs the camera can produce come to the MAIL from overseas, and every major happening in any part of the world is depicted in due course. Running records of most great local doings, such as the construction of the Federal Capital and the building of Sydney Harbour Bridge, are to be found in the files, and there are few of Australia's scenic beauties that have not been portrayed in the pages of the paper. The annual publications devoted to the Royal Agricultural Show in Sydney, THE SYDNEY MAIL Annual, published each October, and the Christmas special numbers, are issues of distinction that never fail to be in demand to the full capacity of the printing presses.

The literary matter has been strengthened by the engagement of the best writers available in all departments and the gathering of contributions and special articles from men and women distinguished in various directions. "Milroy" (Tom Willis) was identified with the MAIL (contemporaneously with "Galtee More"—Tom Power) for a long time, but he was probably at his best in the years just before his death in 1923, with his breezy accounts of racing and his wonderful knowledge of horses that made the MAIL renowned throughout Australia in sporting circles. "Napier Lion" (the late Captain Andrew Lang) as a writer on motoring was unique; and this subject he later combined with aviation.

Literary, musical, and dramatic criticism has also received regular attention. Expert writers have also dealt with the various branches of sport; among them, Dr. L. O. S. Poidevin, the late Mr. Arthur Gregory, and Mr. M. A. Noble, whose articles on cricket have been distinctive features.

In poetry, prominent contributors have included Roderick Quinn, M. Forrest, Amy Mack, and E. S. Sorenson, while C. E. W. Bean, Commonwealth Historian of the War, is represented in his series of sketches of the outback, "Dreadnoughts of the Darling," afterwards published in book form.

Development of the pastoral and agricultural industries of Australia has been assisted by the MAIL to a far greater extent than is realised by the general public. One of the strongest forces in helping to bring the dairying to its present position was the continued investigation and collection of information by "Moira" (the late R. J. Guthrie), whose work in that regard was invaluable and extended back many years before the war. He went into the subject exhaustively, travelling through America and some of the butter-producing countries of Europe, and gave Australia the benefit of his experiences through the columns of the MAIL. Co-operative measures in marketing various products have been always strongly advocated by MAIL writers, and considerable credit is due to the paper for the organisation of the fruit and other industries. The importance of the land and its productive factors were never allowed to be lost sight of, and scientific information and research in connection with the soil and all that was concerned therewith have been kept constantly before the public in terms enabling their purport to be easily grasped and understood. The MAIL's most important service, however, in this connection, has been that which it has rendered to sheep breeding. The subject has been handled in a way not before seen in Australia, and the articles and photographs printed in continuous series after the war, have revealed what Australia is doing in the production of super types of merino sheep. The MAIL has gone down to bedrock, and stud breeders and wool growers have thereby received the most valuable assistance. In 1906, great interest was caused in the country by prizes offered by the paper for a farms competition, in which the camera played an important part.

The files of the MAIL in the office library present a moving picture of life and the development of the Commonwealth. New ideas, new inventions, new constructions have all been pictured there; and one can watch the changes taking place—the streets of the cities filling with horses and vehicles; the gradual appearance of motor cars; the fading away of the horses; the attempts of man to leave the earth and take to the air, the flights across the world, the war in the air—all these wonderful developments are fully presented in their order.

All the oddities of human predilections are recorded by its pictures, and in its files the pageants of the years pass before the reader. From the time when all vessels in the harbours of Australia carried yardarms on tapering masts, to the wonderful era when they shed everything and travelled under water, their developments can be followed in order. The MAIL's pages show the first X-ray photographs, the first "horseless carriage" and the first flying machines, the descendants of strange bicycles with wheels five feet in diameter. One finds pictures of the first talking machine, and the first transmission of pictures by wire and wireless explained and pictured among the scientific discoveries. When wireless broadcasting was introduced, a "Wireless" page introduced into the MAIL became a popular feature for some time. Not the least interesting of the evolutionary process is that of clothing. In nothing else are changes in modes so thoroughly shown as in the pages of an illustrated journal. One turns over the pages and watches the years roll on, and the story of costume, even in the comparatively short span of the MAIL's life, makes a wonderfully diversified panorama.

Who the first editors of the MAIL were is not certain, but the first on record, as installed with a definite appointment, was Mr. George Eld, who was Editor from 1870 to 1878, when he was succeeded by Mr. W. H. Traill, afterwards of the *Sydney Bulletin*. Mr. Traill was followed, in 1879, by Dr. F. W. Ward, who went to the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* in 1884, after having been Editor of the HERALD's afternoon paper THE ECHO. for about a year. The MAIL was Dr. Ward's first editorship. When Dr. Ward left the MAIL, his place was taken by Mr. W. Curnow, who afterwards became Editor of the HERALD. He remained with the MAIL until the end of 1882, and the next to take the chair was Mr. Edwin Burton, after whom came Mr. J. P. Dowling, formerly Agricultural Editor of the MAIL. He was in charge from 1898 until his death in 1905, when he was succeeded by the present Editor, Mr. W. R. Charlton.

THE AFTERNOON TELEGRAM.

Towards the end of the sixties, John Fairfax decided that the outlook for a daily evening paper was sufficiently bright to warrant his firm instituting such a venture. Accordingly, on the afternoon of Monday, the 3rd of January, 1870, THE AFTERNOON TELEGRAM made its first appearance. It consisted of four pages of six columns each, was priced at one penny, and the first number was issued "gratis." The aims and policy of the paper are set out briefly, but not too explicitly, in the leading article which appeared in the initial number. After pointing out the appropriateness of commencing its life with the New Year, and wishing its readers the compliments of the season, the journal thus justified its appearance:

We shall not trouble our readers with the enunciation of a long political creed, or with a declaration of those motives and objects with which it is sometimes the habit of newspaper projectors to torment the public. We hope to win favour and support by the faithful and honest discharge of the duties which fairly belong to our vocation. Our AFTERNOON TELEGRAM will contain information upon all points of general interest. Its opinions will be free and independent. Its

news will be tersely written. Its daily history of our colonial life will be as complete as that of the largest "daily," but it will be focussed to a size proportionate to our narrower limits. We think we see before us a course of usefulness, and we shall endeavour to pursue it with unflagging zeal.

The writer concluded with a sentence and a poetical tag which, in view of the subsequent brevity of the paper's own life, may well be regarded as prophetic:

We enter upon the year full of hope . . . but we cannot foresee the close, and we know that in all countries and stations of life

The smile and the tear, the song and the dirge,
Follow each other like surge upon surge.

It will be gathered from the wording of this article that THE AFTERNOON TELEGRAM did not follow the usual traditions of an evening paper, issuing from the same office as a morning daily, by confining its attention mainly to matters which had occurred subsequently to those already dealt with by that daily. On the contrary, it fully reported matters of interest, irrespective of the hour or date of their happening. The proceedings in Parliament, for instance, were given at considerable length—often, indeed, to the extent of a whole page. Shipping intelligence, law and weather reports, sporting notes, telegraphic news, both intercolonial and local—all these were as comprehensively dealt with as the limited space available for the purpose would allow. In addition, there was a column of "Town Talk"; another of "Topics of the Day," while the remaining columns—outside those required for advertisements—were devoted to items of general information, interesting extracts from the English papers, book notices—and an occasional "original poem." The first issue, indeed, contained one of these effusions bearing the grim and rather unfortunate title, "Thoughts on Suicide!"

That first issue contains two columns of advertisements; but for some reason the journal did not "catch on" as an advertising medium, and those two columns represented the maximum to which this important branch of the journal's activities ever attained. As a general rule, much less space than this was so utilised, and on many occasions the advertising matter did not exceed a half, or even a third, of a column. In such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the life of THE AFTERNOON TELEGRAM was not a lengthy one; and, despite the announcement in the issue of the 1st April that "the projectors of this penny paper" had reason to be satisfied with its "large and increasing circulation"; and that therefore its success enabled them to assure the public that its "large issue" warranted "the expectation of the TELEGRAM becoming a popular advertising medium," the journal came to a speedy end. It expired quietly with the issue of the 30th April—No. 101—without giving any reason for its demise, or, indeed, offering the slightest hint that such a fatality was about to occur. THE AFTERNOON TELEGRAM, in fact, having decided to give up the ghost, did so in a manner that, while perhaps exasperating to the historian in its lack of information, was certainly commendable for its restraint.

THE ECHO.

Although THE AFTERNOON TELEGRAM had ceased publication in 1870, a few years later it became evident to the proprietors of the HERALD that, not only was there an opening in the city for another evening paper to compete with *The Evening News*, but that many of the country residents of the State were unduly handicapped in not being able to receive the HERALD until well into the afternoon of issue, and in many cases, indeed, until the following day. The publication of THE ECHO was therefore decided upon early in 1875, and the first number appeared on the 1st of May in that year. The endeavour of the proprietors was, in addition to the early presentation of news as

above mentioned, "to produce an afternoon paper worthy of a place in the homes of the people"; and in furtherance of this design THE ECHO combined in many ways the provinces of the daily paper and the family magazine. In addition to the later cables and news from all sources, it contained articles upon general subjects, a column of dramatic gossip, a selection of humorous paragraphs under the caption of "The Easy Chair" and another column of brevities known as "Facts Focussed," which summarised the events of the day. The paper paid considerable attention to the work of the Churches, while short stories and—occasionally—verse, were also "featured." Its price was one penny.

Like THE AFTERNOON TELEGRAM, but to an even greater degree, THE ECHO was rather intended to make an appeal to that class of readers who were either unable or unwilling to purchase the larger and more expensive morning journal, than to supply subscribers to the latter with a second paper. Some of the English newspapers had recently initiated similar attempts with success, and there appeared to be no reason why success should not also be won in Australia.

THE ECHO was produced at the office and with the machinery of the HERALD. It was popular among all classes and, although its country circulation was small, the general measure of its success may be estimated from the fact that it continued to appear for over eighteen years. Its last number was issued on the 22nd July, 1893, a date which practically synchronised with the reduction of the price of the HERALD to one penny per copy. This fact in itself is almost sufficiently explanatory of the demise of THE ECHO; but the final explanation is supplied by the fact that the proprietors of the HERALD were even then arranging to publish, and very shortly afterwards did actually publish, an evening edition of the senior paper, to serve country trains which left, and still leave, at intervals throughout the day. From the date of its institution to the present time this edition has made it quite unnecessary for a separate afternoon journal to be issued from the office of the HERALD.

The editors of THE ECHO were appointed in succession from among the members of the staff of the HERALD, no importations from outside being made at any time. Among those who occupied the position were Mr. F. C. Brewer, Dr. F. W. Ward, Messrs. T. B. Clegg, and G. B. Stronach, who was the Editor at the time the career of the paper came to an end. In the last issue there appeared a "Special Notice" which runs, in part, as follows:

We have received many expressions of regret at the announcement that, after this issue, the publication of THE ECHO will be discontinued. The proprietors . . . would have been pleased if they could have seen their way to prolong its career of usefulness. But circumstances made prominent by the recent forward movement which has brought THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD within the reach of all classes, have indicated the desirableness of pursuing a different course. We, therefore, with all good wishes, now take leave of our readers.

THE ECHO won considerable support from advertisers, was extensively read, and there is no doubt that the "expressions of regret" at its discontinuance to which the above notice refers, were both numerous and sincere.

SECTION XVI.

THE "HERALD" AND ADVERTISING

CARAVANS decked with carpets from the East; the brightly striped pole that still betokens many a barber's shop; the town crier whose thrice repeated "Oyez!"—give ear—echoed down the streets of Britain's ancient boroughs, each was an early striving of the subtle art of advertising that newspapers have brought to perfection.

Great as has been the influence of newspapers upon the social and intellectual development of the peoples they have served, no less remarkable a part have they played in the commercial expansion of the past century. Without the aid of the newspaper, mass production would have been impossible. In its capacity as intermediary, by means of its advertising columns, between buyer and seller, it creates such a popular demand for proprietary goods as makes possible their manufacture and distribution on the grand scale achieved in modern trading. It may be said, in fact, that widespread distribution of manufactures, with the resultant mass production, has followed in the wake of the development of the press. As the mechanical capacity for the output of newspapers improved, and circulations grew, traders were furnished with essential means of rapidly reaching great numbers of people with their sales messages. Scarcely more than half a century ago the curved stereo plate that was to make high speed rotary printing possible was but a misty dream, and flat-bed printing machines laboriously furnished very limited and serious-minded circles of readers with their daily and weekly newspapers. The popular newspaper, of untold value to the trading community, is really the twentieth-century child of the preceding century's marvellous progress in the printing press.

Prior to the newspaper were the days of small traders and local manufactures. Just as the news columns broke down provincialism and welded communities into nations, the advertisement columns opened up wider and wider fields to the enterprising trader. The steady growth of his opportunities was concomitant with the steady growth of the Press. By promoting the wide distribution of goods, it has reduced costs of manufacture, and made possible much lower prices to the consumer than could have been profitable had the high costs of local manufacture been continued.

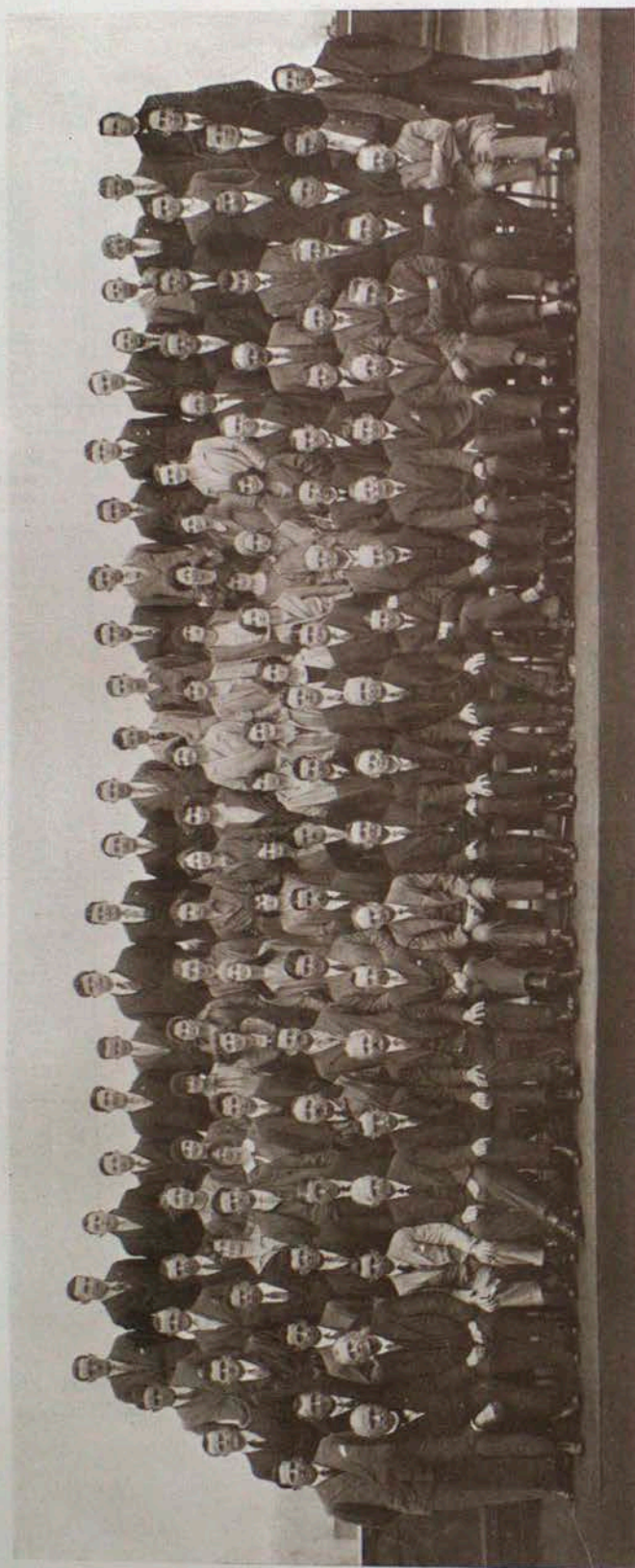
The amount of care and thought necessary to devising and administering the policy of the HERALD as a newspaper, on its editorial and news sides, has been sufficiently demonstrated in preceding pages, but it may here be confessed that no such record of achievement as described could have been established had not equal and unremitting care been expended upon its advertising policy all through the century. Just as there are to-day, there were a hundred years ago, advertisers with understandable but dangerous weaknesses against which they themselves, just as much as the paper, had to be protected. There has always been, as there always will be, the advertiser who seeks to outdo his competitor by means of extravagant claims, overbearing display, or grotesque methods. Some curious experiences of their own, combined with a close observation of the sometimes tragic experiences of other journals, impressed the proprietors of the HERALD

very early in its career with the need for extreme caution in determining the form as well as the substance of the advertising matter accepted. Much heartburning and disappointment has the exercise of that proper caution engendered in advertisers whose letterpress or designs have proved unacceptable, but its wisdom, tested through a century, is indisputable. Whatever it has done in the way of building up a successful business for the proprietors of the journal, it has done many thousandfold for the traders and advertisers generally, great and small. When it is borne in mind that the cost of advertising represents but a small fraction in the capital turnover that it is the means of effecting, whether in the sale of cigarettes, or motor cars, houses, businesses, patent foods, and multitudes of differing kinds of merchandise, a glance at the files of the HERALD, with its immense and ever-growing volume of daily advertising, shows what fabulous sums it causes to flow from one set of pockets into another every day of its existence. The preservation of a medium that is the essential factor in that daily exchange is of the utmost economic importance to the community.

Any institution such as the HERALD that, because of its responsibilities, always moves with caution, is ever open to be charged by the undiscerning and thoughtless with failure to move with the times. A study of the files disproves this in every respect, but in none more definitely than in advertising. Fashions in advertising are as clearly marked as they are in dress, architecture, or anything else. Every period, every year, it may be said, has its own, and in every one those tendencies that are sound have always their contemporaneous extravagances with pitfalls for the unwary. The HERALD files prove that it has readily embraced what is sound and good, and has set its face against the excesses of every period. No more striking example could be quoted than the tendency to violent and unrestrained display that has marred so much advertising during the past quarter of a century, attaining the crescendo of "double-page spreads" that was the logical outcome of uncontrolled display. Yet concurrently with it there has been a wonderful development in the artistry of display advertising that has furnished the pages of the HERALD with countless examples of exquisite workmanship. So far as the HERALD is concerned, these restrained and beautiful designs carry a maximum of appeal to the reader that is never attained by the frenzied clamour for public attention represented by mere competitive expenditure of space and printer's ink. Placed alongside unsightly masses of huge type and uncouth designs, the value of a restrained and properly balanced advertisement must obviously be diminished, and, to the doubtful advantage of the few who can afford thus to "hog" the pages, the many suffer, for amid much shouting few are heard.

One of the curious experiences already alluded to as having helped to mould HERALD policy in the matter of advertising, befell it in infancy, and so clearly illustrated one of the hazards of heavy display that the lesson was never forgotten. At the birth of the HERALD, and for many years afterwards, newspaper advertising was universally confined to short, single-column announcements, for the most part following each other without any particular classification according to their subject matter. Neither was there, save for the heavy initial letter, any attempt at display. A notable exception, however, was made in regard to shipping. In the early days, shipping announcements were of paramount importance to every soul in the Colony, and throughout the entire career of the HERALD, right up to the present day, they have never been displaced from the proud position on the front page that was accorded them in the first issue, on April 18, 1831. Even that prominence, however, did not assuage the passion for publicity animating the shipping agents of the day. With all the enthusiasm of a modern advertising man, planning a page design to proclaim the triumph of some record-breaking airman

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ADVERTISING, CLERICAL, COUNTING HOUSE AND CIRCULATION STAFFS.

Front Row: T. Lacey, A. E. Boyd, A. J. Mullins, C. S. Lamb, C. E. Richards, A. Cooper, H. Judson, H. S. Tebbutt (Advertising Manager, "Sydney Mail"), J. J. Goldbrough (Advertising Manager, "Herald"), H. E. Didswell (Secretary and Accountant), T. E. Walker, (Chief Clerk), R. A. Henderson (Circulation Manager), B. Levi (Computer), P. H. Brechley, G. T. Walker, T. E. Herrick, A. W. MacAuliffe, H. G. Stockley, F. Wickham.

Second Row: A. E. B. Gilder (Melbourne business representative), R. J. Brown, R. Ramage, R. M. West, A. J. Mackenzie, W. H. Tombs, F. J. Denham, F. J. Infield, D. Henderson, J. F. Fairfax, H. R. Heney, H. Hood, G. Campbell, A. K. Evans, W. J. MacAuliffe, S. Maguire, G. Lang, C. R. Hackett, P. S. Thompson, F. W. Pratt, M. Adams, F. Raynor.

Third Row: J. Kelly, J. H. Leemon, L. E. Dege, Miss M. Bailey, W. S. Randell, Miss M. Patten, K. S. Purnell, Miss D. Hall, Miss D. Eipper, Miss M. Brown, Miss W. Spargo, Miss M. Antill, Miss D. Mayo, Miss M. Toule, Miss M. Graham, Miss M. Farrell, Miss J. Anderson, Miss M. Henville, A. H. Gilberthorpe, W. Bissett, G. Nicholson, F. Morris, J. W. Simmonds.

Fourth Row: J. W. Mitchell, H. Cato, R. J. Judson, Miss M. Forde, Miss B. Walker, Miss G. Patten, Miss K. Fetherston, Miss L. Cole, Miss V. Hewitt, Miss A. Sclanders, Miss D. Cole, Miss G. Prouett, Miss I. Hutchens, Miss M. Bone, Mrs. I. Sykes, Miss E. Press, Miss C. Leeman, S. Landy, F. J. Pitt, C. Andrews, V. Crawford, H. E. McShane.

Fifth Row: E. Lloyd, C. Morgan, J. H. Yeates, R. Cole, K. MacAuliffe, R. Strachan, A. Scattergood, J. Freestone, V. Leeson, S. Freeman, R. Clare, D. A. Davies, G. Riva, J. Gorgeson, R. Everett, S. Willmott, G. McKinnon, G. Smith, P. Ahearn, H. Carruthers, W. J. Carmody, A. Goodall.

who used his company's oil, one hit upon the notion of illustrating his advertisement. Revolutionary and ultra-modern as the idea must have seemed to all concerned, so largely did the subject of shipping bulk in the life of the day that they allowed themselves to be persuaded, and on May 7, 1832, readers of the *HERALD* were intrigued to see the front page announcements of sailing dates embellished with diminutive pictures of brigs and barquentines in full sail. The little vessels were not an inch from stem to stern, and their masts, burdened with bellying canvas, stood not half an inch high, yet they may well have inspired their sponsors with all the emotion of the Ancient Mariner whose ship was "the first that ever burst into that silent sea." They were Columbases in advertising, and little did they dream of the vast potentialities of the discovery they had made. But it was a discovery full of embarrassment and warning to the proprietors of the young paper. With every shipping notice carrying a little vessel, it was not long before the front page afforded harbourage to quite a formidable fleet, and before its extinction about twenty years later, it had grown to a veritable Armada. In the last issue to be enlivened by these little vessels, December 31, 1853, there were no fewer than sixty of them, assembled in half a page of shipping announcements—evidence, incidentally, of the rapidly growing importance of the port, following the discovery of gold. In their way, and in their day, these small woodcut blocks, dominating the relatively small advertising spaces, represented heavy display, and they exemplified in a most salutary fashion for the *HERALD* proprietary, the cardinal evil of over-display—its futility. Once it was permitted to one, it had to be permitted to all. Once it was permitted to all, it benefited none. A transient advantage to an individual advertiser resulted in a permanent disfigurement of the paper, and a definite deterioration in the effectiveness of its advertising space. Thus was sown the little seed of the *HERALD*'s restraint in display.

The admission of blocks to the shipping columns naturally whetted the appetites of other advertisers, and, a few months later, on August 20, 1832, there appeared at the top of the Theatre Royal advertisement an ostentatious coat of arms, which was outdone seven days later by a Mr. Sippe, whose announcement of a concert bore a lyre resting upon a scroll of music. Next, on September 24, in the same year, there appeared a block depicting a hand guiding a pen—a quill pen, of course—in the act of inscribing some shorthand characters that looked more like Arabic than anything else, but afforded impressive testimony to the skill of a Mr. Gordon, who claimed to teach shorthand in four lessons. Applied art soon became more utilitarian, for on January 21, 1833, it was devoted to the illustration of a soda-water apparatus which a Mr. Thornton was advertising for sale, and a year or so later, on April 3, 1834, Mrs. Hordern, of King Street, pioneered fashion-plate advertising, and electrified the ladies of Sydney, by persuading the proprietors to insert at the top of her advertisement a block depicting the very latest creation in poke bonnets. And so it went on. The fact that the other papers of the day, now extinct, published many more blocks in their advertisements than did the *HERALD*, is proof that the proprietors were always tardy in accepting them and had their misgivings as to where the growing tendency towards heavy illustration might lead. Those misgivings crystallised into conviction soon after John Fairfax became sole proprietor of the journal, for within a few months the array of ships, as already described, was swept forever from the front page of the *HERALD*.

That day, January 2, 1854, was remarkable, not only for the elimination of these and all other blocks. It marked also a complete change and striking improvement in the appearance of the paper. New founts of clear and beautiful type, that would not disgrace a journal to-day, had been installed, and the width of the columns was in-

creased. In every respect the paper assumed a new dignity of appearance, and the definite principles governing the setting and presentation of news and advertising matter then laid down, are still discernible in the *HERALD* to-day. Most of all, however, was this date remarkable, because it initiated a policy in regard to small advertisements that, as events proved, laid the foundation of the *HERALD*'s supremacy in Australian newspaper advertising. The "small ad.," which soon was to evolve into the "classified" as we know it to-day, was placed within the ambit of the most modest pocket. Prior to that date, four lines cost 3/-, and that was the minimum charge. Now, not only was the length of the line increased, but the minimum was reduced to two lines, the charge for which was only 1/-. It is a matter of some pride to the proprietors that, enormous though the rise in values has been since those far-away days, it is still possible for the most needy in the community—those in search of work—to insert their advertisements in the *HERALD* at that same rate. A glance at the files of the immediately succeeding years, shows how well the policy justified itself by attracting an ever-increasing flow of casual advertisements. While these were roughly classified, they did not carry separate headings, except in the case of Births, Marriages and Deaths, Shipping, and Auction advertisements. But their growing volume soon necessitated a more elaborate system, and this we find provided on July 26, 1869, with a thoroughness that must have been largely instrumental in consolidating the position in regard to small advertisements. On this Red Letter day, the citizens of Sydney found themselves with the choice of no less than thirty different headings, under which they might insert appropriate announcements. Because of their service to the community, and their significance in the development of the newspaper itself, there is historic interest in here recording the list of classification headings then instituted. Of such value did they prove, that others were added within a week or two, but the range presented to advertisers on that memorable morning was as follows:

Births, Marriages and Deaths.	Horticulture and Farming.	Amusements.
Funerals.	Building Materials, etc.	Shipping.
Meetings.	General Merchandise.	Horses and Vehicles.
Public Meetings.	Houses and Land for Sale.	Professionals, Clerks, etc.
Companies.	Auction Sales.	Servants Wanted.
Volunteer Notices.	Drapers and Haberdashers.	Situations Wanted.
Public Notices.	Tenders.	Religious Announcements.
Government Notices.	To Let.	Educational.
Lost and Found.	Board and Residence.	Stocks, Shares, and Money.
Business Cards.	Persons Advertised.	Miscellaneous.

To-day, after a lapse of 62 years, a number of the headings then established can still be found in the *HERALD*. Some survived as anachronisms till a very few years ago. This was the case, for instance, with "Servants Wanted," which remained for some time after they had all become maids, cooks, or other functionaries, but never servants. The "Horticulture and Farming" heading is a reminder that at that time farming and fruit growing were carried on in areas that now are clustered with suburban villas. The "Volunteer Notices" carry the mind back to the days when the volunteer movement was young and vigorous, long before compulsory training had even been mooted; while "Horses and Vehicles" are a reminder that the motor car had not yet arrived, and did not do so, of course, till many years later. Such were the beginnings of classified advertising in the *HERALD*. Carefully nurtured through the years, and safeguarded against all sorts of fads and vogues in advertising, that have proved the undoing of so many journals, it has steadily grown to its vigorous maturity of modern times. To-day there are over 60 classifications, and it is no uncommon thing for a single issue of the *HERALD*, with its complete monopoly of this kind of advertising in Sydney, to contain over 7,000 separate advertisements covering 24 pages. Yet, except in one or two sections, such as

Amusements, Real Estate Auctions, and Motor Cars, where double column announcements in extremely subdued type have been somewhat reluctantly admitted, there has been little change in the forms and principles governing HERALD classified advertising during the past half century.

It is, perhaps, not an uninteresting digression to compare the list of classifications introduced into the HERALD over sixty years ago, as set out above, with the selection now at the disposal of the public. Considering that the motor trade and other new factors, have necessitated some of the additional classifications, the fact that the present list, as set out below, contains only about twice as many as the original one, is evidence of the thoroughness with which popular requirements were anticipated.

Births, Engagements, Marriages, and Deaths.	Furniture, etc.	Naval and Military.
Funeral Notices.	Government Notices.	Offices to Let, Wanted, etc.
In Memoriam Notices.	Government Railways.	Partnerships, Agencies, etc.
Return Thanks.	Houses and Land for Sale.	Personal and Missing Friends.
Apartments, Board and Residence.	Houses and Land Wanted.	Positions Vacant.
Amusements.	Horses, Vehicles, and Live Stock.	Positions Wanted.
Auction Sales.	Hospitals, Rest Homes, etc.	Professions, Trades, etc.
Building Materials.	Hotels and Holiday Resorts.	Poultry, Birds, etc.
Business Announcements.	Lectures.	Public Notices.
Businesses for Sale or Wanted.	Legal Advertisements.	Public Companies.
Books, Publications.	Lost and Found.	Real Estate Auction Sales.
Builders and Repairers.	Machinery.	Religious Announcements.
Calls and Dividends.	Meetings.	Residential Flats.
Church Notices.	Medical, Chemicals, etc.	Shipping.
Dogs, Cats, Rabbits, etc.	Miscellaneous.	Stations, Farms, and Stock.
Dental Notices.	Money, Stocks, and Shares.	Situations Vacant.
Dress, Fashion, etc.	Motor Cars, Lorries, etc.	Situations Wanted.
Educational.	Motor Cycles, Bicycles, etc.	Tourist Trips, Motor Hire, and Transport.
Electrical, Wireless, etc.	Motor Tyres, Supplies, Repairs.	Tenders.
Florists, Garden, and Farm.	Municipal Elections.	To Let (Houses, etc.).
For Sale and Exchange.	Municipal Council Notices.	Wanted to Purchase.
	Musical Instruments.	

Methods of collecting and handling the daily classified advertisements have had to be organised to the highest pitch of efficiency. Great numbers of the advertisements are handed in over the counter at the HERALD Office, which, on account of its being virtually a great public utility, is as familiar as a landmark in the city as the G.P.O. But great numbers also are collected by the newsagents in the suburbs, near and far, and trains, trams, motor cars, and telephones are enlisted in the mammoth daily task of conveying them to their destination in Hunter Street, to be sorted by a specially trained staff, set up on linotypes, assembled into columns, locked up into leaden pages of type, pressed into *papier-mâché* moulds, cast into convex plates, locked into rotary printing machines, whirled round tens of thousands of times in the process of printing upon miles of paper, and tossed in bundles into lorries—all in time to tell their story at the next day's breakfast table. Such a feat is among the greatest triumphs of human ingenuity, both in mental and physical effort and in mechanical creativeness.

The grand objective of classified advertising is that the reader shall be able to find, all but instantaneously, the particular kind of advertisement that interests him, whether it is a ship's sailing date, a motor car or a house offered for sale, the whereabouts of a lost dog, or whatever it may be. In the HERALD this essential public service is rendered by preserving the various classifications in their sequences, so that they fall into approximately the same positions in the paper each day, and also by the daily publication of an index showing at a glance the page on which each classification appears. Thus the story of classified advertising is like that of Topsy, it "just grewed." In its essentials it has changed scarcely at all. Vying in interest with the actual news in the paper, it facilitates countless daily transactions, great and small, and while it would be difficult to estimate just how far it has assisted in building up and maintaining the immense daily

circulation of the HERALD, its part has been no mean one. One obvious reason for this is that classified advertisements are, for the most part, first-class news. In the case of the HERALD, with its monopoly of this kind of advertising, they are also, to enlist newspaperdom's most precious phrase, "exclusive news." That, of course, in a very marked degree, affects the character and enhances the prestige of the HERALD. But the possession of so important a popular preference carries heavy responsibilities. As far as it is humanly possible to do so, the public must be protected from every kind of dishonest exploitation. Openings for such exploitation, in all the tens of thousands of small advertisements that appear in the HERALD in the course of a year, are legion, and demand eternal vigilance. Complete immunity from undesirable advertisements is manifestly an unattainable ideal, because it is impossible always to detect them; but it is no empty boast to say that the HERALD gets as near to that ideal as any paper in the world. Therein rests one of the secrets of the public confidence that it enjoys. Years of experience have armed the HERALD advertising staff against almost every subterfuge and trick of which unscrupulous advertisers are capable, and one of the most elaborate systems of censorship existing in any newspaper office in the world has been devised for the protection of the public. Many kinds of advertisement are not inserted without the production of properly authenticated references by the would-be advertiser. Medicinal preparations are subjected to analysis before advertisements in respect of them are accepted—not, of course, to prove their efficacy, but to ensure that at least they are not in any way harmful. Next to businesses for sale, partnerships, and monetary advertisements, the "Positions Vacant" columns are among the most closely scrutinised. For example, assertions that a canvasser or agent can make any stipulated amount per day are not permitted, unless supported by reasonable evidence of accuracy, and the nature of the employment offered must always be clearly stated. Impossible claims, such as "pass guaranteed" in educational advertisements, are not allowed, and matrimonial agencies find themselves excluded from the advertising columns of the HERALD. These and dozens of other safeguards are applied every day by the clerks receiving advertisements at the HERALD Office, and the rapidity with which they "spot" any questionable announcements that may be proffered, is the result of careful training and long practice. Any advertiser whose announcement is held up, has the right to appeal to the Management, and even though only two lines be involved, exhaustive inquiries are made where any uncertainty exists. The object is to deal justly with the advertiser and the general public, and to debar no one from reaching the public through the HERALD unless good reasons, in the public interest, can be shown for such exclusion. Equally exhaustive inquiries are made in respect of any complaints that may be received concerning an advertisement published in the HERALD, and the discovery of anything proving it to be undesirable incurs future exclusion. Individual accounts running into thousands of pounds a year have been closed in this way.

Honesty and clarity in classified, as in all other advertising, is insisted upon. Many readers will remember how, some fifteen years or so ago, clarity was seriously diminished by the use of unintelligible contractions. Words often were abbreviated out of all semblance to their proper form, and the value of many columns was greatly reduced by readers being unable to scan them rapidly in search of their requirements. They were constantly being held up by the necessity of interpreting truncated and deformed words that could not be understood without careful scrutiny. That was damaging to advertisers as well as irritating to readers. Partly, of course, it was the result of the necessity for economy in space enforced by the War. But it was an evil that, if allowed to continue, would have done great harm to HERALD classified advertising. To remedy

the evil, a schedule of permissible contractions was drawn up, and printed on the classified advertisement forms. Outside of that schedule no word-contractions are allowed. That everybody concerned has benefited by this reform is not open to doubt.

The story of display advertising has been entirely distinct from that of classified advertising. Here is a realm of constant change, ceaseless striving after new effect, endless effort to attract attention and so stimulate the imagination of the reader as to produce desire and impel action. It may be desire for a certain soap that will do what no other soap will do in some particular respect; it may be desire to see a certain play, smoke a certain cigarette, wear a certain make of hat, eat a certain brand of jelly, drive a certain make of car, or drink a certain brew of ale. Most of these, in the abstract, are perfectly natural and human desires that affect all or large sections of the community. But to so fine an art has that of merchandising been raised, that few people think in the abstract of soap or cigarettes, hats, jellies, motor cars, or even salt, mustard, chocolates or pickles—of almost anything they eat, drink, wear or use. With nearly every commodity, whether necessity or luxury, there have grown up competing proprietary brands, each with some claim to special excellence. To make these known and to persuade the public to buy one to the exclusion of the others, is one of the principal functions of display advertising. It may be said, indeed, that the system of selling commodities in branded proprietary lines is the product of display advertising. And so is the great departmental store. Just as one alluring display advertisement moves millions to ask for a certain cigarette, another equally alluring in other ways moves multitudes to patronise a particular shop. It is no figure of speech, therefore, to say that for their very existence and continuance the great factories and retail stores have to thank newspaper display advertising. It created them and it preserves them. No branded commodity, however good, can survive bad advertising. So vital an ally to trade and industry has naturally been courted and used with every artifice that trained imaginations could suggest, and a study of the evolution of display advertising as presented in the files of the *HERALD* is an education in psychology, art, and human ingenuity.

In some of the very earliest files, as already described, we found the infant footprints of display advertising in the crude woodcuts of ships, soda-water apparatus, bonnets, and so forth. These were precosities. The infant was starting to run ere it had learned to walk. Their disappearance with the reforms of 1854 left the field open for a fresh start on more decorous and orthodox lines many years later. Such emphasis as was permitted in advertisements—sometimes lines of capital letters doubled and trebled, and sometimes in criss-cross fashion in the Amusement columns, and in retailers' announcements—was rigorously confined to single columns till the end of the eighties, except in the case of balance-sheets of banks and other institutions, abstracts of revenue of municipal councils, prospectuses of companies, and a few announcements of that character. Then, at intervals of a month or two, we find, sometimes in the Amusement columns, but mostly in the form of special advertisements on the leader page—the most favoured position and the one subject to the greatest restrictions—double column advertisements, but in no case with any departure from ordinary type, and with no black or other display lines. This remained the case till June 18, 1890, just after the paper had been increased in size, and when the day of advertising displays by drapery firms was starting to dawn. In the issue of that date there appeared the first full-page advertisement ever published in the *HERALD*. Although the largest type it contained was scarcely half an inch in depth—and precious little of this was permitted, the great bulk of the page being set in ordinary news types—it represented a notable

departure in newspaper advertising. A shallow strip right across the page contained the advertiser's name—Percy Hordern, of 666 Brickfield Hill—and a few details of his "Great Sale of Drapery." For the rest, the advertisement was divided into the usual eight columns, but by ingeniously inserting horizontal rules at frequent and regular intervals across each column, the page had the appearance of being divided into fifty-six squares, each of which had some irresistible bait for the bargain-hunting ladies of Sydney. So successful did the experiment prove, that the advertiser repeated it with another page of similar design a few weeks later, and during the following year there were several more. In each there was a distinct element of novelty, the announcements of Christmas and New Year novelties, published on December 2, 1891, being set in such a manner as to suggest theatrical programmes. Indeed, Mr. Hordern then called his place "The Modern Theatre."

The way being thus paved for display advertising, double column announcements appeared at fairly frequent intervals from jewellers and others, but they were set in ordinary news type. The next departure was made on November 26, 1892, when there appeared in one of these double column advertisements a single line of a larger type, but very light in character. All this time the classified columns remained untainted by the encroachments of display advertisers, but there are old hands in the HERALD Office who still speak with bated breath of the rumpus occasioned by an amazing invasion of this hallowed ground while the proprietors and the manager were absent from town on a short holiday vacation. In the first issue of the new year of 1893, bargain-hunters were enjoined, by means of one-and-a-half inch advertisements sprinkled over almost every classification (half an inch of white space at the top and bottom of each giving them an extraordinary emphasis among otherwise tightly packed small advertisements) to "Attend Hordern's, in Pitt Street." The sacrilege was repeated on the following day, but before it could again occur, the holiday of proprietors and manager had precipitately terminated, and their hapless deputy had learnt their views in terms of such vigour as reverberated through the old office for many a day.

Nothing distinctive developed until May 30, 1893, when David Jones & Company obtained two light display lines in a full double column advertisement and large initial letters in the body of the announcement. The same firm achieved a definite advance in display advertising two days later—on June 1—with eight-inch double column panels that might not appear particularly antiquated if published to-day, except for the diminutive type—diminutive now, but then appalling in its half-inch assertiveness. While double column advertising still remained a rarity, a definite stimulus was given to display, within the single columns, by Farmer & Company and other drapery firms, a liberal use of white space compensating for the embargo on larger-than-news types. The development of this tendency gave an anæmic appearance to the otherwise well-ordered classified pages, and was very soon corrected—a restriction that caused the era of regular double column advertising soon to be definitely ushered in.

Once the double column advertisement was firmly entrenched, it was not long before an entertainment promoter contrived to obtain one small black line, and the next day's paper shows that others of his fraternity lost no time in claiming the same privilege. Presently, of course, black lines became a feature of all double column advertisements, and there was a gradual increase in the weight of these black lines, until, by the beginning of 1908, they had grown so bold as to be a serious disfigurement to the paper. Quarter-page advertisements, proclaiming their messages in most aggressive types, began to invade the pages of small advertisements, breaking up the classifications and menacing the system of ready reference. Two things became obvious. The

tendency to heavier and yet heavier display must be checked, or the value of the advertising, except for those who could afford dominating spaces, would be gravely diminished; and as heavy type of any description was inconsistent with small classified advertisements, the pages devoted to them must be completely purged of it if their maximum usefulness were to be preserved. Long contracts and the difficulty of convincing advertisers that greater efficacy lay in more restrained methods, made the modification of display and the purification of the classified pages a matter of some time, but by 1913, display was conforming to carefully considered standards, which preserved alike the good appearance of the paper and its advertising effectiveness.

In the meantime, the reappearance of illustrations had introduced a factor of vital importance in display advertising. Since the banishment of the old woodcuts, many years earlier, science had evolved a new means of reproducing pictures for printing purposes. No longer had the craftsman laboriously to cut the designs into cubes of box-wood. The method whereby a photographic impression is taken upon a sheet of zinc, and etched into it by means of acids, in such a way as to produce a printing surface, had revolutionised the art of printing illustrations. Its possibilities as an adjunct to display advertising were soon realised. Its first important application to advertising in the *HERALD*, was on July 21, 1900, when a full page display announcing *The Times* offer of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, contained a large drawing of a bookcase carrying the twenty-five volumes of the publication. Although during the preceding decade illustrations had made a furtive appearance by way of small trade marks, packets of pills, and similar devices, this may be said to have been the starting point of advertising blocks as we know them to-day, although their use did not become general in the *HERALD* until some few years later. Then there came a period when advertisers lost their heads a little in respect to blocks, and restrictions became necessary. By 1913, however, as already remarked, definite standards had been established, and from that time onward, a very close eye has been kept on the natural tendency towards over-display.

So far as the *HERALD* is concerned, the segregation of display advertising from the classified pages, has been of the utmost importance in promoting its effectiveness. It is a basic principle in the *HERALD* that no display advertisement shall be entirely separated from reading matter. To ensure this, and preserve the symmetry of the pages, the minimum space for display advertisements was, in 1916, fixed at 12-inch double column (one-eighth of a page). No position is guaranteed, but the wishes of advertisers handling commodities that make it desirable to have their announcements near reading matter of a particular kind—a manufacturer of dress fabrics, for instance, may desire to be alongside the Women's columns—are always given consideration. The larger spaces and the heavier displays, however, always gravitate to the bottom of the pages, thereby avoiding the overshadowing of the smaller and lighter designs, and giving all the greatest possible fairness and the maximum opportunity of attracting attention. The size of the type allowed in displays, and the proportion of illustration in every given space—one-third in a 12-inch double column advertisement, for instance—are strictly regulated in order to avoid the evils that manifested themselves in earlier years, to the detriment of advertisers generally, and, while no objection is taken to legitimate humour, undue grotesqueries either in matter or in form—large panels set askew, for example—are not permitted.

Most of all, the reputability of advertisers and the reliability of the goods they offer, the truthfulness of their claims, and their good taste in preferring them, are matters of strict concern to the proprietors of the *HERALD*. Impartiality is the keynote of this policy.

Even in times of great political heat, when claims that are demonstrably unsustainable, are liable to be made by either side, the advertisements of the party enjoying the HERALD's editorial support are subjected to just as rigid a scrutiny and censorship as are those of its opponents. Of this there has been ample evidence. Equally stringent are the safeguards governing classified advertisements, elaborate regulations having been framed to prevent either deliberate misrepresentation or unwittingly misleading claims. All of this has assisted in winning for the HERALD a measure of what Americans expressively call "reader confidence" enjoyed by few newspapers in the world.

That the somewhat chequered youth of display advertising, with its inevitable crudities and excesses, has blossomed into a maturity well repaying the pains spent upon it, a glance at almost any issue of the HERALD eloquently testifies. The essential part it plays in modern merchandising, as already described, has long been fully appreciated by manufacturers and traders of almost every description, with the result that, within the past twenty years, a vast new profession has come into existence devoted entirely to conceiving and designing new triumphs of artistry and fresh marvels in the subtleties of printed appeal. The properly equipped advertising department, or service agency, with its University-trained economists, its artists, its writers and its mechanical staffs, is responsible for the creation of markets, and upon its resourcefulness and capacity entirely depends the good, bad, or indifferent use that is made of the space, circulation, and prestige provided by the newspaper.

The maker of a hair tonic who contrived to evade the HERALD's vigilance to the extent of getting an advertisement starting with the words "Missing Heir" inserted in the much-read "Personal and Missing Friends" classification, and the equally resourceful patent medicine manufacturer who insinuated his appeal into the "Lost and Found" column by starting it with the words "Lost—yesterday morning, a headache . . .," are examples of the ingenuity of advertisers in their search for novel ways of wooing the public. There was a period, indeed, when they frequently burst into song. That was in the very early days of the HERALD, and the temerity with which they enlisted the Muses in the service of Mammon may be judged by the inordinate length—sometimes running to three-quarters of a column—of the effusions, and the variety of goods subject to their rhythmic praises. Even the second-hand clothes dealer did not fear to tread upon the foothills of Parnassus, as we find by the advertisement of one Cohen, in the issue of August 21, 1858. That the land agents of the day were, in their poetic flights, worthy forbears of their profession is undeniable, if one may judge by the manner in which the possibilities of "the village of Broughton" (no longer traceable) were seductively chanted in the HERALD of March 11, 1842:

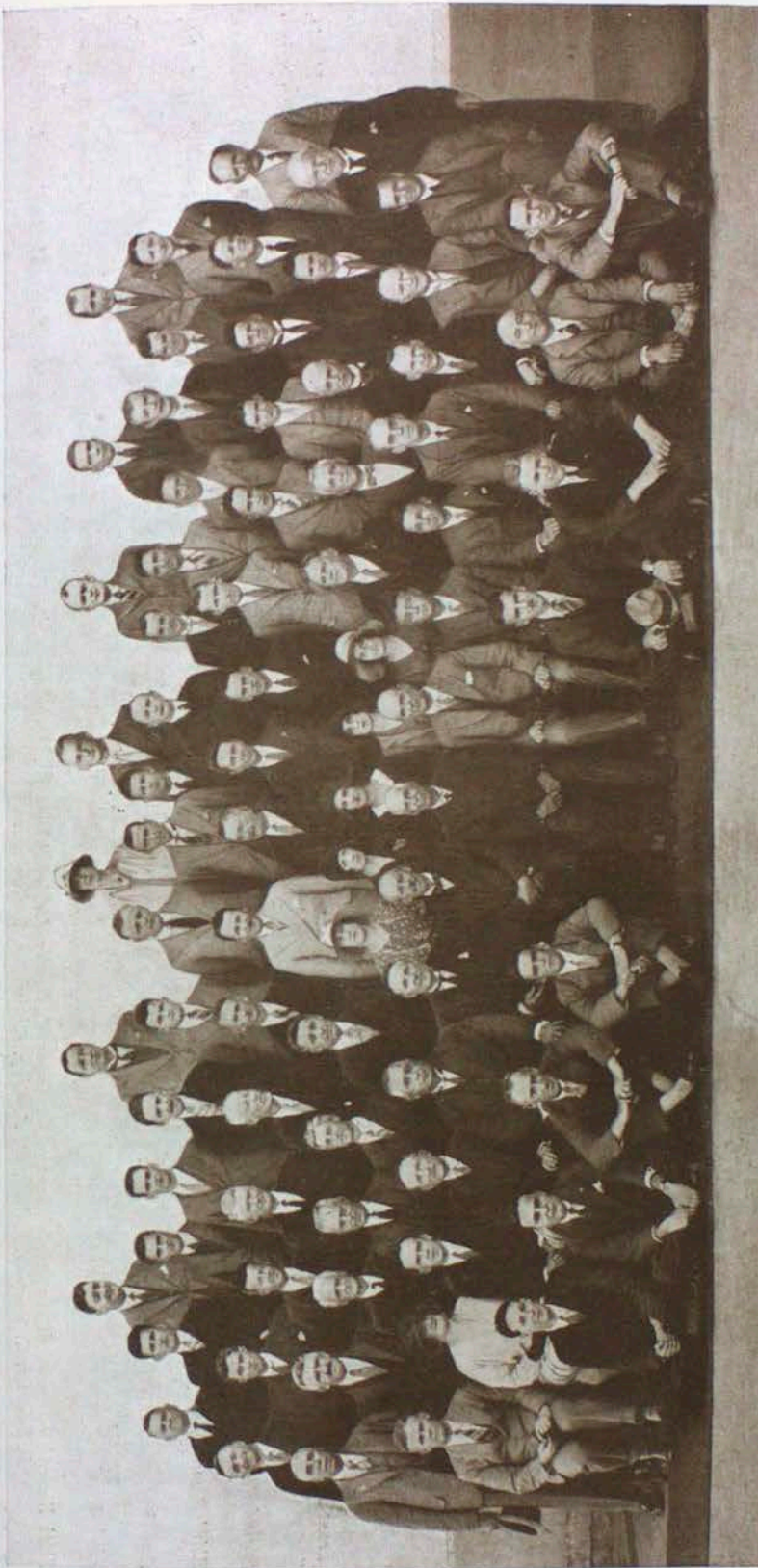
. . . and not long hence
Will rise in all directions many a fence.

This was the poetic stimulant for hesitant speculators, who were, furthermore, warned that

At last there'll be no 'lotments to be had,
And many a one will say "My slowness was too bad!"

A citizen in times when commerce was aided by such versical prolixities, may well have required the reposeful haven of Broughton, thus described:

. . . like the troubled sea which cannot rest
Here in his family how truly bless'd,
The jaded man, each night his cares will cease
Calmed by religion and restored by peace.



"HERALD" AND "MAIL" LITERARY STAFFS.

Front Row (seated on chairs): H. Freeth, Miss Williamson, F. Payne, P. J. Nolan, C. Theakstone (Chief Sub-Editor), G. J. Reeve (Chief of Staff), H. K. Williams (Financial Editor), C. Brunsdon Fletcher (Editor of "Herald"), W. R. Charlton (Editor of "Sydney Mail"), M. MacCallum, F. M. Cullack, Lance Fallaw, S. Elliott Napier (Members of the Editorial Staff), P. S. Allen, R. Greenfield.

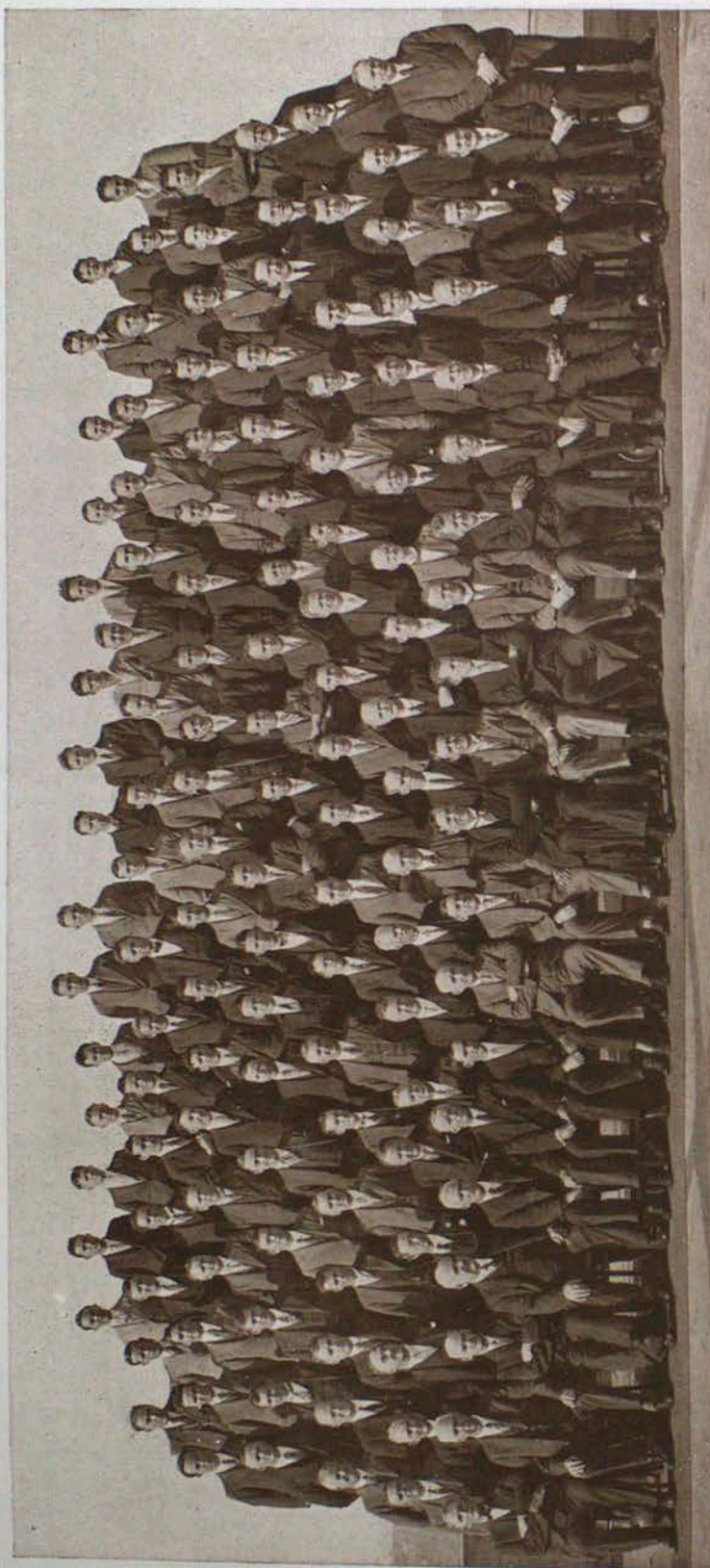
Second Row: E. Downey, P. G. Gilder, A. Johnston, G. A. King, G. Henderson, H. Reeve, Miss Baverstock, Miss Corringham, Miss M. Stephen, Miss I. Packard, Miss Shackcloth, D. J. Stewart, F. Kirby, S. W. Mackay, F. King, W. Duncan.

Third Row: I. E. Davenport, W. L. Townsend, R. Curtis, A. Knight, F. Pascoe, S. Summers, E. Ramsden, A. P. Hanlon, K. Wilkinson, J. R. Taylor, C. F. Bell, F. Schwinghammer, A. Crouch, H. Ward, H. Pile, I. G. Lockley.

Fourth Row: A. W. Reid, P. Goldenstedt, L. L. Leck, R. Hawksley, J. P. Bolton, T. Southwell-Keely, S. Copland, F. Percival, S. Speight, A. Mackenzie, L. W. Lodge, P. Gladwin, G. Parke, J. Rolfe, J. H. Schofield, D. J. Binning.

Top Row: H. S. Innes, G. Watkins, Miss McFadyen, H. I. Williams, R. F. Gollan, F. Coleman Browne, M. Sharland.

Seated on Ground: J. Mitchell, H. Loewenthal, A. R. B. Palmer, K. Hardy, R. Nall, R. Muley, H. Stone, E. McLoughlin.



"HERALD" AND "SYDNEY MAIL" COMPOSING AND READING ROOM STAFFS.

Front Row: J. Hilder, C. Stockley, A. W. Smith, W. Reay, C. Nuttall, A. Hook, H. V. Hart, C. Thomas (Chief Reader), F. C. Vincier (Overseer, "Sydney Mail"), A. Coughlan (Overseer, "Herald"), J. Semple (Day Overseer), S. Hilton (Sub-Overseer), W. Baldwin, A. Semple, J. Coonan, T. Summers, J. K. Small, W. Turner, G. Watson.

Second Row: R. Bale, W. T. Dyson, F. Montrose, G. Butcher, F. Whitehair, F. McDermott, J. Garvie, J. Worrall, C. H. Vincent, W. R. D'A. Lambert, H. Middleton, J. Findlay, J. Graham, W. M. Woods, A. Easton, W. Thompson, H. Metcalf, T. H. Wiggins, W. Gibbons.

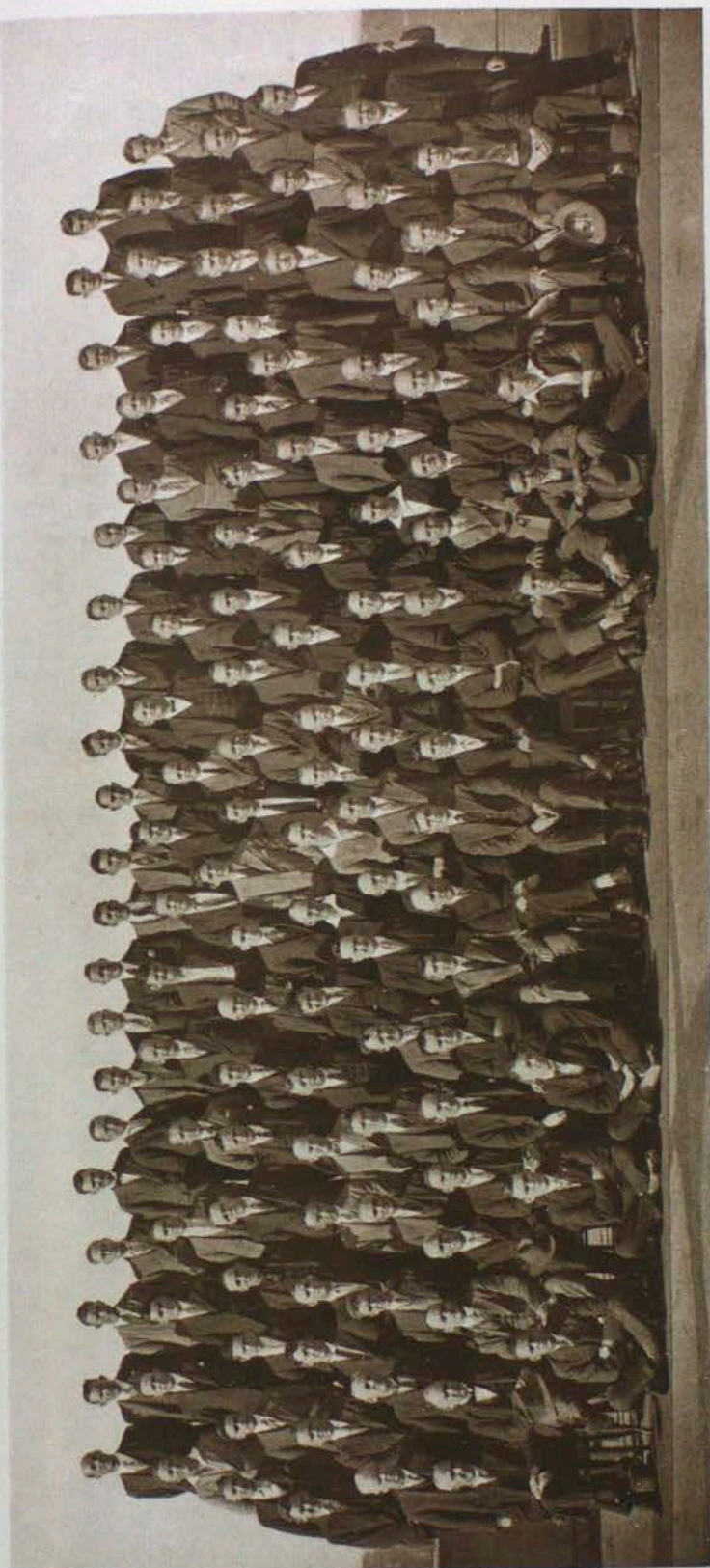
Third Row: C. Milgrove, J. S. Small, C. E. Mulligan, F. Higginson, C. H. Cowell, T. Higginson, J. Davenport, J. P. Reynolds, W. Whitehair, P. G. Harre, W. H. Smith, J. R. Gardoll, H. Wheeler, O. Higginson, T. Lilyblad, G. Small, H. Potts, J. Morris, A. M. Harris.

Fourth Row: P. O'Halloran, W. Campbell, E. Higgs, H. Douse, G. Harris, C. Maish, D. Dunn, J. Bishop, C. Nolan, E. N. Dalziel, G. Phillpott, R. Martin, C. Fox, D. A. Broune, A. D. MacAulay, R. McAlpine, C. T. Sellers, J. Conyers, T. Mcaney.

Fifth Row: R. Stinson, J. Aldcock, L. Pulbrook, F. Purves, H. Lloyd, R. Butcher, F. Randall, R. H. Sclanders, J. T. Jones, C. T. Mulligan, T. Cooper, A. Elford, T. O'Halloran, G. Kynoch, W. Barry, R. Murphy, R. Gilbert, B. Coward, A. Wilson, R. Hutchinson.

Sixth Row: J. Sparrow, E. Mackay, W. Jenkin, W. Evans, C. Fowler, J. O'Halloran, W. Hannington, J. Quinn, E. Blackmore, W. Davis, A. Ludlam, J. Robinson, F. Spickler, C. Stockley, F. Lott, W. A. King, B. Mulford, B. Grinstead.

Back Row: P. A. Stewart, W. G. Stockley, A. J. Halmarick, R. Crawford, S. Douse, G. G. Badham, F. H. Harvey, G. L. Davis, J. G. M. Imrie, J. Wood, A. Buchanan, V. Corcoran, F. Corcoran, W. Thorne, A. Green.



ENGINEERING, ELECTRICAL, STEREOTYPING AND ROTARY PRESS STAFFS.

First Row: E. Beaudere, J. Leigh, R. Ford, E. Corbitt, S. Brudney, D. Macfarlane, S. R. Abernethy, S. G. Judson (Overseer, Linotype Engineering Department), S. H. Vitou (Overseer, Stereotyping Department), T. H. Grozier (Mechanical Superintendent), S. Middleton (Overseer, "Herald" Machine Room), C. Taylor (Overseer, Electrical Department), E. Olsen (Overseer, "Sydney Mail" Machine Room), H. Engleton, H. Allner, A. Ludlam, K. Hilton, S. Spurlock, C. Bowes.

Second Row: A. Johnston, H. Robinson, F. Burton, E. Webster, A. Newton, G. Paterson, G. Harrison, F. Stephens, N. Rangeley, G. Tyrrell, J. Craig, R. Ritchie, N. Menser, E. Wright, J. Clark, C. Parker, A. Bruce, A. J. Johnston.

Third Row: J. Waring, R. Stiff, W. Haddon, G. Skinner, S. Hubbard, J. Magee, R. Dickenson, W. Evans, H. Wilson, A. Symington, F. Middleton, R. Oxenham, R. Veitch, A. Claxton, G. Saunders, J. Lockrey, H. Pope, A. Butler, H. Russell.

Fourth Row: W. Lancett, B. Norton, H. Young, W. Percy, W. Rutcliffe, A. Pincott, A. Coomber, J. Jones, A. Duport, R. Morelli, R. McCullum, H. Crosbie, F. Adams, G. Durie, W. Knight, W. Johnston, H. Bunting, D. Durie, J. Platt, E. Williams, A. Breen.

Fifth Row: R. Aitken, W. Walker, M. Brown, J. Doyle, R. Spurlock, J. Tomlinson, I. Olson, C. Thune, A. Leplaw, A. Mann, C. Oberg, R. Redfern, W. Lindsay, J. Malcolm, W. Cowan, W. Fox, F. Morris, J. Kaye, W. Dods.

Sixth Row: S. Petrie, C. Jacobs, W. Burgess, G. Murchie, L. Prichard, A. Clydesdale, F. Tilney, F. Holmes, A. Ryan, J. Dwyer, J. Davidson, W. Gray, T. Dunster, G. Brown, S. Peel, V. Brooks, W. Olding, S. Pratt, G. Kinniburgh.

Seated on Ground (left to right): W. Annabel, A. Christianson, B. Woods, H. Thomas, F. Bennetts, C. Ward.



PUBLISHING, PAPER, AND STORE STAFFS.

Front Row: H. Staunton, P. Henderson, T. Glaves, J. Outten, W. Darnley, J. Ferrier, C. W. McCoy (Overseer, "Sydney Mail" Publishing Department), F. P. Badman (Overseer, "Herald" Publishing Department), W. H. Knight (Overseer, Paper and Stores Department), H. Outten, C. Blacker, A. Terry, J. Morrison, S. Maher, C. Avery, E. Mulford.

Second Row: A. Megson, G. Young, F. Wiggins, J. Jackson, A. Fletcher, S. Wood, W. Hayman, S. Mattiana, S. Ferrier, E. Quaitley, W. Lawrie, A. Byron, O. J. Arnolds, J. Manson, H. Hargrave, R. Fishwick.

Third Row: T. Boucher, R. Hughes, H. Cole, R. Downes, J. Rook, E. Stanton, H. Coker, A. May, C. Semple, T. Towell, G. Walford, Junr., G. Walford, Senr., R. Vagg, D. Morrison, N. Weekley.

Fourth Row: W. Clements, F. Windred, E. Cooper, R. Thomas, H. Donnelly, C. Grant, T. Hughes, R. Cather, R. Staunton, A. Macleod, A. Gould, T. McCallum, C. Healy, G. Parker, C. Fitzgerald, C. Bowtell.

Fifth Row: R. Kirkby, F. Duberly, H. Outten, Junr., V. Rowan, V. Allen, G. Cannon, G. Smith, T. Walker, W. Margenout, P. Moore, E. Holland, J. Inglis, H. Puckeridge.

In extremely doubtful taste, but with a rhythm worthy of a better cause, the proprietors of an emporium in George Street, known as "The Hall of Commerce," addressed the public soon after the wreck of the Dunbar in the following measured terms:

Ill-fated vessel! We lament thy loss
Where Neptune's billows swell, and foam, and toss;
But our regrets are now of no avail—
All efforts to recover thee would fail.
We give thee up for lost, and bid farewell,
While o'er thy wreck the restless billows swell.
Yet still do other merchant vessels brave
The various dangers of the broad deep wave,
And merchandise is brought us from afar
By other vessels than the lost Dunbar.
Still, still, we are supplied at Commerce Hall
With goods for which the public freely call.
At this renowned emporium still we find
The best and cheapest clothes of every kind,
In which we trace (as all who buy admit)
Superior quality and style and fit.
Good boots and shoes, and hats and caps as well,
At Commerce Hall in ev'ry sense excel,
While mod'rate cost and quality are made,
Two advantageous principles in trade.

How long the vogue of verse lasted is shown by the fact that it was in full swing twenty years earlier, as may be seen in the issue of February 27, 1837, when David Peden—grandfather of the eminent jurist and President of the Legislative Council—after poetically warning colonists about to revisit England of the treacheries of her "semi-Arctic sun," extolled the woollens to be had at Burlington House, his Hunter Street emporium (about the site of Turner & Henderson's of to-day) in such terms as these:

Devisement better cannot be
Than heat-diffusive hosiery
From top to toe—array'd in.
And they who mean from hence to steer
To PEDEN should forthwith repair
And heed his warm persuading.

Delving among the early HERALD files yields many another queer and amusing artifice of the advertiser.

That the libel laws of the day had few terrors, may be judged from the following somewhat outspoken advertisement that appeared on August 21, 1841:

FIVE POUNDS REWARD.

Lost, a Cat, with a brass collar on her neck, with my name engraved on it. Whoever will bring her to me dead or alive, shall receive the above-mentioned reward. As suspicions are attached to a party residing in a house in Lower Pitt Street, where a number of cats are seen to go in and never come out again, an increase of £2 on the above-mentioned reward will be given if this party can be convicted of killing my cat. (Signed) HENRY MESSER, Elizabeth Street.

That the HERALD had a faculty, even in those early days, for putting two and two together, is proved by the following paragraph to be found in another part of the same issue:

An advertisement states that a great number of cats are seen to go into certain premises in Pitt Street South and not come out again. This may account for the celebrity acquired for delicate sausages in this part of the town.

Macquarie Street, it seems, very early in its career commended itself to the medical profession, but it would be difficult to find a practitioner there to-day of such versatile talent as that disclosed in a certain Mr. Lear by his notice on February 27, 1837, which ran as follows:

Mr. Lear, oculist, dentist, and corn operator, of 10 Macquarie Street, Sydney, has pleasure in announcing that he has had consigned to him from an old established firm in London a certain and immediate cure for every description of headache.

The advertisements in every issue of the *HERALD* right through the century afford entertaining glimpses of the social life of the different periods. A vivid little sidelight, reminiscent of the old woman in the nursery rhyme, "who lived in a shoe, and had such a large family that she didn't know what to do," is cast by the following plaintive notice that appeared on September 14, 1840:

To Shoemakers: Wanted a Shoemaker, competent to undertake the work of a large family in a neighbourhood where he will have an opportunity of obtaining as much work besides that of the family as will keep him constantly employed. To any good workman of industrious inclination who may be desirous of retiring from the temptations of the town, where he will have but few inducements to a life of dissipation, this holds out an eligible opportunity. Apply to Mr. C. Tomson, Clydesdale, near Windsor. A single man would be preferred and no objection would be made to a ticket-of-leave holder.

Among the many curious sidelights shown by the advertising columns of the early issues of the *HERALD* is the high value that was placed upon such copies of English newspapers and other periodicals as reached the Colony. That they were precious as gold, and for weeks after their arrival passed from hand to hand on regular circuits among friends and business people, we well know from the stories of our grandfathers. Even the *HERALD* itself, then sold at 9d. per copy, often passed through many hands before finally it lined the pantry shelves. It was a common thing for a "syndicate" to club together for a subscription to the paper, and each member would have possession of the copy for an allotted period—sometimes for only a quarter of an hour! With English papers there was the complication that, if the copy went astray, there was little chance of replacing it; so we find, on glancing at the issue of October 18, in 1832, the then proprietors of the *HERALD* found themselves in a quandary that may easily be conjectured from the ensuing announcement:

FIVE POUNDS REWARD.

Whereas, on Thursday, the 11th instant, a gentleman, in the most obliging manner, forwarded by his servant, to the office of *THE SYDNEY HERALD* an English Newspaper, bearing date of the 8th of June last, but which paper, by means yet unknown, never reached the proprietors of that establishment, and as the identity of the paper can be proved they hereby offer

A Reward of Five Pounds

to any person prosecuting, to a conviction, the party or parties so feloniously and clandestinely causing the non-delivery of the said paper into their possession, suspicion being entertained that it has been obtained for fraudulent and illegal purposes.—STEPHEN & STOKES.

Bygone borrowers of books and magazines, it seems, were not more scrupulous than their prototypes of to-day, if the following somewhat pointed announcement in the *HERALD* of April 17, 1834, is any criterion:

Blackwood's Magazine: The undersigned will feel obliged if the individual who borrowed the last July number of Blackwood's Magazine will return it as soon as convenient.

Students of the history of the drama in New South Wales will discover, by the following announcement in the *HERALD* of December 25, 1862, that one of the most notable of our early players, George Rogers, had much more than a histrionic appreciation of the robust qualities of Sir John Falstaff:

George H. Rogers begs to announce to his kind patrons and friends that, having been compelled to retire from the Colonial stage, he has thrown up all his old parts and intends only for the future to study and perform a new character on the stage of life, entitled

MINE HOST
THE SIR JOHN FALSTAFF INN,
COOGEE BAY,

which he trusts will prove the most successful of his impersonations.

Advertising in the forties was nothing if not outspoken, and the evident laxity of libel laws produced certain candour that would be a little disconcerting in these more cautious days. An advertiser in the issue of August 2, 1845, thus traverses the announcement of a hated rival:

It is natural to doubt the truth of an advertisement thanking the public for increase in business when we see the parties thus returning thanks dismissing several assistants for want of something to do. . . . But it is not probable that many are in the habit of going where no person of common respectability likes to be seen.

The days of food substitutes, apparently, had dawned by August 4, 1834, if anything but a slander is implied in the joint announcement by three firms that they were vendors of "genuine milk."

The duties and status of constables were much less clearly defined in the first half of last century than nowadays, and we find, in the *HERALD* of April 20, 1840, this strange method of invoking their aid:

TO CONSTABLES.

Dogs: The inhabitants in the neighbourhood are greatly annoyed by the number of dogs which assemble at night at the corner of Goulburn and Pitt Streets and make such a continued uproar that persons in the vicinity can get no rest. As these mongrels are, of course, unlawfully at large, and most, if not all, of them are unregistered, any constable who will take the trouble to abate this nuisance shall be liberally rewarded, and a further reward of 5/- will be paid for every dog killed on the spot.—Apply O.P.A., at *HERALD* Office.

All through the thirties, the *HERALD* advertising and news columns contain abundant evidence of the prosperity of the whaling industry. Sperm candles were offered at 2/- a pound, sperm oil at 4/- a gallon, and common whale oil at 2/- a gallon.

The toymaker of Hunter Street, Henry Parkes, not yet aboard the *Ship of State*, was at one time a regular advertiser in the *HERALD*. In February, 1848, for example, we find him inviting the public to patronise his "Ivory Toy Manufactory and General Toy Warehouse, 20 Hunter Street," where they might procure "chessmen, backgammon men, ivory dice, cribbage boards, tortoiseshell combs, walking sticks and canes, rocking horses, dolls, and an immense assortment of children's toys."

In all their barterings, their buyings and their sellings, their sorrows and their joys, the kinds of homes they built, the plays they went to, the food they ate and what it cost them, their modes of travel, and their means of livelihood—in all these and countless other ways, the lives of our fathers, our grandfathers, and our great-grandfathers, are revealed in a century of *HERALD* advertising. What changes there have been bewilder those who browse upon the pages of the past. But when the balance is struck, there is a heavy credit of betterment in most walks of life, and, we "weep not that the world changes—did it keep a stable, changeless state, it were cause indeed to weep."

The officer directly responsible for the advertising side of the *HERALD* is known as the Advertising Manager, and the occupant of that responsible post since 1911 has been Mr. J. J. Goldsbrough, who has a record of over fifty years' service in the establishment.

SECTION XVII.

THE MECHANICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE "HERALD"

FLOODED with light, even at the witching hour of midnight and on through the slumbrous hours of morn, the lofty chamber covering the entire basement of the HERALD Office is vibrant with symphonic thunder from the presses. It is the grand climax of each day's quest for news.

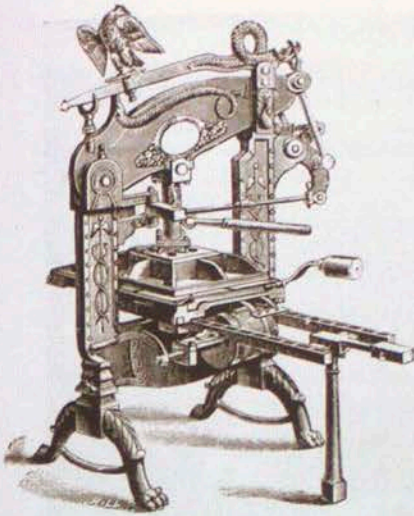
Garnered from the city, the suburbs, every corner of the State, and the farthest confines of the Commonwealth—from the uttermost ends of the earth—news and yet more news has been pouring in all day and night. Every item has been critically assessed by sub-editors, suitably headed, marked with the type in which it will be set, and passed on, through pneumatic tubes, to the composing room—there to embark upon the rapid series of mechanical processes that go to make the modern newspaper.

With a medley of metallic clatter that almost drowns the voice, two score of lino-type machines, like immense typewriters, have been busily outpouring solid lines of type. Assembled into columns, then into pages, together with any picture blocks that may be required for illustrations, and locked into steel frames, or chases, as they are called, these have been hurried along to the stereotyping room. There a *papier-mâché* mould of each page has been taken under immense pressure, and from these moulds—or matrices, as they are termed in the trade—there have been cast heavy semi-circular plates of type.

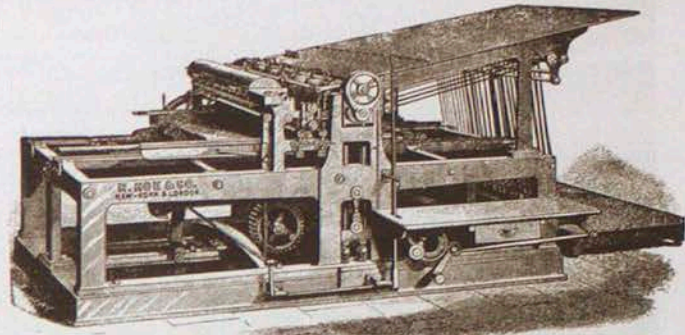
In quick succession, as the night grows late, these curved stereos—there are several for every page of the paper—have been rushed from the foundry to the huge mangle-like presses, and clamped upon their steel cylinders till these are completely clothed with scores of plates ready to print at least six complete and independent copies of the day's paper simultaneously. Each cylinder of type is impressed hard against another cylinder covered with a composition like linoleum, and between these are fed webs of paper from reels secured to revolving spindles in the sub-basement below. Each pair of type cylinders is fed by a separate paper roll, and in the single process both sides of the paper are printed. After printing, the paper passes to a folding machine, where it combines with webs from other cylinders and is automatically cut into separate papers. These gush out like foaming cataracts at half a dozen different points in the pressroom, and, gripped by perpendicular conveyers, are carried upwards in an endless stream through the ceiling into the publishing and despatch room on the street level above.

By one o'clock in the morning, O'Connell Street, in the vicinity of the HERALD cart docks, is thronged with vehicles and bustling men ready for the parcels that for the next few hours will pour out *en route* to agencies scattered far and wide over the city, suburbs, and the entire State. Land, water, and air transport—cars, lorries, carts, trams, trains, bicycles, boats, and aeroplanes—each plays its part in placing the HERALD upon countless breakfast tables.

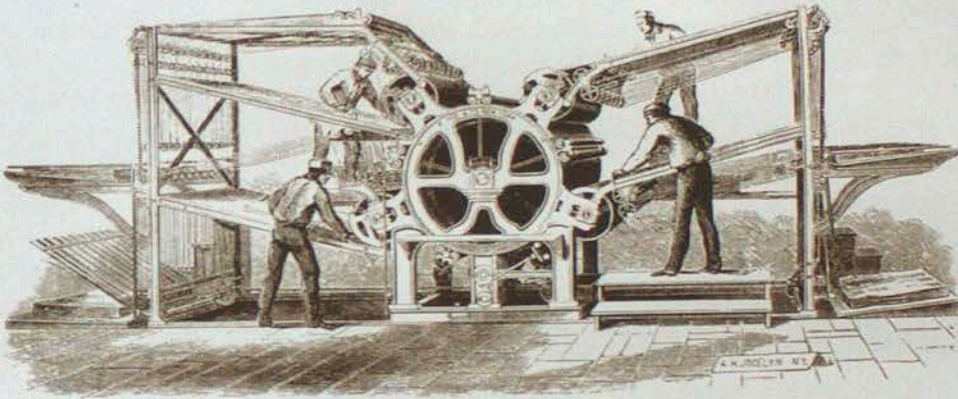
And on through the night roars the thunder of the presses. Pauses come for fresh editions as cables flow in from the capitals of the world—a wireless, maybe, from



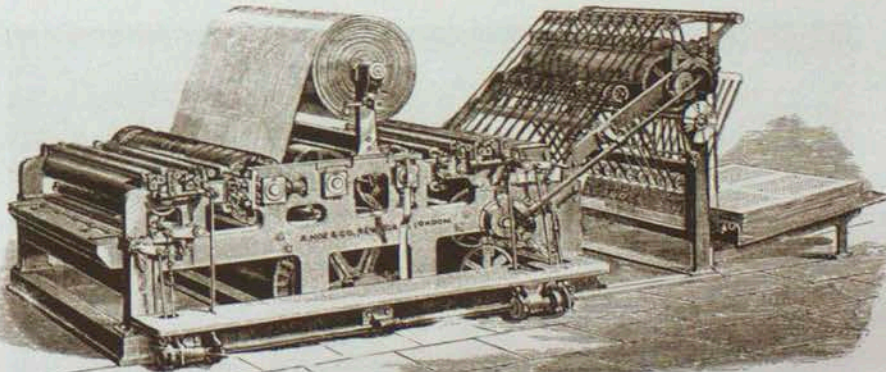
No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4

Some landmarks in the evolution of the newspaper printing press: (1) Columbian hand-operated press, on which the "Herald" was first printed. (2) Early Hoe steam-driven flat-bed press. (3) Hoe type-revolving press, introduced into the "Herald" office in 1859. The formes of hand-set type (curved stereo plates not having then been invented) were secured to a section of the great central cylinder. As this revolved, sheets of paper were fed in by hand as the type successively came in contact with the small impression cylinders at various points. Thus four sheets were printed during one revolution of the big cylinder. (4) The first machine on which printing was done from a roll of paper and cylinders clothed with stereo plates of type.



Days of the Hattersley type-setting machines. The girls are employed in distributing the type. The Hattersleys were superseded by linotypes, installed in 1903.



The Composing Room in the hand-setting era. About 150 frames (racks for holding the type cases) were in use, and gas was the illuminant.

Mawson near the Pole, or some tragedy that has reached the ears of wakeful roundsmen and been rushed into type while yet the victim breathed. But never for long in the fervid hours of publishing do the presses cease their song.

What epic words might well be set to their most mighty rhythm! Surely theirs is the moving music of one of industry's finest temples. In Olympian tones they thunder forth each day's new stanza in the Book of Life. A certain sense of awe might well be felt in the presence of gigantic presses at work on a nation's daily newspaper. Acolytes to the God of Mechanism, men dwarfed and silenced by the deafening mammoth they serve—supple, purposeful men in neat blue overalls—perform their nightly task with spanners, cotton-waste, and oil cans; and with each passing moment multitudes of papers are brought into being. Faster and yet faster the phalanxes of speeding cylinders spin round, and louder and yet louder grows their combined roar. At last they reach a high crescendo subtly satisfying to restless souls. Like the unloosed might of Niagara, intoxicating and deafening to those who gaze from the rock-hewn gallery beneath the falls, they hold the watcher spellbound—the last word in a century of marvellous progress in the development of the printing press!

What a moment to reflect upon the vastly different scene that witnessed the paper's birth! Such another night as this, it might have been, one hundred years ago. A soft autumnal breeze blows up from Sydney Cove, and with its salty tang come scraps of boisterous song from barques moored at roughly timbered wharfs.

Looking across from George Street, near the mouth of the murky Tank Stream, it seems that Governor Darling is abed, for 10 o'clock has struck, and Government House, on the opposite hillside, in common with the rest of the town, is wrapped in sable night. But near at hand flickering lights shine out from a small two-story store almost at the edge of the stream. A curious prowler has just crept up to one of the ground-floor windows and met a sight that makes him flatten his nose in wonder against the glass. Fitful rays from guttering tallow candles fall eerily upon a press of strange design. On its iron framework, some six feet high, is poised a fearsome eagle—symbol of the early Columbian Press. Two men are silently at work. One, his face aglow with honest sweat despite the chill of the night, has charge of a horizontal handle about three feet long. Each time he pulls it towards him the upper plate, or platen, of the press descends. Underneath it, on the bed, lies the type forme of the infant *HERALD*, and thus is the printing performed. Each time the printer releases the pressure and withdraws the type forme from under the platen, his companion lifts off the little, newly printed sheet, and puts it on top of a heap waiting to be printed later on the reverse side. Another sheet of dampened paper is laid upon the newly inked type, overlaid with cloth and several paper sheets to soften the contact with the metal of the platen, and rolled back on miniature rails ready for another printing.

Crude and slow as such a process may seem, judged in the light of such bewildering progress as motive power and the rotary press have since made possible, it represented the last word in printing efficiency then in use in the Colony. Little as the essential principles of printing had changed since the German inventor Gutenberg devised them four centuries before, there had actually been great advances in type manufacture and in press construction. Gutenberg, with his wooden structure modelled on the ancient cheese press and controlled by a screw like an office ledger press, could at best attain an hourly output of but twenty printed sheets. On the Columbian, the output had risen to the then phenomenal figure of 250 sheets to the hour—a maximum speed seldom, of course, attained because of the exhausting work imposed on the operators. Even at its maximum printing of 250 per hour, which meant only 125 complete papers, as they

had to be separately printed each side, it was painfully slow, and the growing popularity of newspapers cried aloud for greater mechanical capacity. To print as many of those small four-page HERALDS, each page only 18 ins. by 12 ins. in size, as would supply a day's demand on the present circulation would have occupied 2,000 hours! Within a year of its commencement the circulation of the HERALD reached 1,000 per issue, and to cope with the increasing sales the proprietors soon installed a more efficient style of machine that had recently appeared on the market. Modelled on a press built in *The Times* office, London, by a Saxon inventor and engineer named Koenig, in 1814, no longer did a heavy platen descend upon the forme of type to give the pressure needful for printing. Instead, the type forme was laid upon an iron bed that moved to and fro beneath a heavy cylinder, turned by hand. That was the first step in the use of the rotary principle in printing, but the day when the type also would be affixed to cylinders was far distant. Belper and Napier presses built on this principle are on record as having been included in the equipment of the HERALD at this period, and how laborious they were to operate may be gathered from the fact that one man was not able to turn the heavy cylinder for more than half an hour at a stretch. The prolonged struggle to secure equipment equal to the expanding Colony's ever-growing demands actually commenced with the very birth of the paper, but a crucial stage was reached in 1840, when, nine years after its foundation, daily publication was commenced. It was an era of great change. Man was mastering mechanism—or was mechanism mastering man? Whichever it was, more and more was muscle yielding to mechanical contrivances, and, as has providentially happened always in the destinies of the HERALD, the moment found the man. A bearded Warwickshire printer, but lately come from Home, full of knowledge and experience of every phase of newspaper production, literary, business, and mechanical, bought supreme control. A man of vision—stern of visage, quick of mind, deft of hand, he typified the pioneering patriarchs of British industry. Not a cog wheel nor a comma of type did John Fairfax own but he knew its exact uses. Did occasion arise he could write the leader, set the type, and print the paper. Not a man in the place did a hand's turn but he could do it as well or better, for he was the Master Printer!

To such a man the city's growth was a ceaseless goad. He must have the machinery to meet it. Each improvement that appeared meant the ruthless scrapping of existing plant and the substitution of new, till, in the course of years, Australian printing houses with less pressing needs have been strewn with the HERALD's discarded machines—many as good as new and with years of service in them. In the quest for speed, a grand procession of ever-improving presses has passed through the HERALD Office right up to the present day, providing succeeding generations with a newspaper equal in mechanical resources to any contemporary in the world.

Something of the early struggles was revealed when, on September 21, 1844, readers of the paper were taken into the proprietorial confidence in the ensuing terms:

Within the last few weeks the publication of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD has been occasionally later than usual, to the great dissatisfaction and annoyance of many subscribers, who say, and say justly, that it is important to them to read the paper before they commence the business of the day. On ordinary occasions, the delivery of the HERALD commences at 6 o'clock, and it is finished by 8 o'clock, but when the Legislative Council is in session, and the House sits till 10 or 11 o'clock, it is impossible for us to publish the HERALD of the next morning quite as early as usual, if we give anything like a report of the proceedings. Instead of commencing publishing at 6 o'clock, it is sometimes that hour before the HERALD is sent to press, and, although our machines will run off 1,500 copies an hour, it is impossible for the runners to complete the delivery of the HERALD until after 9 o'clock.

The resourcefulness of the new proprietor was soon proved by his bold decision to turn, for the moment, from searching abroad for a suitable press, and commission a local engineer to build one here. On designs in which he largely collaborated, he set to work "a clever young German named Fuchs." The castings, records show, were made at a certain Mr. Dawson's foundry, a few doors to the north of the HERALD Office, then on the eastern side of George Street.

That was in 1848, and the successful fabrication of the Fuchs Press, as it became known, was one of the earliest notable engineering feats accomplished on Australian soil. Though larger and faster than its predecessors, it still involved the laborious task of turning the impression cylinder by hand. This could not continue. Sheer physical exhaustion impeded the machine's capacity for production. News came through of wonderful advances in England, and John Fairfax determined to judge for himself, by seeing them at work. "The circulation of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD is now over 4,000 daily, which is more than any London paper, except *The Times*," he wrote on the eve of his departure on this mission.

Things moved amazingly during his absence. To the difficulties of keeping men at work in face of the lure of gold, following the sensational discoveries of 1851, were added the problems of a yet larger circulation, arising from the stimulus to trade those same discoveries had brought. Letters awaited him at Port Phillip on his way back, which, as he wrote from there on July 8, 1853, contained "most important and astounding news as to the increase of the circulation of the HERALD. We now print 6,000 to 7,000, and twice a week we are compelled to give double pages besides supplements." But he was able to announce a most important purchase. Power printing, already successfully demonstrated in *The Times* office over a number of years, was about to be introduced to the HERALD Office. The press was on its way, and soon came the memorable day of its arrival.

Even more than wonted excitement upon the mooring of an English boat might be guessed from the bustling gait and eager talk of some who mingled in the throng at the Quay. Silk-hatted merchants and tradesmen, townsfolk of every description, burly men with backs bent by unbelievable burdens from abroad, beribboned and bonneted women greeting with apoplectic welcome mothers, brothers, sisters, and cousins, fresh from Home—all joined in a babel of talk, dodging among bales and boxes, perspiringly seated on corded sea chests, and stumbling over hawsers and bollards. Curious eyes take stock of a succession of weighty crates, bulging with straw, that with difficulty are being got ashore. They must be the HERALD's new press, word passes round, for there is John Fairfax himself, in grave confabulation with the bluff old captain. What talk it causes! Old Jim, the wharfinger, knows all about it, for he heard John Fairfax describe it to the mate. "She goes by steam!" his gaping listeners learn.

And so she did. Incredible as it seemed, and disproving the dire prognostications of the town's pessimists that she would burst and blow the place to atoms, she was soon steadily at work printing 2,000 impressions an hour. Built by E. Cowper, of Birmingham, and known as the Cowper double cylinder, she throbbed and hissed with such good-will, and the flat formes of type passed to and fro beneath the cylinders with such measured movement, that visitors stood in awe. But such was the galloping progress of the early gold days, that her capacity had been outstripped before she was installed, and an urgent order was despatched for another machine of the same kind. Ill-luck, however, was in store. Lost in the wreck of the Brahmin, on King's Island—the news of which took five months to reach Sydney, though the scene was but 500 miles distant, she was mourned by distracted printers, at their wits' ends to know how to meet the

needs of Sydney's swollen populace. Another machine, complete with steam engine and boiler, was hastily despatched, but before it arrived it was realised that, even then, the resources would be inadequate, and a yet greater machine, double the size, and able to print 4,000 an hour, was put on order at once. Known as the Cowper four cylinder press—bear in mind that the cylinders were still only used for providing pressure and were not yet shod with type—it reached Sydney with its engine and massive boiler in 1855. Such bulk the congested George Street office could not accommodate. "So," wrote John Fairfax, "I have resolved to store them until our new office, now building, is ready to receive them. I am building purposely for room and convenience, five storeys high, on the best corner in Sydney."

All this enterprise and feverish endeavour to multiply output played a vital part in the fortunes of the HERALD. Against it rivalry was well-nigh impossible. One who viewed it all disconsolately was rugged Henry Parkes. Not yet become Australia's most picturesque statesman of his time, he had recently relinquished his Hunter Street toy shop, been returned to Parliament, and launched *The Empire*. With a foreboding, soon to prove well founded, he saw arise in Hunter Street a new HERALD Office equipped with every known printing device inventors had yet contrived, and by far the noblest building of its day. Not a practical printer himself, nor temperamentally fitted for editorship, he saw *The Empire* outclassed in both mechanical resources and popular appeal, sinking deeper and deeper into the financial vortex that, in 1858—two years later—was to compel suspension of publication and, after a revival the following year, the ultimate merger with *The Evening News*, which Samuel Bennett, an overseer of the HERALD composing room, had founded.

A moment of extraordinary interest in the development of the newspaper printing press had now arrived. The change had come that was to make modern circulations possible and found the fortunes of the great press-building house of Hoe. The first successful attempt at printing from type clamped around a cylinder almost synchronised with the HERALD's removal from its George Street office to the building destined to stand till so recently as 1926. The memorable and picturesque procession of compositors from the old office to the new—fine old craftsmen with flowing beards like Druids and white aprons for priestly vestments, each carrying his own case of type with infinite care lest it be jumbled to hopeless "pi"—might well have chanted some grand Te Deum of typographical glories about to be.

Hitherto, in every practicable printing press, the forme of movable type had always been laid flat on a bed, and, as already explained, the printing pressure had come from either a descending platen or from heavy cylinders under which the type moved to and fro. As early as 1790, William Nicholson, an English author, school-teacher, editor, and inventor, prophetically inspired, had elaborated the theory of printing from type affixed to revolving cylinders. But not one of the fantastic devices for so affixing the type had yet proved really effective. Even the idea of making moulds from the type and casting from them curved stereo plates to be affixed to cylinders had been conceived by the Birmingham press builder, Cowper, back in 1815, but as yet, in 1856, no means had been discovered for giving practical effect to the scheme—nor were they destined to be for some years to come. Till then, the full fruits of the rotary principle could not be gathered, but the first fruits were now ripe.

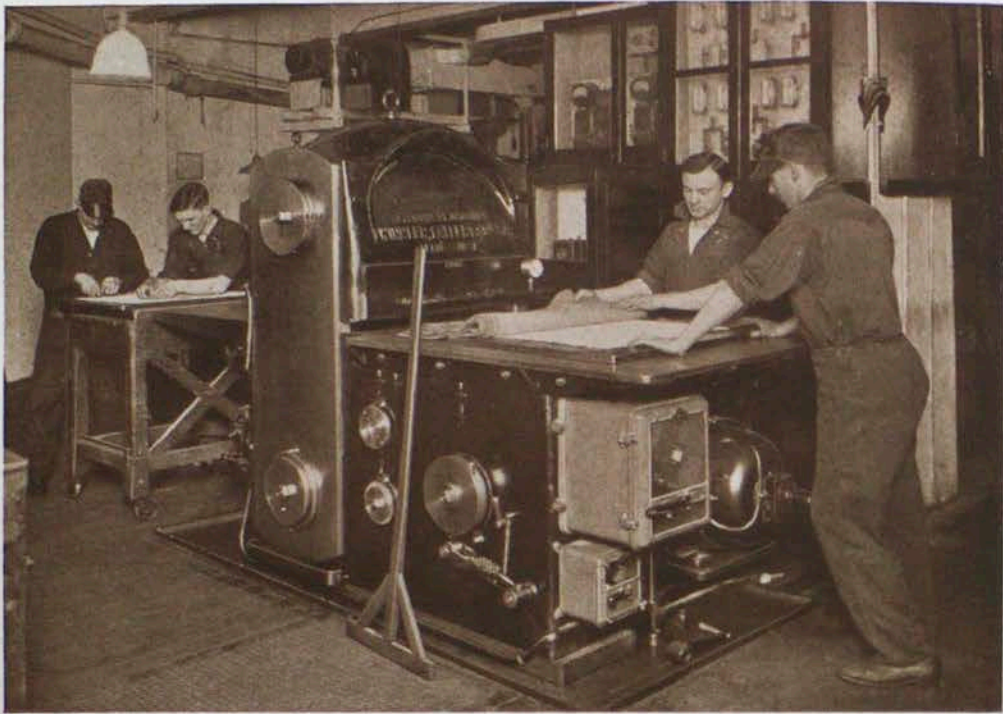
Richard Hoe hit upon the idea of making a cylinder so huge that lack of rotundity in the types faces did not matter. The pages of movable type were placed in shallow and curved steel boxes, or chases, and so tightly locked in that not a comma could escape. These curved formes of type, which, with their rotund backs, so closely re-



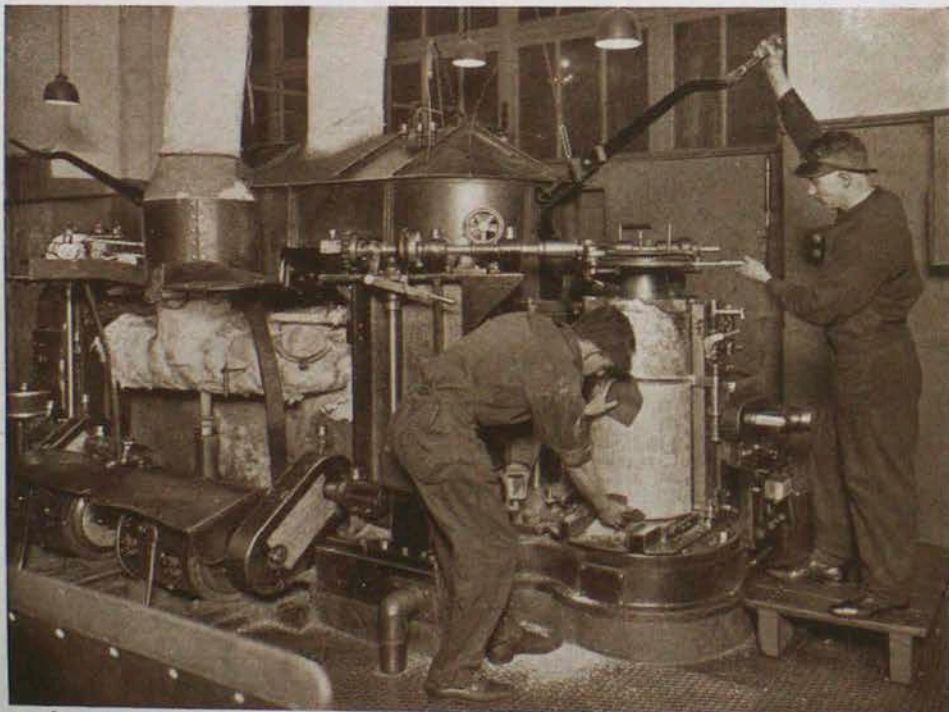
The battery of linotypes in the composing room comprises 47 machines, exclusive of the Ludlows that cast the larger type used in the display advertisements.



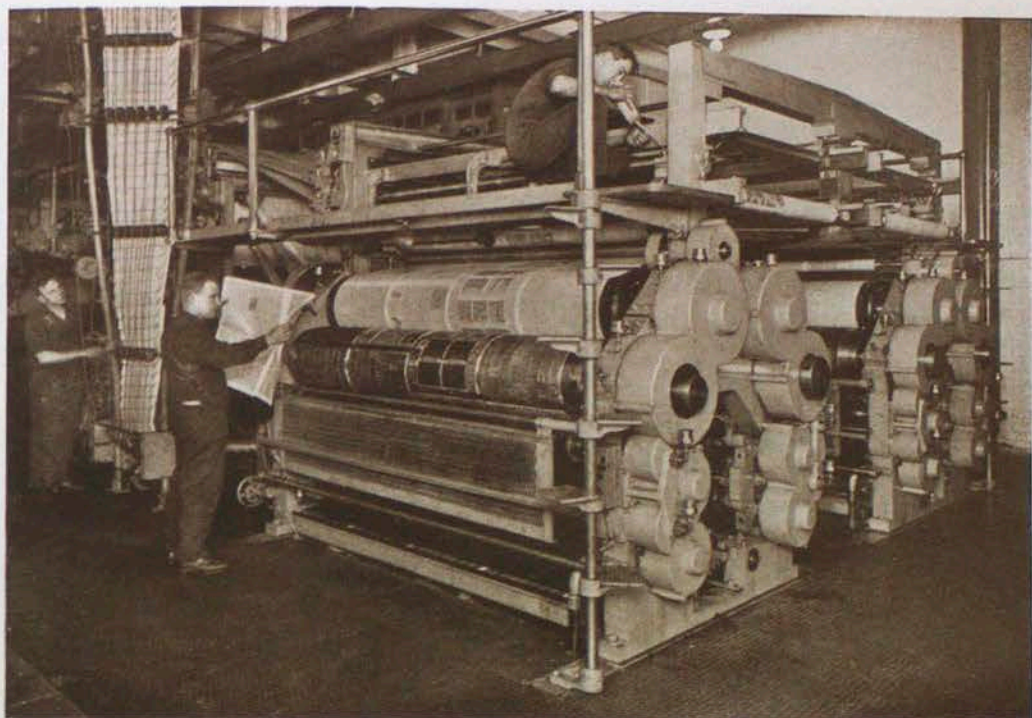
"Making-up"—that is, arranging the type in the news and advertisement pages in the form in which it appears in the morning's paper.



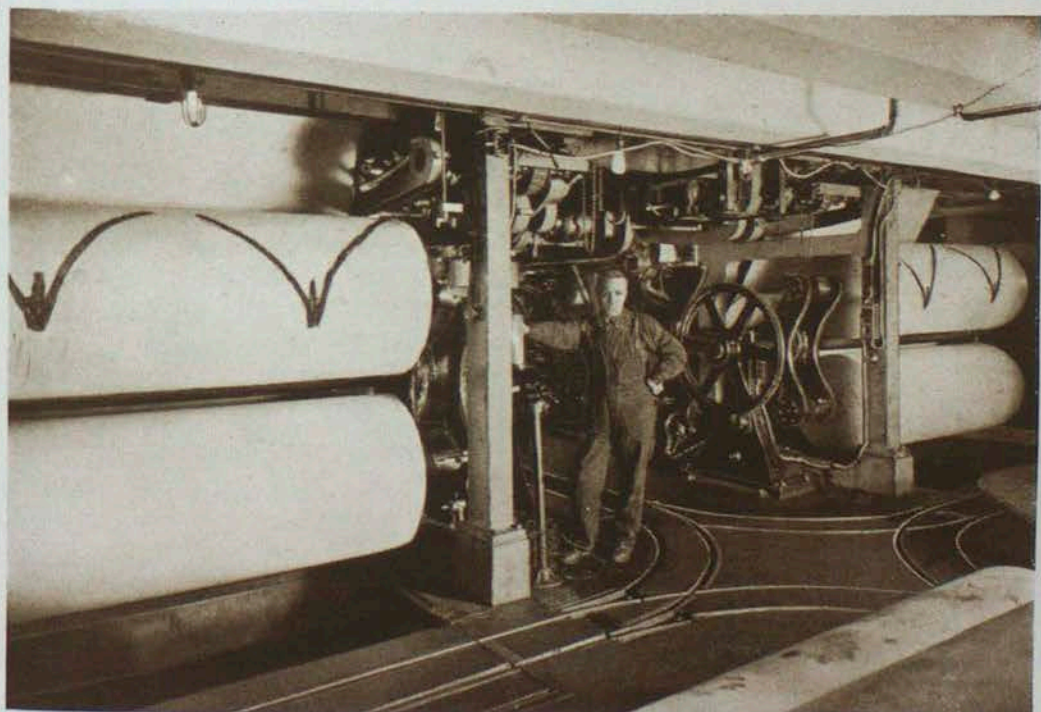
Before the stereo plates for the rotary presses are cast "papier-maché" impressions, or moulds, are made from the type. This is done on the Winkler machine above.



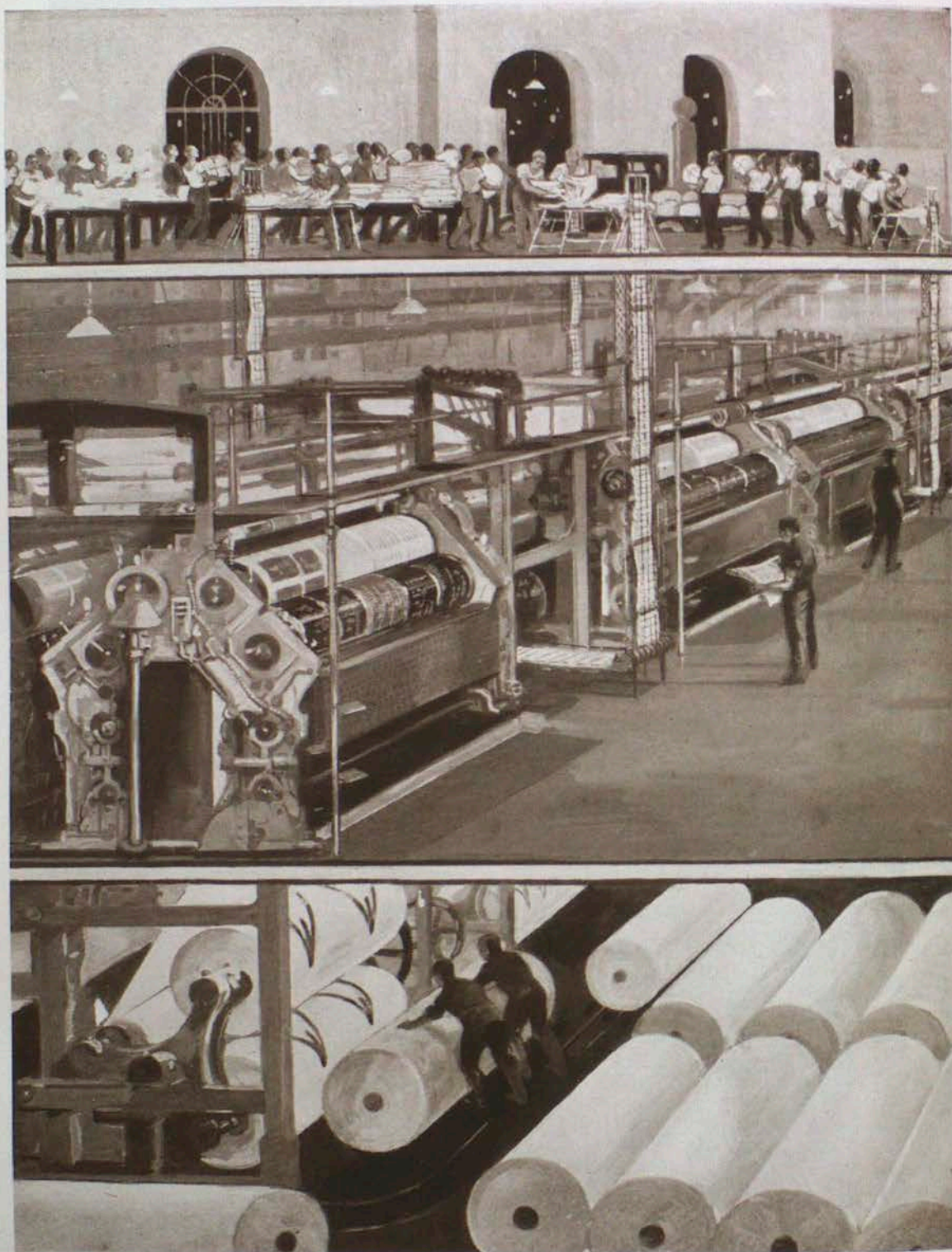
Stereo plate of a "Herald" page, cast from the mould, and curved to fit round the cylinder of the press, being ejected from an automatic casting machine in foundry.



Two of the sixteen Scott multi-unit presses. The printed papers are seen ascending one of the many conveyors to the publishing room on the floor above.



Paper roll magazines that feed the presses. The arrows on the upper rolls are the "flying pasters," by which roll is joined to roll without stopping the presses.



The process of printing the "Herald" may be visualised by the above diagrammatic sketch. From reels in the sub-basement the paper is fed into the presses above. The web of paper is shown passing through one of the press units. Combined with the webs from other units, it passes into the folding and cutting apparatus, and the completed copies of the "Herald" are carried by conveyors, as shown, through the ceiling of the press room into the publishing room on the street level. Here they are wrapped into parcels for despatch to agents.

sembled turtles as to gain that name, were clamped onto the great cylinder in such a way that they constituted a relatively narrow strip across its periphery. For a miniature and homely example, take a reel of cotton. Across the face of the cotton, from side to side of the reel, draw a ribbon of ink about a quarter of an inch wide. That represents the face of the type, occupying only a very small strip across the surface of the reel. Now imagine the cotton reel set horizontally into a frame so that it can revolve like a cylinder. Then imagine several tiny cylinders, relatively about the diameter of lead pencils, also placed in the framework at different fixed points around the great cylinder and pressing hard against it. They look like a little planetary system. When the big cylinder moves round, the little cylinders, in their fixed positions in the framework, spin round also. Thus, in a regular succession, the strip of type presses against one and then another of the little cylinders. At each point of contact between the strip of type and one of the small cylinders, there is a platform on which a man is stationed, and at the right moment, when his cylinder and the type come into contact, he feeds in a sheet of paper which is forthwith printed on one side and carried off on a tape conveyer to a platform provided for its reception. When the other side has been similarly printed, it will be a complete *HERALD*, and be carried away to an entirely separate folding machine.

Thus, if there were four little cylinders across the periphery of the great one, four separate printings would take place with every complete revolution of the latter. If there were six of the small cylinders—as indeed there were on the first such machine installed in the *HERALD* Office—there would be six separate printings. And as the machine was built with anything up to ten of the minor cylinders, it was possible to get up to ten separate printings to every complete revolution of one major cylinder. Cumbersome as this hand-fed machine seems compared with the whirling cylinders automatically fed from reels with continuous webs of paper that were to come a few years later, it represented an advance that revolutionised the newspaper industry.

It was in 1859, within three years of the completion of the Hunter Street building, that the first of these machines was installed, having the impressive title of a Hoe Six-cylinder Type-revolving Printing Machine. In less than a year of its arrival, so insistently did demands continue to grow, another was ordered, this time with four of the minor cylinders, exactly as illustrated on another page. This had the obvious advantage of enabling the two machines to work in co-operation. As soon as the sheets were printed on one side on the first machine, they were transferred to the other machine to be printed on the reverse side, obviating the necessity of printing the whole issue on one side before the reverse side could be embarked upon.

In announcing, in the *HERALD* of January 1, 1859, the impending arrival of the first of these two presses, the proprietor expressed confidence that a machine had at length been found that would provide for "any enlargement of circulation." Its cost, it was stated, was between £4,000 and £5,000, and it was capable of throwing off 12,000 copies per hour. That, in face of such optimism, another of the machines had to be ordered so soon, shows again how baffling was the task of keeping pace with the city's progress.

Two obstacles only now remained in the way of perfect rotary printing—the lack of curved stereo plates and of paper made in reels, instead of flat sheets. As early as 1731, a Scotsman named William Ged had succeeded in taking plaster moulds from pages of type and casting from them flat metal plates, which were called stereotypes—from the Greek word *stereos*, meaning "solid." While the plates remained flat, they could not be used on cylinders. But, at last, the idea suggested itself of mak-

ing the moulds, or matrices, out of flexible *papier-mâché*, instead of brittle plaster. It was then a simple matter to bend the matrix into a semi-circular casting box, and make curved plates that could be clamped upon cylinders. Coincident with this, perfecting the invention of a Frenchman named Louis Robert, came the manufacture of paper in reels containing continuous sheets, or webs, each some miles long. Thus the way was clear for the construction of presses in which the cylinders were completely clothed with curved stereotype plates. Furthermore, by having two of these type cylinders fitted into one framework, the paper web could be led from one cylinder to the other, and printing could be effected on both sides simultaneously in the one machine. A device was invented for cutting the web into separate newspapers immediately after printing, and automatic folding quickly followed—printing, cutting, folding and counting all done by the one machine.

Such were the wonderful achievements that John Fairfax was able to see embodied in a Bullock type of Hoe press, installed in his office in 1875—two years before his death. What deep content that must have brought to one whose life had been spent in tireless effort to meet Sydney's needs with the best that mechanism could offer! Through every stage, from the humble hand press, he had seen newspaper printing machinery evolve, till it incorporated every essential principle of the rotary press of to-day. That he himself played no mean part in suggesting important improvements to the pioneer press builders, is proved by HERALD archives. Full of years and the wisdom of his craft, he passed away when victory was won.

For succeeding generations, the gradual transition to the high-speed rotary press of to-day involved no vital change. From a simple framework holding two type cylinders, on which one web of paper was simultaneously printed on both sides, it was an obvious step to incorporate in a larger framework four type cylinders and print two webs on each side simultaneously, automatically assembling and folding them into yet larger papers. Then came six type cylinders, printing from three webs, eight type cylinders, printing from four webs—and so on, all incorporated in one mountainous machine, and making possible the bulky newspapers of modern times.

After steam came the gas engine, and after gas, electricity. The advent of the electric motor made power mobile and easy to distribute. Shaftings and beltings, with all their dangers and defects, were swept away with a sigh of relief by grateful engineers. Every unit of machinery could be independently driven by its own motor. Thus the electric motor made possible a tremendous simplification in the structure of the printing press—exemplified for the first time in Australia in 1922 by the installation of Scott Multi-Unit Rotary Web Presses in the new press room constructed in the basement of the towering building then arising on the site of that built by John Fairfax nearly seventy years before.

The complicated double and treble decked frameworks, with their mazes of paper webs and type and impression cylinders, were discarded. In their place appeared simple units, each containing only two type cylinders for printing the two sides of a web. Each type cylinder contains the stereos, or type plates, of eight pages of the HERALD. Therefore, each unit is able to print sixteen pages—eight on each side of the paper. Each unit has its own motor, and is entirely independent of any other unit. But a number of these units regimented together can be used in a variety of combinations. The printed webs from one, two, three or more of them can be led to a common folder and there be assembled and cut into HERALDS of whatever number of pages may be required within the maximum.

The units may be used in varying combinations. If the motor or other mechanism in one is thrown out of order, another combination, excluding the disabled unit, can quickly be substituted. In the HERALD Office to-day there are no less than sixteen such units, capable of printing 240,000 sixteen-page HERALDS per hour, or half that number of 32-page papers. These maximum outputs, of course, are never attained, on account of delays through stoppages for new editions and other purposes. Each unit has its own paper supply, fed through the floor from a sub-basement.

Newsprint paper is made from timber mechanically ground and chemically pulped, and an average issue of the HERALD accounts for over 150 pine trees from the snow-clothed ridges of northern lands. No newsprint paper is yet made in Australia, though plans have been completed, and await favourable opportunity for being put into execution, for manufacturing it. Already it has been successfully made from hardwoods, the earlier difficulties that were encountered having been overcome. An Australian company, known as Paper Makers Ltd., of which Mr. W. O. Fairfax is a director, and in which the HERALD and many other leading Australian newspapers are largely interested, has been formed for the purpose of establishing the paper pulp industry in Tasmania. Almost from the inception of the scheme, the HERALD has been closely associated with it. The company has acquired 123,000 acres of virgin hardwood forest country some thirty miles from the town of Burnie, together with the milling rights over 750,000 acres of Crown lands along the Emu Bay railway line. It has also acquired a factory site on the Emu River, at Burnie, and all other facilities for carrying on the industry. The freehold area was purchased through Mr. Gerald Mussen from the Van Diemen's Land Company, of London, which acquired the property under Royal Charter from George IV. over 100 years ago.

Just as ink—a viscous substance, in appearance like tar, of which over three tons are consumed by the HERALD each week—is the life-blood of printing, newsprint is its flesh and bone. The huge 16-cwt. reels on which the HERALD is printed come from Canadian, Scandinavian, and English mills, and are deposited in the HERALD's huge bulk store beside the wharves at Woolloomooloo. Every day supplies at Hunter Street are replenished by high-powered lorries, and the reels are deposited in the sub-basement below the press room. There a network of rails enables them to be rapidly distributed on trollies to their positions underneath each press unit. For each unit there is a magazine holding three of these reels, and, as one exhausts, another is automatically picked up by means of a non-drying gum, the press not even being stopped! What a change from the days of the two- and three-decked machines, when the exhaustion of a reel on the upper decks necessitated laboriously elevating a fresh reel by means of hoists!

Thus the paper from a reel passes from the sub-basement into a printing unit, is thence conducted into a cutting and folding machine in which it combines with the printed webs from other units, and in the form of completed newspapers is conducted by automatic conveyers ascending to the ceiling and into the publishing room on the street level above. There scores of men are waiting to pack the papers into parcels and load them into waiting vehicles. Some idea of the enormous amount of paper consumed in the production of the HERALD may be gained from the fact that for 230,000 copies of a 32-page paper, which are issued on a Saturday, there is used a total weight of 63 tons of paper, contained in 84 rolls of 83 inches in width. The total length of the paper on these 84 rolls would be 672,000 yards, or about 382 miles.

As well as the HERALD machines, the press room contains, among other apparatus, a vast double decked Hoe rotary machine on which THE SYDNEY MAIL is printed. Weighing 65 tons, containing over 70,000 individual parts, and being capable of

printing 96 pages simultaneously, it is by far the largest machine of its kind in the southern hemisphere.

It may seem that the cart has preceded the horse in thus tracing the evolution of the printing press before telling the story of type-setting and its wonderful transition from a manual to a mechanical operation. The defence is that, valuable as has been the assistance of type-setting machinery, its part in the development of the newspaper has been insignificant compared with that of the rotary press, the stereo plate, and the newsprint reel. With these as they stood when John Fairfax died in 1877, the production of the *HERALD* of to-day, both in size and circulation, would not have been impossible, though the linotype had not then been thought of. It would simply have meant the employment of more compositors. The Homeric struggle in the printing industry was to build up output from the presses. Mechanical typesetting was an afterthought. Nevertheless it was of absorbing interest, and, although he did not live to see it properly accomplished, John Fairfax was fully alive to its possibilities. He sought the minutest details of experiments that were commenced in *The Times* office, a few years before his death, by a German inventor named Charles Kastenbein. Under his device, separate type characters were stored in a magazine from which, on the pressure of a finger key, each type, as required, was released and automatically conducted to the line being composed. Subsequently, after printing had been completed, each character had to be individually replaced in the magazine. Nothing of that kind, however, was introduced into the *HERALD* Office until 1895, and till then there was nothing differing in essentials from the methods of Gutenberg at Mainz and Caxton at Westminster. Designs and methods of making types, of course, had vastly improved, but still each character had to be picked from its compartment in a case and placed by hand in its proper position in a line.

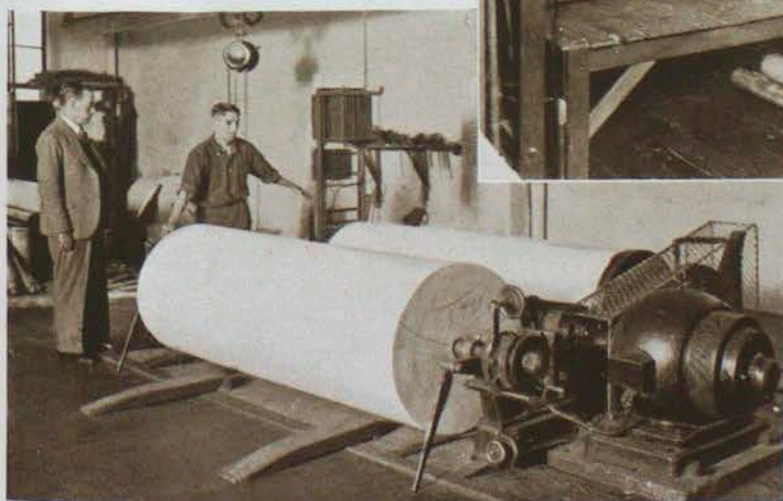
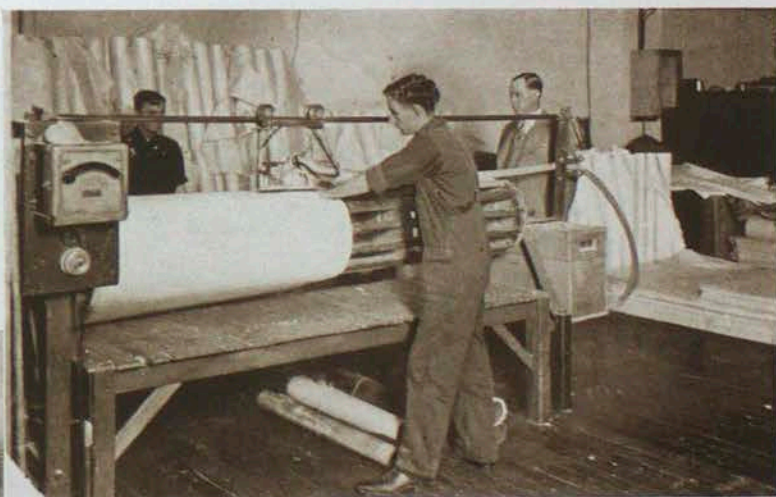
The top-hatted compositors of mid-Victorian days were craftsmen of surpassing dignity. With their "Chapel" and "Father"—a fraternal organisation that still flourishes for promoting the well-being of members and conducting negotiations with the management—they were the most numerous and most potent force in any printing office. Picture the spacious old *HERALD* composing room of last century, lit by myriads of oil lamps, and later by gas. With what knitted brows and hushed intent the long lines of shirt-sleeved men scrutinised their "copy," as manuscript is called, and deftly plucked with incredible speed at the various types in the cases before them! How quickly the little metal "stick," as the type-container, held in the left hand, was termed, filled up with lines a column wide, and with what earnest purpose, and softly padding footfalls (for heavy boots were banned because of their distracting noise), they hurried along to the "bulk"—the high, sloping, desk-like rack, where each portion of composed type was in turn deposited! The bulk was the hive, and they the bees, and their little deposits of composed type the honey that filled the daily comb. To and fro they busily went. Each one, after dropping his type at the bulk, hurried on to the "cage," took another "take," or portion of manuscript, and back to his allotted place at the type frames, ceaselessly repeating the proceeding.

And what was the "cage"? In it sat the veritable King of the Composing Room—that august personage, the Printer, or Overseer as he is now known. All through the night, copy from the Editor and Sub-Editor would come to him in successive batches, brought by breathless boys. This he would divide—and still does, for the matter of that, for the procedure has not changed—into "takes" or portions, sufficient to produce about two inches in type, the measurement better known as a "stick," from the capacity of the container so named and held by the compositor. Each portion of copy, folded



A corner of the Publishing Room. On the right may be seen one of the conveyors delivering a continuous stream of papers from the press room below.

The Herald is printed at such high speed that it is not practicable to exhaust each of the newsprint reels. The remnants are unwound on to a revolving frame, as shown, and cut into flat sheets for trade requirements by an electrically operated saw.



Re-winding and re-conditioning reels of newsprint that have been dented or otherwise damaged in transit. Each reel weighs about 16 cwt.



An early morning scene on the O'Connell Street side of the office, showing portion of the fleet of motor lorries used to convey the "Herald" to the principal newsagents and to the railway station and other centres.



Members of the Circulation Staff, each provided with an office car, about to set out on their visits to the city, suburban and country agencies.

once, the Printer, or his assistant, would place in one of a series of boxes, ranged along one side of the wooden barrier of his cage. Each box was devoted to copy intended to be set in a given size of type. Thus classified advertisements went into the nonpareil box, news matter into the minion box, leaders into the long primer box, and so on. In the frame of each compositor were complete cases of the four types in use—long primer, minion, bourgeoisie, and nonpareil. With one or other of them he was occupied all night long, and into the early morning, till the paper was “put to bed.” Just one most welcome interlude occurred at half-past ten, when the secretary of the Chapel broke the decorous silence with a stentorian call of “Clock!” It was the signal for a half-hour spell, or “Lunch,” as it has always been known, presumably because, for workers on morning newspapers, night turns to day.

What happened, and still does happen, when the compositor had set a take, and deposited the type on the bulk?—Bulk hands assemble the separate articles or reports, and make them up into columns, which are placed in brass trays called “galleys.” These are hurried to a small press—the galley press—on which column proofs are pulled on long strips of paper, having sufficient margins for corrections to be noted by the readers. Then back to another bulk the type matter goes, waiting for the compositor to make whatever corrections have been marked on the proof. As the time for going to press approaches, the corrected columns, lying on the bulk, one by one are removed to the “stone”—a heavy iron slab (once actually a stone) on a perambulating framework—and, under the direction of the Sub-Editor, are placed in the pages, in such positions as to give the best appearance to the paper. As each page of type is completed, it is enclosed in a heavy steel frame—the chase—and, by means of metal wedges, operated by strong screws, it is made secure. In the old days, before stereotyping and rotary presses, this was the final stage prior to printing. The forme or page of actual type was trundled to the press and transferred to its bed. But, nowadays, the actual type is never touched by printer’s ink, save when the proofs are pulled. Once the thin *papier-mâché* matrices have been made for the casting of the curved stereotypes, the original type has done its duty, and is returned to the melting pot.

The earlier *papier-mâché* sheets, or “flongs,” were applied to the face of the type in a wet condition, and a beating brush or mangle press forced the soft substance into the interstices of the type. Then the matrix had to be carefully dried in an oven. Now, however, so immense is the 1,000-ton pressure of the great, modern Winkler moulding press that the *papier-mâché* sheets are used almost bone dry, and are afterwards placed in an electrical drying apparatus only for the removal of any slight moisture before casting. In the old days, too, the process of casting was a formidable affair. The matrix of the page was placed in an iron box, and the molten lead-antimony-tin alloy was ladled by hand. Then the plates, after casting, had to be cleaned, trimmed, and prepared in various other ways, also by hand. Now all is done by automatic process. Once the matrices are placed in the Autoplate machines, equipped with huge electrically heated cauldrons of molten metal, which, on the pulling of a lever, is pumped into water-cooled casting boxes, the gleaming curved plates come out in quick succession and the Autoscraper knives and brushes trim and clean them, and they are quickly ready to be clamped upon the cylinders of the presses.

“Please pull out!”—Such was the written appeal from the Printer passed round from hand to hand by the old-time compositors standing, or sitting on high stools, at their type cases when, as often happened as the night waxed late, heavy batches of late copy flowed in from Parliament or elsewhere. A glimpse of such a message, and the old “comp.” would spring to his task like a war-horse at sound of shot. Tension was

intensified. Under the flickering gas jets, carefully shaded to protect their eyes, they worked with febrile energy in the weighty knowledge that upon this extra spurt depended the paper's going to press on time. Even on normal nights that last half-hour was a fervour of perspiring effort.

More than a hundred compositors, apart from bulk hands, correctors, stone hands, and others, sometimes worked simultaneously in the old *HERALD* composing room. What a cataclysm, then, it was in 1895, when the first type-setting machines were installed! The Hattersley machine was a development of that on which Kastenbein had been working at *The Times* office twenty years before. It was merely a type-setting machine—the type-setting and casting machine had yet to come. Operated by a keyboard like that of a typewriter, a piece of actual type was released from a magazine whenever one of the keys was touched. How the old compositors adapted themselves to the new conditions and became speedy operators on the keyboards—there are still some of these men in the office—is one of the marvels of the craft. This particular machine involved a temporary invasion by women of territory dedicated through centuries to men. With shaking heads and downcast eyes the craftsmen submitted to girls being employed to replace the type in the magazines after it had been used. It took two girls to replace the type that one man had set. But within a few years they disappeared. The Monoline machine, introduced in 1901, did away with the need for replacing type in magazines. It actually cast type. Whenever a key was touched, instead of a piece of type it released a small brass mould, or matrix. This came clattering down its own particular channel in the magazine, and took up its position in a compact row waiting for the cast to be made. When enough such matrices had been released to make a line the width of a column, an aperture in a small pot of molten metal momentarily opened and emitted sufficient metal to cast a solid line of type. Two years later came the marvellously improved Linotype machine of Ottmar Mergenthaler, substantially the same as the models now working in the *HERALD* Office.

Few machines are so fascinatingly "human" as this. It is as near to the robot as man has yet conceived. It casts the type in shiny bright lines ("lines o' type," as its name implies), and as these lines pop out of slots in rapid succession onto the trays, one is reminded of the minting of silver. An expert operator can, on good copy, keep his machine going at full capacity, which is about six lines a minute. These lines are called "slugs," and the process of casting, or minting, them goes on at wonderful speed, until the lines in the operator's "take" are all set up. Then these slugs are assembled in proper order on the metal trays, or galleys, and are eventually made up into pages of type as already described.

What, asks the amazed observer, what but a sentient, thinking being can do as this machine does just after a line has been cast? A hand of steel comes quickly down and clasps the little bunch of metal matrices that have done their work. It lifts them up to the top of the machine and threads them onto a screw-wormed rod revolving horizontally along the ridge of the matrix magazine. Special wards, like those of keys, are cut into each matrix, and as they travel along the row of little slots at the top of the magazine each drops into the one that fits its wards and gravitates to the channel whence it came. Thus, when the operator touches the keyboard at the letter "k," a little brass matrix of "k" slides down from the bottom of the magazine and takes up its position in the line of other matrices ready for the cast to be made from them. That done, it is gripped with its companions in the manner described, and conveyed to the top of the magazine, but it spurns every slot that it passes till it comes to that marked "k," and then it drops down from the rod to which it clung and scuttles down the narrow channel

occupied by several matrices of the same letter waiting to perform the same circuit. Quite large display types are cast on specially constructed linotype machines, and others, yet larger, are made on the Ludlow type-caster—a machine in which the large brass matrices are assembled by hand and put into an automatic caster, to emerge in solid lines. All the column rules and dividing lines used in the paper are also cast on a special machine called the Elrod, and when once the *papier-mâché* mould has been taken from the page of type they, too, are returned to the melting pot. Once upon a time, a piece of type had to do service daily for at least three years. Nowadays, like that of the butterfly, its life is ephemeral and lasts less than a day.

The type used for the general body of news is what the older generation of printers term minion, but there has arisen a new generation which has discarded the old descriptions of types, and in place of them adopted what is called the point system. There are very good reasons for the alteration in terminology; yet the older generation of printers who have grown up in this office, and whose fathers and in many cases whose grandfathers served it, continue to use the old descriptions of types—pica, long primer, brevier, minion, nonpareil, and so on. Pica and long primer rarely find a place in HERALD reading columns; brevier is the type that is used in leading articles; minion is the type that is used for the general body of news; and nonpareil is the type that is used for the classified advertisements, for shipping news, the details of sporting events, and so on. Under the modern point system, which has become universal, pica is designated 12 points; long primer, 10 points; brevier, 8 points; minion, 7 points; and nonpareil, 6 points—72 points being equal to one inch measured from top to bottom of the type face. Now, for the purpose of the comparison we are about to make, let us adhere to the ancient terms of type descriptions to which the old printers affectionately cling, and tell how long it took to set a column of minion by hand, and how long it takes to perform the same operation to-day per medium of the linotype. It is first necessary to digress a little. The HERALD columns have a peculiarity that possibly the ordinary reader may never have noticed. They are wider than those of any other newspaper in Australia—among the widest used in the newspapers of the world, in fact, each measuring a fraction under two and a half inches in width, but printers themselves speak of type measurement in different terms. To them, this width would be $14\frac{1}{2}$ ems, the em being the unit of type measurement so far as width is concerned. Originally the em simply was the width of the letter “m,” and ordinary pica type was the standard, a pica em being one-sixth of an inch square. Printers in all their calculations converse in ems and ens (the en being originally the letter “n,” half the size of the letter “m”), but this involves another system of measurement for entirely different purposes that would require quite a lot of explanation that really is not necessary in this brief sketch of the various mechanical processes.

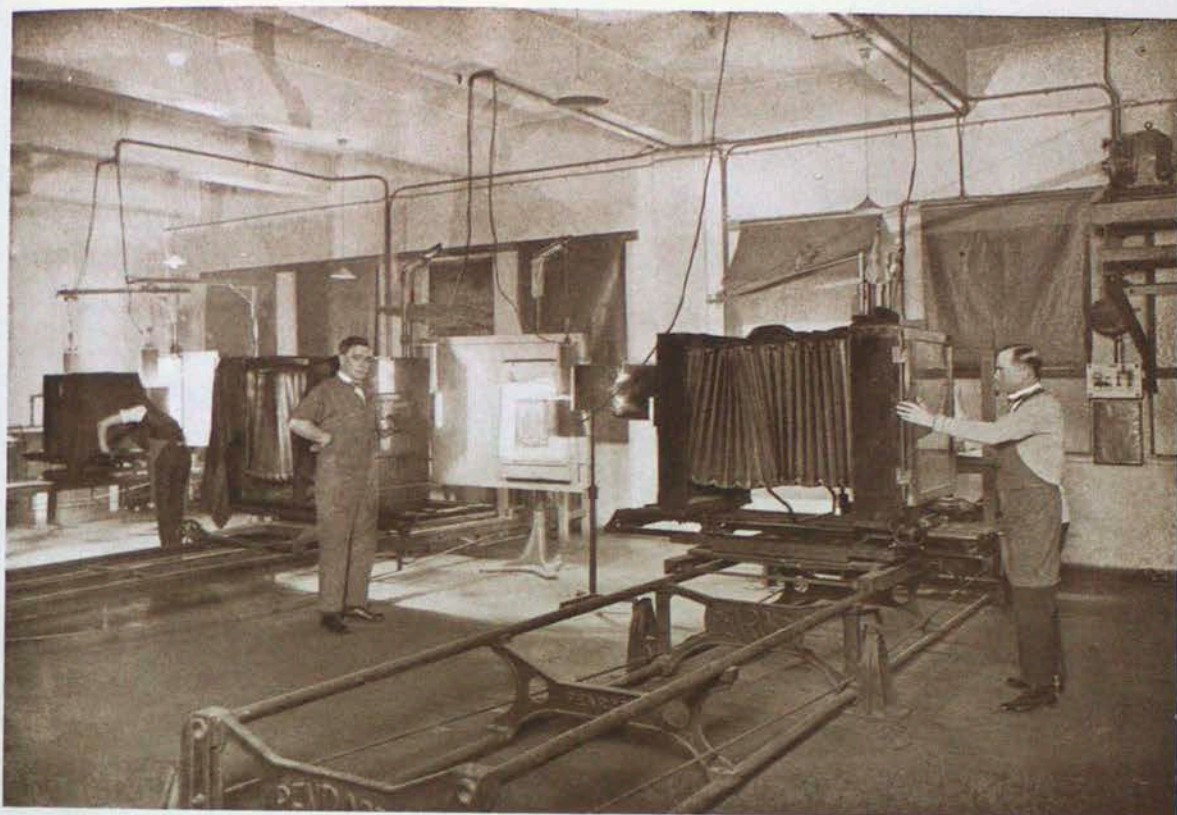
Now the old compositor—that is, the man who set type by hand—would have been accounted in the HERALD Office, having regard to its wide columns, as a fast man if he had been able to produce in type a column of minion—that is, 240 lines—in six hours, and, after he had “composed” this matter—that was the term—all the individual types he had used would have had to be put back into their respective compartments. To-day that same amount of lineage can be set by a linotype operator in 50 minutes. And, added to that wonderful saving in time, is the fact that the type cast in solid lines has not to be distributed back into cases, but is merely returned to the melting pot. To produce every morning a HERALD of the size and standard of to-day under the old hand-setting conditions would require at least 250 compositors, whereas 40 linotype operators

can comfortably perform the task, thus mechanical progress has always been expressed in bigger and better papers, and the public has reaped the benefit.

Before leaving the days of hand type-setting, it is interesting to make just passing reference to a vanished industry, so far as Sydney is concerned. Sydney, in 1859, had its type foundry. We learn this in an incidental reference that the *HERALD* makes on January 1st of that year to the appearance of the new type used that day, which, contrasted with the old type in the preceding issue, is very noticeable. "This type," the *HERALD* tells us, and with evident satisfaction, "is of colonial manufacture, cast at the foundry of Mrs. Thompson, widow of Mr. Alexander Thompson, of this city."

When it is borne in mind that once the paper has gone to press a delay of a few minutes in handling an item of late news may mean that thousands of readers will miss it, it will be realised how essential is speed in all the mechanical processes involved. Every newspaper reader is familiar with the blank or partly filled space that occurs on one of the pages under the caption of "Late News" or "Stop Press News." In that space news of vital importance is sometimes found with just a small heading and no attempt at typographical display. Why is this? The reason is that anything printed in this space is done by a device known as the "fudge." As its name implies, it is a mechanical make-shift, and it enables news to be included in the paper with extraordinary expedition. By using this contrivance a line or two of news has, on occasions, been got into the paper within three minutes of its receipt in the composing room. During a cricket test match, when it is desired to get each score into the paper with the least possible delay, it is no uncommon achievement to be printing in the *HERALD* news of the fall of a wicket that occurred in England but eight minutes earlier. Matches in England, of course, are in progress at midnight and well into the early morning by Australian time, and it is a matter of feverish endeavour to get each succeeding score quickly onto the presses. The fudge is really a miniature rotary printing press superimposed upon the big press. After the paper web has passed through the huge cylinders of the press, which have left the blank space already alluded to, it is intercepted, before reaching the folding and cutting apparatus, by the small cylinders of the fudge, in one of which may be embedded actual lines of type cast by the linotype. Thus the stereotyping process has been avoided, and whatever lines of type are locked into the fudge cylinder are lightly printed into the blank space. The fudge, however, has the objection that it causes some disfigurement to the paper and the news cannot be given its proper display and prominence. Therefore, unless extremely urgent news is involved, it is not employed. Instead, the late news is set up on the linotype machines, and inserted in one of the pages of type that have remained standing since the *papier-mâché* moulds were taken from them. An entirely fresh *papier mâché* mould is then taken, and new stereo plates of the page are cast and put on to the presses, replacing the old ones and thus making a later edition. The whole of the mechanical processes thus involved can be comfortably performed within a quarter of an hour—presuming the news item to be only an inch or two in length—and, with very important news, they have been performed within eleven minutes.

One of the features of the *HERALD*, as indeed it now is a feature of all great dailies, is its page of pictures. Except for occasional line drawings, to mark some important event, pictures did not make a regular appearance in the *HERALD* till, speaking generally, the war period. This was not because of mechanical difficulties. For some years before then, the original difficulties experienced in making illustration blocks in reasonably quick time, and having them satisfactorily reproduced in stereotype form, had been solved. But there seems generally to have existed till about that time an idea on



A glimpse of the giant cameras in the room where the first stages of the process of making the illustrations is performed.



PHOTOGRAPHIC AND PROCESS-ENGRAVING STAFFS.

Front Row: F. Halmarick, J. Leonard, J. R. Taylor, A. J. Martin, H. Fishwick, J. W. Noble, W. J. Brown, H. Lee, M. J. Hallinan, H. W. Skiller.

Second Row: T. J. Higgins, F. J. Colhoun, G. Short, H. B. Martin, Miss Sparks, Miss Wood, Miss Wollaston, J. Kincaid, C. W. Green, N. C. Jarvis, F. J. Walker.

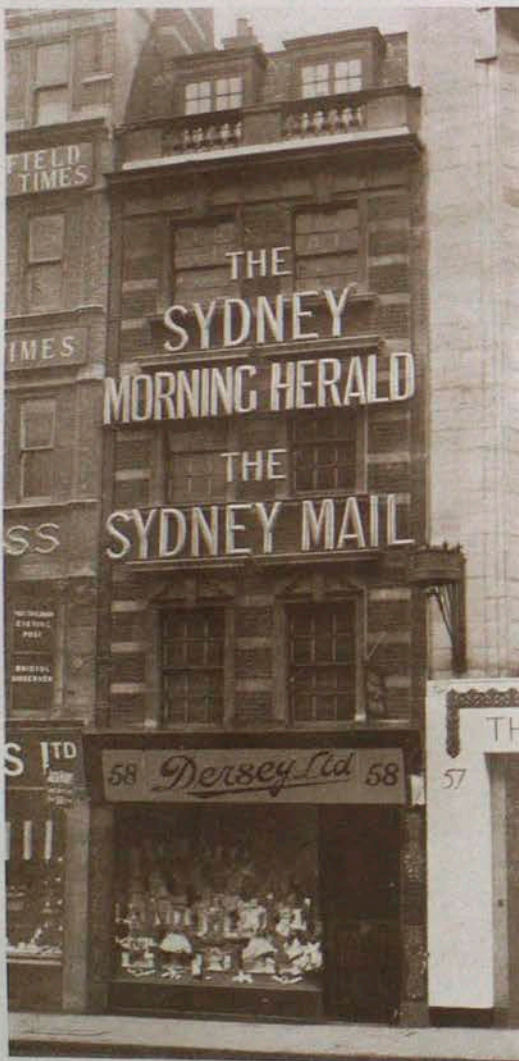
Back Row: H. D. Green, J. McLean, C. E. Weldon, J. J. Winch, A. M. Collins, A. F. Judson, S. F. Cave.



LONDON, MELBOURNE AND NEWCASTLE STAFFS

*Top Row: R. F. Gollan (Newcastle Representative),
A. W. V. King (London Representative), A. E. B. Gilder
(Melbourne Representative).*

*Bottom Row: B. H. Marshall, K. Osborne, Miss D.
Shearing (of the London Office); F. T. Potts (Melb.),
A. J. Vindin (Newcastle).*



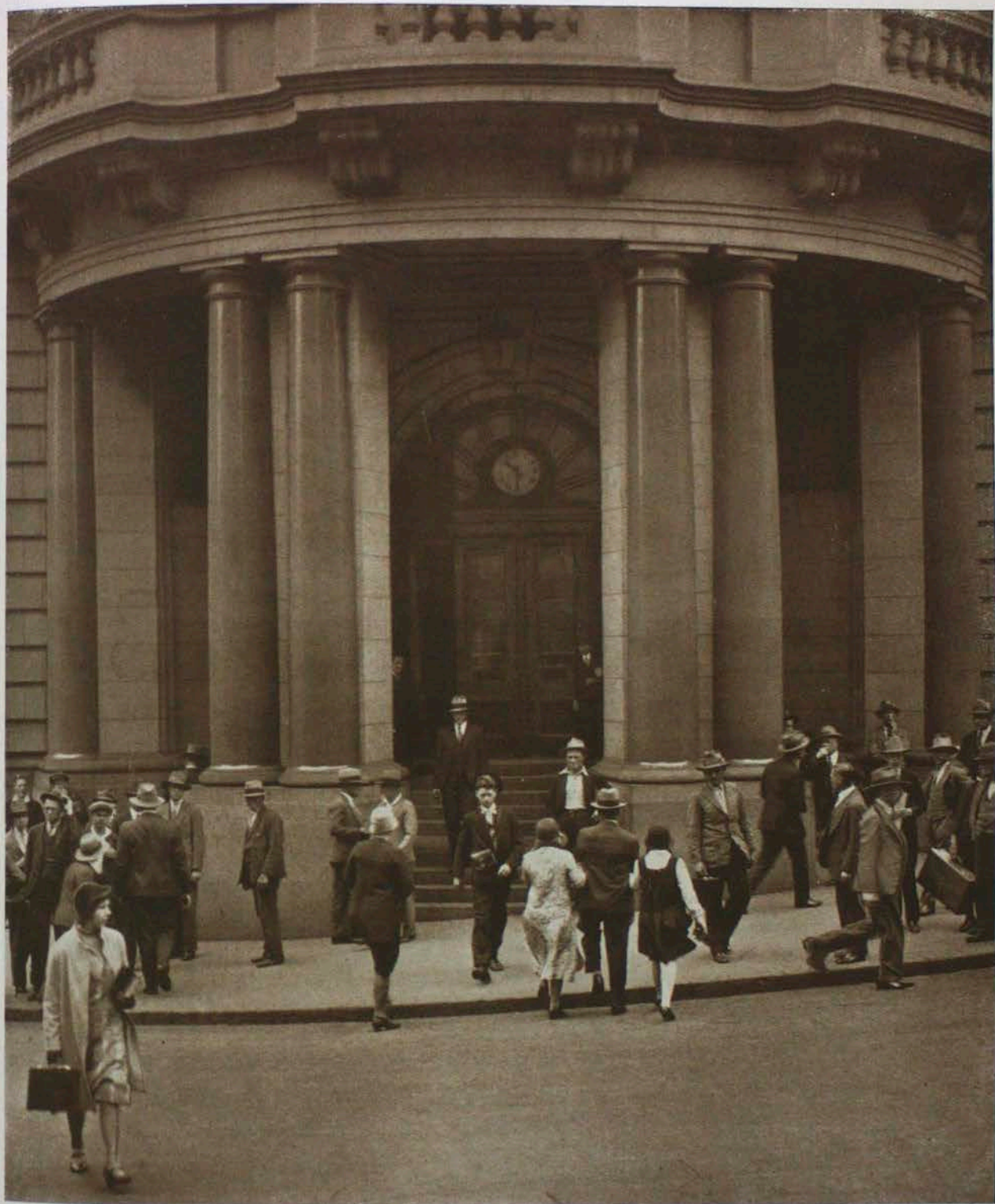
*The London office of The Sydney
Morning Herald and The Sydney
Mail, 58 Fleet Street, E.C.4.*



*The Newcastle (N.S.W.) office of
The Herald and The Mail, No. 101
Scott Street.*



*The Melbourne office of The Herald
and The Mail, 50 Queen Street.*



The main entrance to the Herald Office in Hunter Street. The photograph gives a clear idea of the dignity and spaciousness of the portico.

The Sydney Morning Herald is the oldest newspaper in the Southern Hemisphere. It first appeared as the **Sydney Herald** on April 18th 1831. It became a daily on October 1st 1840, and was named the **Sydney Morning Herald** on August 1st 1842. In 1844 John Fairfax and Charles Kemp became the owners of the paper. In 1853 John Fairfax bought out Charles Kemp's interests and later took his sons, Charles John Fairfax and James Reading Fairfax into partnership under the title of John Fairfax & Sons. Thus was constituted the proprietary under which the paper is still carried on. It has been published on this site since 1856. The **Sydney Mail** first appeared on July 7th 1850.

The Tablet, shown above, giving a brief summary of the history of the Herald and the Mail, is affixed to the wall of the second landing on the main staircase of the Herald Office.



The first floor of the Herald building, showing the managerial and administrative rooms on the right.

the part of editors and proprietors of great dailies that it was lowering to the dignity of such journals to publish illustrations as part of the daily news. Illustration was, till round about then, regarded as being more the province of the weekly journals than of the daily newspapers.

The discovery and ultimate perfection of acid engraving, for the production of printing blocks, has done considerably more to revolutionise the art of printing photographic reproductions and other illustrations than the linotype has done to revolutionise operations in respect to typography. Whereas newspapers could still, with adequate organisation, be produced by the hand-setting of type, newspaper illustration of the events of each day, and even of the night prior to the morning publication, would not be possible with the laborious woodcut system that preceded the acid-engraved process block. Of all the operations of daily newspaper production, that which pertains to illustrations is the least understood by the ordinary reader. He understands the linotypes—for they so much resemble a typewriter—and he has got a fair idea of the stereotype process, beginning with the mould in *papier-mâché* of the type, and of the principle of the wonderful rotary presses, but he finds it difficult to understand, and it is difficult to explain simply within the limitations of a single chapter, the making of a block. And that is no wonder, as it is a complex business, albeit it can all be performed within half an hour.

What mystery is performed within the half-hour or so that elapses between the photograph or other illustration entering the process-room as a picture and emerging as a printing block? First of all, it is re-photographed to the exact size of the required block. The glass negative, much the same as that used in ordinary photography, is then put into a printing frame, but instead of sensitised paper such as would be used in printing a photograph, there is a thin sheet of sensitised zinc. This, as in photography, is exposed to a powerful light. Now, as everybody is aware who has an elementary knowledge of the photographic negative, the parts that are to print dark in the finished photograph are transparent in the negative and admit the light. The parts, such as the sky, or any white object, that are to come out white, or nearly so, are darkly shaded in the negative and protect the sensitised sheet beneath from the action of the light. With the sensitised zinc the action is similar. Where the light strikes through the transparent portion of the negative, the covering solution becomes hard and able to resist the action of acid. Therefore, when the zinc is later immersed in acid, those parts will be protected and will remain to provide a printing surface. Where the light fails to penetrate the negative the solution on the zinc remains unaffected and will leave the metal open to the action of the acid. Thus, those parts will be etched away from the printing surface, and will be out of reach of the ink when printing takes place. The solution covering the zinc is so intensely sensitive to light that it reacts sympathetically to every gradation of shade in the original picture, from dead black through all the stages of grey to pure white. Where the tone is an intermediate grey, only half the strength of the light will penetrate through the negative onto the zinc, and the effect on its protecting surface will also be intermediate—it will afford some protection though the acid will slightly bite this part, and therefore the printing surface will not be able to pick up quite as much ink as the parts that are fully protected, and the resultant printing will be a shade of grey instead of dead black. Hence the term “half tone” as applied to reproductions of photographs and other pictures in which these gradations of shade are present and are preserved. In the case of a black-and-white sketch, there are no half tones to preserve, and the etching process is simple. In the case of a photograph, where there is every possible gradation from black to white, it is more difficult. If the exposed

zinc plate from such a picture were put in the acid bath without any special precaution, the corrosive action would be so variant that the surface would inevitably break up into uneven fragments, and be incapable of withstanding printing or stereotyping pressures. Therefore, it is necessary to reinforce the surface of the metal by traversing it with a fine network, or mesh, formed by infinitely fine black lines criss-crossing each other. This is done by interposing a glass screen, into which the lines are cut and filled with bitumen, between the original picture and the negative intended for exposure against the zinc. Thus, when the negative is developed ready for being placed on the printing frame against the sensitised zinc sheet, it will have reproduced upon it this close mesh of thin transparent lines, destined, when reproduced upon the zinc surface, to leave what is really a mesh or grid of infinitely thin metal ridges to reinforce its surface. This mesh is very coarse on blocks made for printing upon rough-surfaced papers, such as newsprint, there being, on HERALD blocks, 60 of the lines to the square inch. With blocks intended for printing on smooth and highly polished surfaces, there may be anything up to 400 of the lines to the square inch. As the lines run in two directions, and cross each other, the effect is to make a fine network over the whole picture, which is consequently split up into multitudes of small dots, easily discernible with a magnifying glass. On these the acid acts with every grade of intensity contained in the picture that is being reproduced. That such a block, when finally etched, can be reproduced, in common with type, upon the *papier-mâché* sheets from which printing plates are cast, shows to what a fine stage of perfection stereotyping has been brought, for the etched dots over the face of the zinc are, in a half-tone block, but a minute fraction of an inch in depth. The greatest depth of the etching in a HERALD block is not more than 160th of an inch, and the range is up to 1,000th of an inch.

Another wonder of science that now frequently adds to the interest of a newspaper is the telegraphic transmission of pictures. The first public service of this kind to be provided by the Post Office was between Sydney and Melbourne, commenced in 1929, and photographs for Press purposes are often exchanged between the two capitals. Here again is an apparent mystery for the non-technical mind. How is it done? In this case the broad principle is easy to grasp. Suppose a photograph of the Melbourne Cup finish has been rushed to the Melbourne G.P.O. for transmission to Sydney. It is secured to a small revolving cylinder. Starting at the top of the picture and progressively moving to the bottom as the cylinder revolves, in much the same way as a gramophone needle traverses the face of a record, a needle-like point is pressed against the cylinder. As the latter revolves, the face of the photograph is thus presented to this point in a gradual progress along succeeding lines. There are 120 such lines to every inch of depth. Now, the secret lies in the fact that this needle-like point is sympathetically sensitive to every degree of shade in the photograph—from dead black through all the greys to almost pure white. Therefore, as it traces the face of the picture in succeeding lines, it is continually reacting to the different shades along the particular line it is travelling. With every change in the shade an electrical impulse (or oscillation) controlled by this needle point is transmitted in constantly varying intensity to an ordinary telegraph line, and is thus instantaneously conducted to Sydney. Here is another apparatus with a cylinder of the same size as that in Melbourne, and around it is wrapped an ordinary unexposed photographic film. As the needle in Melbourne traverses the photograph, a small speck of light simultaneously travels round and round the photographic film in Sydney, the intensity of the light being equal to that of the varying electrical impulse picked up by the needle during its journey over the surface of the photograph. By traversing the film in Sydney in 120 lines to every inch of its

surface the speck of light makes countless exposures of varying intensity, and these collectively make up a completely exposed film which, when developed by the ordinary photographic process, results in an admirable reproduction of the picture so transmitted.

The main processes have been described, but to give details of all the other elaborate equipment that is required in a great newspaper office would make this chapter far too long. In a newspaper office, more so than in most other organisations, the utmost precaution has to be taken to guard against any possible emergency that may arise to prevent or to delay publication.

There have been delays in the morning delivery, yet they have been surprisingly few. There never has been a day when the *HERALD* has failed to make its regular appearance. This certainly might have happened on several occasions in 1916, in consequence of the great coal strike, if the ordinary source of city electricity supply had been relied upon. But precautions had been taken to provide emergency sources in case of failure of that supply or of its severe restriction, such as actually occurred for several weeks. There was, a few hundred feet from the *HERALD* Office, in Warwick Building, in Hamilton Street, which then housed part of the *HERALD* establishment, an engine whose sole purpose was, if ever such a contingency arose, to generate electrical power for producing the *HERALD*. When power from the city supply was restricted to an extent that would have rendered the normal production of the *HERALD* impossible, the overhead cables, laid across Pitt Street to the *HERALD* Office, enabled the stand-by engine to be brought into action—together with two other engines within the Office itself—and thus all the *HERALD* machinery, including the great presses, was able to operate with something approaching normality. How narrowly had been averted the tragedy, for as such the proprietors would have regarded it, of the non-appearance of the daily issue of the *HERALD*! The proud boast, that there has never been a break in the continuity of issue over a hundred years, was thus sustained.

The operation of the emergency plant in Warwick Building gave birth to a curious myth that still, in some quarters, survives: that there exists mysterious underground communication—a tunnel is, of course, the popular supposition—between the *HERALD* Office and Warwick Building. Obviously, those who originated the legend had not noticed—and with the mass of tramway and other overhead wires in the streets, this is not remarkable—the aerial cables that were the channel of communication, and the only one, between the two places.

After this experience, which added some grey hairs to those in control of the paper, the *HERALD* immediately increased all its emergency precautions. It installed a modern stand-by plant, consisting of a duplicate set of Sulzer Diesel oil engines, so that in the event of any repetition of this failure of the city power supply current adequate for the entire plant and lighting system could be generated within the office in a few minutes. Another precautionary measure was the installation of a great storage battery that, for lighting purposes, automatically and instantly, would come into operation with the failure of the ordinary city supply, and besides illuminating the whole office, would especially bring into play the clusters of emergency lights surrounding the Diesel engines in order that there should be no delay in their functioning and supplying the vital power that operates every process.

Everything in the establishment, from the smallest fan upwards, is motor driven. The presses spring into action by electrical means with the mere pressing of a button; the supply of metal, kept at a constant temperature, for the linotype and stereo pots, is so regulated; every single process depends in these days upon electricity. There are

upwards of 300 individual motors, and upwards of 1,500 electric lights in the various departments, so that it readily will be realised, since electricity now is the single motive power, how very essential it is not only to have one alternative in an emergency, but to have more than one if risks are to be minimised or eliminated.

Such, in brief outline, are the mechanical means employed in making a modern newspaper, and the small beginnings whence they sprang. In a flash they may have passed before the mind of the marvelling watcher we left standing by the racing presses. And still they race, and still he hears their thunderous song. But fancy says the score is changed. In measured tones of surging steel is heard the symphony of a closing century. Pale streaks of sunlight slant through pavement skylights. At last the presses cease their roar and all is still. One hundred years have passed since guttering candles saw the HERALD born. In potent silence phalanxed cylinders face another century's dawn. Steel scrolls of Destiny! And who shall say what joys and sorrows, glories and achievements, in a nation's life will there be writ?

SECTION XVIII.

THE "HERALD" OF TO-DAY

IN all the infinite complexities and feverish activities of a great city, what is it that exemplifies most strikingly man's capacity for organised effort, both of muscle and mind, and his mastery of mechanism? Surely it is the place where, day by day, with never-flagging effort, he brings forth so marvellous a product as a modern newspaper. Each day he starts his task afresh. Each day miles upon miles of snow-white paper, untouched by printer's ink, hungrily awaits those multitudes of words whereby he will envisage world-wide events and the countless thoughts and deeds of his fellows. A natural curiosity inquires what manner of place it is that holds the industrious army thus daily employed.

A glimpse of the busy scene that all day long, and far into the night, may be witnessed in the spacious public chamber on the ground floor in Hunter Street is but a small part of the whole. Let the visitor ascend to the first floor, where panelled rooms, polished desks, and softly carpeted floors betoken the nerve centre of directorial and managerial control; let him ascend to the second floor, where book-lined walls of libraries, bustling messenger boys, tinkling telephone bells, ticking telegraphs, and room after room housing men who spend their lives in writing, signify news-gathering and ceaseless literary effort; let him go yet higher to the third floor, where, amid a medley of metallic clatter, linotypists are converting manuscript into type; let him wander where he will, into rooms strewn with photographs where illustrations are being planned, into studios with artists hard at work, into chambers with huge cameras and acid baths for converting pictures into printing blocks—everywhere, with sonorous hum from the basement press-room intermittently in his ears, he sees evidence of those most varying talents that unite to make a newspaper.

Unlike any other industry, it is almost essential for the factory—for such it is—engaged in the production of a great daily newspaper to be situated in the very heart of the city in which it has its being. Even in the days of its infancy, one hundred years ago, the home of the *HERALD* was in the busiest part of the then straggling township, and in all its early moves it was never more than five minutes' walk from the dominating site it has now occupied for 75 years at the corner of Pitt and Hunter Streets. Many a time, during the years occupied with the construction of the present stately pile, completed in 1926 and superseding the picturesque old building erected by John Fairfax seventy years before, the question was asked by casual observers, why it was necessary to occupy such a valuable city floor space with all the mechanical paraphernalia associated with newspaper production. Why not have an office in the city and carry out all the mechanical processes in cheap factory premises on the city's outskirts? An obvious economy, so, to the uninitiated, it seemed; but in other cities it has been tried and found wanting—and it must always be so, for a newspaper is interwoven with every phase of a city's life. Its editorial, news-gathering, and advertising activities must be conducted in the most central situation that it is possible to occupy, and they must be in immediate and constant contact with all the mechanical operations through which they express them-

selves. Mind must merge with mechanism in unfailing and instantaneous liaison, otherwise there are hitches—and, as far as is practicable, the remotest possibility of hitches must be eliminated from a newspaper's organisation. There must be one point of focus, and one only, for the immense ramifications of a paper's news-gathering system. That point of focus must embrace the entire gamut of editorial, mechanical, and advertising activities. To achieve perfection—and nothing short of such perfection as man can attain to is permissible for the successful newspaper of to-day—all must function as one, and to segregate them would incur confusion and inefficiency. Every process, from the writing of a paragraph to the printing and publishing of the paper, must be performed under the one roof, and almost everybody, from the printer's devil to the Managing Director, is in more or less direct contact with everybody else in the harmonious performance of their widely varying, but closely intermingling, avocations.

So it is that in the central ganglion of the city's trade and commerce there rises, with its tower and copper dome, two hundred and ten feet skywards, the *HERALD's* domicile, faced with sandstone on a trachyte base. A vast structure of steel, concrete, and stone, it is nine storeys above the ground and three basements beneath. It is built in fire-proof sections with automatic sprinkler installations throughout. Its pillared entrance of trachyte at one of Sydney's busiest corners; its elegant ground-floor hall, where bronze and Australian marble and timber have abetted man's artistry in blending beauty with utility; its floor upon floor of spacious, airy, well-lit rooms, workshops, foundries, stores, and laboratories, that day and night are scenes of restless effort, all represent in themselves and in their equipment all that architecture, science, and engineering skill have been able to suggest for the service of the public, the comfort of employees, and efficiency of production. It is a matter for some pride that in the interior decoration of the *HERALD* Office the most beautiful timbers of the various States have been used.

What, besides paper, ink, and type metal, is the raw material that must be gathered in a daily harvest to feed this voracious factory? News!—Most magic word, comprehending incalculable ranges of topics, from petty gossip to the downfall of Governments and events that shake the nations. Never ceasing, nowhere dormant; scanning daily torrid, temperate, and frigid zones; scouring town and village, mountain, sea, and plain, and probing even the secrets of the heavens, the quest for news is boundless, all-embracing. Cabinets in secret conclave; the fears, hopes, joys, and sorrows of mankind; the machinations of anarchists, and the aspirations of altruists; deeds of daring and desperation; calamities, triumphs, clamor, and applause, each and all bring grist to the mill that makes a newspaper.

He who pauses any evening in Pitt Street and watches shadows flit busily before the myriads of lighted windows at the *HERALD* Office, may sense something of the bee-like industry of this central spot in a world-wide web of news-gathering. In and out the swinging doors he will see, besides the general public, men coming and going with bulging pockets of notes—notes of political meetings, Parliamentary debates, street accidents, Ministerial statements, lectures on anything from the life history of the white ant to the latest marvels of scientific discovery, notes of any one of the countless events that may find their place in the paper of the morrow. He will see uniformed messenger boys, with pouches full of radio messages, cables, and telegrams, telling of anything from the election of a country mayor to a declaration of war. Above the plashing waves of musical jingle, like a thousand tinkling cymbals, that flow from linotypes at work, he may almost discern, if his ears are sharp, the irregular staccato tickings of the Morse, as direct telegraph lines from other capitals spell out their stories of the day's events in

other States. These and other twinkling facets he may catch of the wondrous plan whereby, hot from its happening, the news of a city, a nation, an empire, and a world is gathered up and laid in manuscript on one desk in the pulsating structure before him. Five minutes after a great race is run, a statesman dead, or a test wicket fallen, ten thousand miles away, the news of it is there!

A newspaper office is like a pulsing heart, that, while it lives, must never lose a beat. Roadways and railways, telephone lines, telegraphs, cables and wireless stations—each and every channel of transport is part of a world-wide vascular system, through which it must never cease to draw its life-blood of news. Such is the mechanism—but how is it worked? To answer that we must examine minutely what happens on the HERALD building's second floor, where the news-gathering and literary organisation of the paper is controlled.

The two centre pages of the HERALD are known respectively as the "leader page" and the "cable page." On the former are the two leading articles, special articles, gallery notes from both Parliaments if sitting, and letters and other items of special importance. The cable page, which is the HERALD's principal news page, is so named because the first few columns are invariably occupied with the principal overseas news, which, before the day of wireless, was always received by cable. For convenience in examining the methods employed for the collection of news, we will for the moment defer consideration of this overseas news received by cable and wireless, because it is quite outside the ordinary news organisation of the paper, and, to be understood clearly, it will be better dealt with separately. The rest of the news in the paper falls broadly into the following four main categories:

- (1) City and suburban news.
- (2) Federal Capital news.
- (3) Country news within New South Wales.
- (4) Inter-State news.

Each of these fields of news is separately provided for, but all are under control of a highly trained journalist known as the Chief-of-Staff or Chief Reporter. Every one of the sixty or more reporters on the headquarters staff of the paper, the army of country correspondents, and the staff at Canberra, is under the direction of this officer, who is also responsible for the efficient working of the interstate news services. His principal responsibility, however, is the regular coverage of city and suburban news. The organisations in the other fields work more or less independently and require only his constant oversight.

So, to begin with, we will consider the system of collecting city and suburban news. And here, firstly, it must be explained that the Chief-of-Staff is either wholly or largely relieved of responsibility in respect of certain important, clearly defined, and easily segregated news-regions. These are dealt with by sectional staffs of experts and specialists. Chief among them are:

(a) Financial and Commercial, covering all matters relating to stocks and shares, finance, mining and trading—local, interstate, and overseas. Over this department presides the Financial Editor, who, as well as being responsible for the direction of his news-gathering staff, furnishes considerable expert comment, both for his own page and for the leader page.

(b) Sporting, covering every branch of sport. The turf and certain other principal sports have each their own specialist writers, and the residue of sporting activities is handled by general reporters who have been specially trained to deal with sport. All

are under the control of the chief sporting writer, who is responsible for the proper coverage, not only of the city and suburban fixtures, but all country and interstate events, and the handling of oversea sporting cables.

(c) Agricultural and Pastoral. The editor of the "On the Land" columns, in addition to handling all news and other matters of interest to the man on the land, and providing useful comment and advice, is responsible for keeping the public *au fait* with the activities of the great State departments of Land and Agriculture.

(d) Shipping and weather, which are covered by specially trained reporters.

(e) Music and Drama (and the Films), which, together with other arts, are dealt with by journalists possessing the requisite special qualifications and a capacity and competence for skilful criticism.

(f) Women's Columns. Under the direction of an experienced woman journalist, several women writers daily cover social and other activities of interest to women.

(g) Specialists on the staff or special contributors gather news and write notes for regular features as follows:

Bi-Weekly.—Motoring, Wireless, and Real Estate.

Weekly.—Review of Current Literature and Novels of the Day; New Gramophone Records and Player Piano Rolls; The Churches (including brief reports "From the Pulpit"); Building and Construction; Local Government; Gardening; and Poultry.

The Chief-of-Staff is thus, to a large extent, left free to grapple with the infinity of general news, great and small, that day by day presents itself for collection. Much of it he can foresee. He knows whether Parliament will be sitting; the law notices tell him what courts he has to provide for; notices of meetings, luncheons, lectures, and so forth are received days ahead; and there are many duties, covering a wide range of contingencies, for which individual reporters are made responsible. For example, for a man to be entered for "Police Rounds and Fire Brigade" saddles him with the responsibility of reporting all accidents, tragedies, robberies, fires, etc., during the period he is on duty. "State Government Rounds" makes another reporter responsible for all Ministerial statements and other news emanating from Government departments, except Land and Agriculture, already referred to. "Industrial Rounds and Trades Hall" places responsibility upon yet another reporter for all industrial news, be it the outbreak of a strike or the annual picnic of a union. These, and a number of other general engagements in the Duty Book (as is called the great ledger-like diary which the Chief-of-Staff enters up every night for the ensuing day), appear regularly from day to day. In fact, they are standing entries, actually printed into the Duty Book, and only the names of the reporters set down for them have to be written in. As well as these routine engagements, there is the exceptional news, such as the visit of a foreign fleet, an important speech, the interviewing of distinguished visitors, all sorts of meetings, conferences, and foregatherings, that have to be specially entered in the Duty Book. And even then, when the book is finally entered at night for the next day, and the reporters, before leaving for the night, have initialled the morrow's engagements for which they have been entered, there is still the unforeseeable news that occurs unexpectedly, and, in anticipation of it, several reporters are set down for "Emergency Duty," which necessitates their attending at the office at a given time, and holding themselves in readiness for instructions. At a moment's notice, a man may be despatched far into the country to report some disaster or other important occurrence.

Like that of mythic Sisyphus, doomed to roll up a hill a great stone that always rolled down again, the task of the Chief-of-Staff is never done. No sooner does he com-



The home of the Herald to-day. It is interesting to contrast this picture with that of the building erected in 1856, whose place it has taken. O'Connell Street shows to the right, Hunter Street is in the foreground, and Pitt Street is to the left, with a glimpse of the Harbour Bridge in the distance.



Lodging casual advertisements. The busy scene at the front counters of the "Herald" office, especially on a Friday evening, when the picture was taken.



A. H. STUART,
Assistant Manager.



JOHN F. FAIRFAX.
Managerial Staff.



H. E. DADSWELL,
Secretary and Accountant.



The Reporters' room of the "Herald" during the evening hours, when the rush of work is at its greatest.



The Sub-Editors' room, where the cables, telegrams and the reporters' "copy" are prepared for publication.

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fort himself that the day's news is fully covered, than a bolt from the blue—a bank robbery, perhaps, or some big collision—necessitates the mobilisation of anything up to a score of men to deal with it, and puts all his plans awry, and he must juggle his staff with a cunning of which he alone is master, so that all the news will be adequately presented in the paper. Pre-eminent in his manifold qualifications must be sound judgment of news values and of men. He must know exactly the capabilities, temperaments, and personalities of each reporter on the staff. One may excel at descriptive writing, but be hopeless at shorthand note-taking. Another's name may be the first to occur in making up a "ring" of six or eight men to take a verbatim report of an important speech, and yet he may lack entirely the energy and initiative necessary in a police roundsman. Natural aptitudes are utilised to the best advantage in the allotment of work, and wherever special knowledge or capacity exists, it is enlisted to give authority and brilliance to a story presented to the public.

Modern journalism has thrown upon the Chief-of-Staff an added responsibility in the shape of illustrations. Though a reporter is delegated to co-operate with the Chief Photographer in order that the staff of half a dozen or more Press photographers may be so directed as to obtain the best possible pictures of the best possible subjects, full of life and news interest, the final responsibility must necessarily rest upon the Chief-of-Staff himself, since the judgment he exercises in eliciting news must also be reflected in the news pictures. There must be harmonious relationship between the two. Consequently, the reporter actually ordering, handling, and titling the pictures must work in the closest co-operation with his chief.

No industry has for one of its principal raw materials a more intangible substance than news. One cannot, as with most substances, isolate a piece of news, analyse it, and define its constituents as essentially characteristic of all other pieces of news. While news cannot be said to be capable of being "manufactured" or "created," if that would imply a basis of falsity, it is often, like precious metal, found only with the greatest difficulty, and by the exercise of resourcefulness, energy, and imagination. News is a statement of fact. Once anything speculative or in the nature of comment creeps in, diverging from the relation of strict fact, it ceases to be news. On the purity of news in this respect we shall have more to say presently, when dealing with the functions of Editor and Sub-Editor, but it is necessary to have the distinction clearly in mind in discussing the collection of news. The distinction is sometimes very fine. It would not, in referring to an election campaign, be news to say that such and such a party was entitled to victory because it stood for such and such a policy. That would be a statement of opinion. But it would be news to say that Mr. Jones, the leader of the party, had said that it was entitled to victory because it stood for a certain policy. The news element would reside in the fact that a responsible man had made the statement, and not in the statement itself, which might or might not be true. Thus a great body of news exists in speeches and statements by responsible people. Provided that people are of a standing that gives authority or due weight to their utterances, what they say becomes news in the strictest possible sense, even though the actual substance of what they say be palpably false. A politician may dissimulate to the point of transparent prevarication, but it is no part of a paper's responsibility in its news columns to judge the accuracy or otherwise of a statement by a responsible personage. In faithfully recording or summarising what was actually said, it is presenting the news and fulfilling its high responsibility, both to the person reported and to the public. To take another example: A paper entitled to public confidence would never definitely announce the discovery of an important gold-field on anything but indisputable evidence. It would clearly qualify

the announcement by stating that what was stated, or claimed, to be an important discovery had been made, and it would then proceed to summarise all the statements and evidence available on the matter. The public would thus judge for itself, with the guidance of such special knowledge, official status, or ordinary reputability as the persons making the statements might possess. To take yet another example: Supposing an obviously dangerous or pernicious piece of legislation were proposed, it is not the function of the Chief-of-Staff or a reporter to sit down and write a criticism of it. His business is to go to representative men among that section of the public that would be affected, and obtain their opinions, for or against, as to what the effect would be. Right or wrong as those opinions might be, the fact that they were held by those responsible persons would constitute news, and they would be published as such, together with the names of the persons voicing them, whether or not they coincided with the paper's own editorial policy. The publication of rumours is another instance of speculative matter becoming news. A rumour that may even in fact be the "lying jade" that it is generally supposed to be, may have important consequences, and the fact that it is in circulation may be a matter of public interest. Therefore, the existence of such a rumour, be it true or untrue, becomes news.

Thus it will be seen that, while it would be untrue to say that, besides covering the straight-out events of the day, the Chief-of-Staff manufactures or invents news, he does elicit news. Through his reporters he seeks information and opinions from representative persons on all sorts of subjects of interest to the public. The principal newspapers, not only in Australia, but of the entire English-speaking peoples, and a number of others besides, are regularly available to him, and it is his duty to keep himself in touch with these in order that he may be acquainted with, and thoroughly explore, every possible avenue of news, and fully apprise the public of current events. He may read, for instance, of a new method of traffic control in London, or a new system of criminal investigation. At once he would despatch reporters to the traffic authorities or to the Commissioner of Police, to ascertain their views on the applicability of the improved systems to local conditions—and the fruits of those inquiries would become news. There is an almost limitless field for eliciting news in this way, and careful discrimination must be exercised in selecting from the *embarras de richesse* so that readers may be properly served with that which interests and affects them most.

Such is a bird's-eye view of the first of the four categories into which, in the schedule set out above, are divided the news-gathering organisation of the paper. The second category is Federal Capital news. Here the responsibilities are largely delegated to a senior reporter permanently stationed at Canberra. He is in charge of a small staff of reporters, which fluctuates in number according to whether Parliament is sitting or in vacation. During an important debate it may be necessary for this staff to telegraph to Sydney anything up to a page of matter. The Chief-of-Staff in Sydney is in frequent telephonic communication with the man in charge at Canberra, who, with his staff, occupies a special room in Parliament House. Questions for submission to Ministers, governmental officials, and others are continually cropping up, and are telephoned to the *HERALD's* Canberra staff, thus maintaining the closest possible contact between the two cities. At times of crisis a member of the Editorial Staff may be sent there, with whom the Editor would consult by telephone.

The next category is country news within New South Wales. Still under the control and direction of the Chief-of-Staff, but working mostly upon their own individual initiative, there is here enlisted an army of what are known as country correspondents. Most of these are journalists on the staffs of country newspapers, but where this is im-

practicable, or where no local newspaper exists, other persons with special opportunities for acquainting themselves with the news of their localities are appointed. Altogether there are nearly 400 of these country correspondents. Each has charge of a defined territory, and is responsible for supplying, by telegraph, telephone, or (in the case of very minor items) post, the principal news as it occurs. Local police courts, shire and municipal councils, race meetings, fires, accidents, the condition of crops, personal items and so forth, make up interesting budgets of news; and, of course, it is impossible to say where a happening of major interest may occur at any moment. A disaster may happen in one of the remotest parts. Then it is the business of the Chief-of-Staff to determine whether he can rely entirely upon the correspondent in that region, or whether he should despatch a reporter from Sydney to deal with the matter. Aeroplanes are retained for service in such emergencies, and are also utilised for aerial photography whenever the occasion arises. Many readers will recall remarkable pictures that were obtained in this way at Rothbury Mine when an alarming disturbance occurred there in 1929, and this is generally the only method of obtaining pictures of coastal wrecks.

Lastly, except for cable news, which we have reserved for separate discussion, we come to interstate news. Here we discover a system, that we shall find yet further developed when we examine the cable organisation, of co-operation with other great newspapers. In the mutual exchange of interstate news, the *HERALD* forms a link in a chain that extends throughout the whole of the capitals of the Commonwealth.

There is a reciprocal arrangement with another similar chain of other newspapers for covering routine news of common and non-competitive interest, such as market quotations. That, however, represents only a very small portion of the interstate news services. The group with which the *HERALD* is associated in conducting a huge daily interchange of news comprises, from north to south, the *Brisbane Courier*, the *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*, the *Melbourne Argus*, the *Launceston Examiner*, the *Hobart Mercury*, the *Adelaide Advertiser*, and the *West Australian*, in Perth. Each of these newspapers, of course, has its own system of news-gathering within its own city and State, similar to that of the *HERALD*, as already described. In each of the offices there is stationed a reporter called the interstate correspondent. He has access to the whole of the news flowing into the office in which he is located, and he is responsible for telegraphing to each member of the chain of papers enumerated above a daily service of news suited to their individual requirements. In the case of a very big event, such as a tour by the Prince of Wales, the *HERALD* would, of course, send its own special representative. Also there are frequent occasions when a certain line of inquiry is desired by the *HERALD*. In such a case, the Chief-of-Staff sends a special request to the allied newspaper in the State concerned, or, if the importance of the subject, and the extent of the necessary inquiries, justify it, he despatches a special reporter from Sydney. Similarly, during an election campaign, special reporters accompany the Prime Minister and the leaders of the principal opposing parties throughout the whole of their tours, and telegraph reports to Sydney.

Briefly, we have now surveyed the entire organisation for the collection of news within Australia, and we come to the point at which we can conveniently analyse the far-flung system that enables the *HERALD* to publish every day one of the best summaries of the world's news appearing in any newspaper in the Empire.

The *HERALD* has its own office in London, at 58 Fleet Street, and among the men stationed there for business and other purposes is a carefully selected journalist, who is sent from Sydney, and changed every two or three years, in order, firstly, to preserve an

Australian point of view in his dealings with such news as he handles, and, secondly, to keep chosen members of the headquarters staff in Sydney well versed in affairs at the heart of the Empire, to an extent that can result only from personal contact. This correspondent is responsible for sending frequent news cables for exclusive publication in the *HERALD*, and he also supplies letters and articles dealing more extensively with topics of current interest of a nature not sufficiently pressing as to necessitate cabling. Special correspondents in other parts of the world have similar functions, but all these are independent of, and supplementary to, the main service of world news that the *HERALD* derives every day through its membership of a powerful organisation known as the Australian Press Association—or, more popularly, the A.P.A.

The history of the Australian Press Association is dealt with in another chapter. Here we are concerned only with the organisation under which it contrives to have the *HERALD* and its other members and subscribers in Australia represented in every considerable centre of population throughout the world. The actual members, or joint owners, of the Association are the proprietors of *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD*, the *Sydney Evening News*, the *Melbourne Argus*, and the *Melbourne Age*, and the management is entrusted jointly to *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD* and the *Melbourne Argus* proprietaries, the executive headquarters being located in the *Argus* office. Although the organisation was created for the mutual benefit of its members, who share equally in the costly business of collecting and transmitting from overseas a comprehensive world news service, and who have built up this fine organisation over a long period, it is in no sense a close corporation. It undertakes to supply at a reasonable cost a complete service of overseas news to any paper in Australia that may seek it. Newspapers or Press agencies taking the service under these conditions are known as subscribers, and of these there is a considerable number scattered over the Commonwealth. Two of the most important are the New South Wales Country Press Association, through which the A.P.A. service is disseminated among a large proportion of the country newspapers all over the State, and the New Zealand Press Association, through which the principal newspapers in the Dominion receive it.

The A.P.A. has its own correspondents in various parts of the world, but its chief news-gathering centres are London and New York, and of these two London, as the greatest news clearing-house in the world, is by far the most important. In Fleet Street, at the heart of London's newspaper region, the Association maintains commodious offices housing a staff of about a dozen journalists, mostly recruited in Australia. In charge there is a London Manager. This officer is in almost daily telegraphic communication with the Management in Australia, obtaining from them instructions as to the wordage to be devoted to different news stories; the price to be offered for the exclusive rights of the news of big undertakings, such as flights to Australia, aerial excursions to the Poles, important scientific expeditions, or the serial rights of important books, and other matters relating to the conduct of the service.

Acting thus in the closest possible co-operation with the central management in Australia, the London Manager is responsible for the despatch by his staff of an all-round-the-clock world service of news, with the exception of America, which is separately handled in a similar manner in New York. For this purpose there is at his disposal a network of organisation that ensures his being acquainted with every important event in Europe and elsewhere within a few minutes of its occurrence. How is this achieved? It is effected by means of intimate alliances with the greatest British and international news-gathering organisations. In the first place, in order to ensure complete coverage of British news, the A.P.A. purchases the exclusive Australasian rights to

the whole of the news obtained by several of the greatest London daily newspapers. The offices of these papers are within a stone's throw of the A.P.A. offices, and carbon copies or proofs of the news are rushed thither by boys all through the day and night. As well as these, for its British news, and some of its foreign news, the Association purchases the services of two of the wonderful news-gathering agencies known as the Central News and the Exchange Telegraph Company. These comprehensive news services are disseminated by what are known as tapes. Tape machines, as yet unknown in Australia outside the Post Office and the cable and radio offices, have long been familiar features of London's everyday life, and are to be found in every newspaper office, important club, great hotel, etc. Telegraphically operated from the central office of the agency, the receiving instrument automatically types out the news messages on seemingly endless paper tapes. These tapes are generally cut into strips about a foot long and pasted in succession across foolscap sheets of paper, or else they are allowed to accumulate in tangled masses in large baskets. From these sundry sources, the A.P.A. staff compiles cable messages for despatch to Australia. One service may have greater detail or interesting sidelights not contained in another. The best is used out of each, and results in the excellent compilations to be found every day on the cable page of the *HERALD*. As regards foreign news, the foreign correspondents of the London newspapers and agencies included among the A.P.A. "sources" furnish much valuable information; but as well as these the Association purchases the services of the great international news-gathering organisations of Reuters Ltd. and the British United Press. This means that the huge armies of correspondents scattered over the face of the globe, employed by these organisations, are actually working for readers of *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD* just as much as for any other of their many connections. The news gathered by these organisations, like that of the other services described, is delivered to the A.P.A. office in London and thence despatched direct, or summarised and combined with news on the same subjects derived from other quarters. The object always is to utilise the news received from all the various sources to the best advantage in compiling concise, comprehensive, and readable cable messages.

In addition to the news obtained in the manner described, much occurs in London and elsewhere that is entirely or mainly of Australian interest only. For this the A.P.A. provides its own coverage. An Australian Prime Minister or high official, cricket team, or representative individual or party travelling to England is met at Naples, Marseilles, or Toulon by a member of the A.P.A. staff, who accompanies the visitor or party through Europe or by sea, to London. International conferences in which Australia takes part are usually attended by the A.P.A. Much other actual news-gathering is done in London and elsewhere by A.P.A. reporters. Australia House and the various departments of State dealing with Empire matters are visited every day, and it is no uncommon occurrence for Ministerial statements to be made direct to the representative of the A.P.A. for transmission to Australia.

In recent years the proprietary news services have been officially supplemented by the British Government by the broadcasting from Rugby wireless station, twice daily, of news messages containing a few hundred words, generally, but not exclusively, of a governmental character. These messages are regularly picked up in Australia and published in the *HERALD* in whole or in part, according to their news value.

Observant readers will have noticed that certain classes of news messages are identical in every metropolitan and many country papers throughout Australia. This is the result of a reciprocal arrangement, analogous to that mentioned in connection with the inter-State services, between the Australian Press Association and the Aus-

tralian Newspaper Cable Service—a similar organisation, serving another group of Australian newspapers. This arrangement covers certain routine fields of news, such as sporting results and market quotations. Duplication of effort in collecting such news and of cost in transmitting it would be mere waste, as it is of such a nature that it cannot be subject to any competitive element.

The arrangement under which these various services are distributed to members and subscribers in Australia ensures that there shall be a minimum of delay in the messages reaching the different offices. The Post Office, and the cable and wireless authorities, are furnished with a series of code addresses, each of which is the key to a series of addresses in Australia. A single cable addressed to one of these will be automatically distributed to a given group of newspapers. To cite a fictitious example, we will suppose that such an address is "Apapress, Sydney." Against this address the Post Office would have a list of perhaps a dozen newspapers and news agencies in various parts of Australia, and it would deliver a copy of the message to each of them. For this service the Post Office charges what are known as "copying fees," and any State or inter-State transmission fees that may be incurred in the process of distribution, but there is only one transmission fee from London to Sydney.

As well as the official radio services, private wireless equipment is often used, under authority, for gathering news. In this way a boat race is reported. A running description is transmitted from a launch and picked up by a receiving instrument in the office in time for publication in the evening editions of the *HERALD*. Similarly, messages are picked up from aeroplanes engaged in world flights and from ships in distress at sea. Readers will still have fresh in their minds the tense drama of the sinking *Tahiti*, adrift in mid-Pacific, depicted from moment to moment in all its agony of anxiety for those aboard and friends ashore, while rescue ships, also flashing out their messages of straining endeavour, converged upon the doomed ship. So, in this and other ways, has man at length vanquished space and time in news transmission. Yet living memory recalls the days when the *HERALD*'s homing pigeons were its speediest couriers, and it seems but yesterday that the ill-starred *Waratah*, stricken, perhaps, as the *Tahiti* was, perished, none knows how, with all aboard, in the stormy wastes of the Indian Ocean, without the means to call for succour. Even the ancient Incas, from whom Pizarro wrested Peru, were better equipped, with their fleet young *chasquis* and five-mile posts, for the speedy transit of despatches than were our grandfathers. Elsewhere we have told the romantic story of the arrival of news from home before the days of telegraphs and cables. The boatswain of the six-oared boat straining at its moorings, ready to make for sea at sight of sail and dash back to Sydney Cove with London's latest tidings, was a precursor of the telegraphist of to-day. But, despite all joint arrangements for external news, events may occur in any part of the world which necessitate a special representative of the *HERALD* being sent there.

We have now traced all the principal channels through which every kind of news, both domestic and foreign, is constantly pouring into the *HERALD* Office. The reader may easily visualise the busy room where the Chief-of-Staff is ensconced with his assistant, issuing orders by word of mouth, by telephone, and by telegraph; he can visualise, too, the spacious reporters' room, with its great array of desks, where seasoned senior reporters, more youthful juniors, and cadets full of boyish enthusiasm and self-assurance, lounge about reading papers, talk on topics of the day, or, oblivious of all noise, telephone calls, or other distractions around them, ply typewriters or pens in the production of all manner of reports for submission to the Sub-Editor—or

the "Sub.," as he is more generally termed. So we reach the point at which this important personage takes the stage.

In the city, the country, the Federal and inter-State capitals, in London, New York, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Bombay, Calcutta, Peking, Tokio—all over Australia, New Zealand, and the world at large, journalists are hard at work, and the product of their ceaseless efforts descends upon the Sub-Editor's desk in the HERALD Office. The Chief-of-Staff is responsible for gathering the news; the Sub-Editor is responsible for receiving it, assessing its value, revising it as to volume and grammatical construction, heading it with suitable titles, marking the types in which it is to be set, and forwarding it through pneumatic tubes to the composing room. He must watch for possible grounds of libel actions, and in general preserve the high tradition of the HERALD in the fair and impartial treatment of news in the public interest. Seated at a desk in the centre of large horseshoe tables at which members of his staff are stationed, it is no exaggeration to say that upon him and his assistants descend avalanches of "copy," as all manuscript and typed matter submitted for publication is called. The flimsy sheets of typewritten cable and radio messages, the foolscap sheets of press telegrams, the wads upon wads of manuscript from law courts, Parliament, public meetings, police roundsmen, and innumerable other sources, arrive in what, to anyone but a highly trained and competent journalist, would be completely bewildering and even terrifying profusion.

The experienced Sub-Editor develops an uncanny capacity for sensing important news. He knows intimately the capabilities of every man on the staff, and by the very manner in which a reporter approaches his desk to deposit copy at his left elbow—woe betide the tremulous neophyte who puts it on his right, for that is the sacred preserve of copy that has been sub-edited and passed for transmission to the composing room—from the very gait and manner of the man and his flush of purpose, the Sub-Editor divines portentous news. With unerring hand, as the night advances and the copy pours in, he will pick out from the pile at his left, not that which is uppermost, but that which needs big headlines and bold display, and may even figure on the morrow's poster.

Division of work alone makes the sub-editorial task practicable. Every scrap of copy, save "leaders," special articles, and letters, which are handled exclusively by the Editor, and that intended for the Commercial Page and dealt with by the Financial Editor, must pass through the hands of the Sub-Editor. To avoid duplications, and to ensure that every item gets its proper position and display in the paper, everything from the humblest paragraph to the most world-stirring sensation must pass beneath his eagle eye before journeying to the printer. Frequently it is necessary to recast a report, and sometimes entirely to rewrite it, in order to bring out in the most terse and interesting manner the salient features of the speech or occurrence reported. This is generally done under the personal direction of the Sub-Editor. A great deal of the sub-editorial spade work is, of course, done by his assistants. The cables, for instance, are delivered by the messenger boys to men especially detailed to deal with them. A big cable story, such, for instance, as the recent wreck of the airship *R101*, comes through in dozens of fragmentary messages, each one hot upon the heels of another, as the news reaches London and is immediately sent on to Australia. Some of the earlier messages, sent while yet the facts were imperfectly known, may have to be jettisoned, and all have to be collected together and woven into a homogeneous and connected story. Messages are received in a contracted form known as "cablese." Words that are obvious from the context are omitted, and a variety of suffixes, affixes, and special terms which are allowed by the cable authorities are employed to avoid needless words. For example, suppose an aeroplane that figured in a news item had been travelling from Paris to

London, the cable would say: "Proceeding exparis Londonwards." The commercial man, accustomed only to short messages and unacquainted with the feverish haste requisite to all newspaper processes, would, of course, say: "Why not save thousands of words by coding the messages?" The answer is that the disadvantages arising from the delays involved in coding in London and decoding in Australia would more than outweigh the monetary advantages of the resultant economies. When passed to the Chief Sub-Editor, the cables have been purged of all imperfections. They have been marshalled into connected stories, properly headed, provided, where necessary, with explanatory footnotes, and generally polished up so as to be ready for publication. In a similar manner other men deal with Press telegrams received from country centres and the other States. Those from Melbourne and Adelaide are received on telegraph lines leading right into the HERALD Office and terminating in a room adjoining that of the Sub-Editor, and two telegraph operators are busily employed throughout the night in receiving and despatching news between the HERALD Office, the *Argus* office in Melbourne, and the *Advertiser* office in Adelaide. Another man in the Sub-Editor's room is charged with the duty of intercepting cables, telegrams, and local copy as they pass the Sub-Editor, in order to extract from them the brief facts that enable him to write the "Summary" column that appears daily on the front page of the HERALD. As well as these and various other collaborators, the Sub-Editor has at his side a Chief Assistant Sub-Editor, who relieves him of as much of the detail work of copy-reading as is practicable. But the nature of the Chief Sub-Editor's work leaves much that cannot be delegated and must be performed by himself alone. On his judgment finally depend the space, display, and position allotted to every item. Often he further reduces, or orders to be further reduced, news items that have been written at too great a length. Similarly, he asks the Chief-of-Staff to obtain additional matter in order to expand an item that has, in his view, been inadequately dealt with, or he may call for entirely new matter that has been suggested to him by the reports before him. Thus the Sub-Editor and the Chief-of-Staff, occupying adjoining rooms, work together in close co-operation.

When, finally, towards midnight, the great bulk of the news matter has passed to the composing room and the inflowing river has been reduced to a trickle, the Sub-Editor gathers up the proofs that have all through the night been accumulating on his desk, and rapidly scans them over in order to select the principal subjects for display in the paper. Armed with these, he temporarily resigns his seat to his assistant, who must rush through any late news that comes in, and betakes himself to the fervid atmosphere of the composing room, where the last hectic effort of getting the paper to press has now commenced. What would seem, to a casual observer, a scene of hopeless chaos is in reality the orderly functioning of an elaborate system. In all directions, amid a desperate clatter of linotype and other machines and the banging of wooden mallets used in levelling the type when being locked into formes, shirt-sleeved men are hurrying hither and thither. Some are burdened with trays, or galleys, of type; some hold fluttering proofs in search of type that needs correcting; some are bustling to and from the Overseer's "cage" to procure "takes" of late copy that have to be set in time for the first edition, due to start printing within half an hour—multifarious are the duties, and efficient, level-headed, and well-trained the men entrusted with them. The arrival of the Sub-Editor calls forth the last ounce of perspiring energy. He makes direct for the "stone"—a row of massive iron-topped tables that move on wheels, on each of which there lies a steel frame, or chase, into which a page of type will be locked. Consulting his notes and his bunch of proofs, he calls in stentorian tones for reports and articles, and as they are carried to the "stone" from the "bulk"—a great desk-like rack, where

MR. SCULLIN IN LONDON.

Interview with Journalists.
BALANCED BUDGET WITHOUT WAGE REDUCTION.

"Australia Will Meet Her Obligations."

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Scullin, spent a busy first day in London. He visited 10 Downing-street and met members of the British Cabinet.

In an interview with British and foreign journalists Mr. Scullin explained that Australia hoped to balance her budget and meet her obligations without reduction of the basic wage. He hoped that no more would be heard of repudiation.

A BUSY DAY.

Before the departure of Mr. Scullin, he had a busy day in London. He visited 10 Downing-street and met members of the British Cabinet. He also had a long interview with the British Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald, and with other members of the British Government. Mr. Scullin's visit to London is part of his tour of Europe, which includes visits to France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

NEW ZEALAND PREMIER.

NO CUT-AND-DRIED PROPOSALS.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The New Zealand Premier, Mr. Gordon Gorton, arrived in London today. He is on his way to Australia to meet Mr. Scullin. Mr. Gorton is expected to arrive in Sydney on Sunday. He will then travel to Melbourne and back to Sydney. He will then travel to Australia to meet Mr. Scullin. He will then travel to Australia to meet Mr. Scullin.

INTERVIEW WITH JOURNALISTS.

Mr. Gorton, who is on his way to Australia to meet Mr. Scullin, had a busy first day in London. He visited 10 Downing-street and met members of the British Cabinet. He also had a long interview with the British Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald, and with other members of the British Government. Mr. Gorton's visit to London is part of his tour of Europe, which includes visits to France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

British Delegates Announced.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The names of the British delegates to the Imperial Conference, which will be held in London in November, have been announced. The delegates will include Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Scullin, and other members of the British Government. The conference will discuss the future of the British Empire and the role of the various dominions.

AUSTRALIA'S FINANCES.

Advice to British Press.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
Mr. Scullin, in his interview with the British press, gave advice to the British press regarding Australia's finances. He stated that Australia was determined to balance her budget and meet her obligations without reduction of the basic wage. He also stated that Australia was determined to meet her obligations to the British Government.

AMERICAN GOLF.

ROSE WINS AMATEUR TITLE.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The amateur golf championship of the United Kingdom was won by a young American, Rose, at the Royal Golf Club in London. Rose, who is a student at the University of California, won the title by a score of 184 strokes over 18 holes.

GERMAN FASCISTS.

Leader's Outburst.

CONTROL OF ARMY.

Repudiation of Treaties.

BERLIN, Sept. 25.
The German Fascist leader, Adolf Hitler, had a violent outburst today. He repudiated the Versailles and Locarno treaties, and declared that Germany would no longer be bound by them. He also declared that Germany would no longer be bound by the League of Nations. He stated that Germany would no longer be bound by any international treaties or organizations.

EFFECT ON STOCK EXCHANGE.

Speculation on Future.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The news of Hitler's outburst had a significant effect on the London stock exchange. The market was very nervous, and many shares fell. The British Government, however, remained calm and did not make any statement in response to Hitler's outburst.

BRITISH INDUSTRY.

Fiscal System Attacked.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The British industrialists and financiers have attacked the British fiscal system. They stated that the current fiscal system was unfair and that it was a burden on industry. They called for a complete reform of the fiscal system.

ATTEMPTED MURDER.

Of Prince Umberto.

YOUNG ITALIAN ON TRIAL.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
A young Italian, who is accused of attempting to murder Prince Umberto, has been put on trial in Rome. The young man, who is 21 years old, was arrested in Rome on September 15. He is charged with the attempted murder of Prince Umberto, who was visiting Rome at the time.

MATTHEWS.

Forced to Turn Back.

ANOTHER START MADE.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The Australian cricket team, led by Don Bradman, has been forced to turn back from their tour of England. The team was due to leave for England today, but they have been informed that they will not be allowed to play in England. The team will now return to Australia.

CANNED FRUITS.

Preference in Britain.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The British Government has announced that it will give preference to British canned fruits. This means that British canned fruits will be sold at a lower price than foreign canned fruits. The government hopes that this will encourage the production of British canned fruits.

LONDON NAVAL TREATY.

Ratification by Japan.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The Japanese Government has announced that it will ratify the London Naval Treaty. This treaty, which was signed in 1922, limits the size and number of warships that Japan is allowed to build. The Japanese Government's decision to ratify the treaty is a significant step towards disarmament.

NEWSPRINT INSTITUTE.

Resignation of Chairman.

TRADE WAR THREATENED.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The chairman of the Newprint Institute, which is a body that represents the interests of the newsprint industry, has resigned. The resignation was announced today. The institute is currently in a state of financial difficulty, and it is feared that a trade war may be threatened between the newsprint industry and other industries.

SOLDIERS' OFFER.

To Fight in China.

CONSUL'S STATEMENT.

The Consul-General for China, Mr. J. H. ...

... has issued a statement regarding the offer of Chinese soldiers to fight in China. He stated that the offer was a patriotic one, and that the Chinese government was grateful for the offer. He also stated that the Chinese government was determined to fight for the liberation of China.

COMMUNITY SINGING.

At the Town Hall.

HOSPITAL RADIO FUND.

BENEFITS.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
A community singing session was held at the Town Hall today. The session was for the benefit of the Hospital Radio Fund. The singing was very successful, and it is hoped that the fund will be able to raise enough money to purchase a new radio for the hospital.

CONSUMERS' RIGHT.

Protection of Interests.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The Consumers' League has issued a statement regarding the protection of consumers' interests. It stated that the league was determined to protect the interests of consumers, and that it would take action against any business that was found to be treating consumers unfairly.

PROSPEROUS FRANCE.

Low Cost of Living.

NO HOURS RESTRICTION.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The French Government has announced that France is a prosperous country with a low cost of living. It also announced that there will be no hours restriction in France. This is a significant step towards economic freedom.

MEETING AT CAMBRIDGE.

Discussion of the Future.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
A meeting was held at Cambridge today. The meeting was for the discussion of the future of the British Empire. The meeting was attended by many leading members of the British Government, and it was a very successful one.

MISSILES THROWN.

At Election Meeting.

EGGS AND TOMATOES.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
At an election meeting today, a group of people threw missiles at the speaker. The missiles included eggs and tomatoes. The speaker was unharmed, but the meeting was disrupted.

MR. SCULLIN'S INSTRUCTIONS.

Regarding the Future.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
Mr. Scullin has issued instructions regarding the future of Australia. He stated that Australia was determined to meet her obligations and to balance her budget. He also stated that Australia was determined to meet her obligations to the British Government.

NO INFLATION OF NOTE ISSUE.

Reserve Bank of Australia.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The Reserve Bank of Australia has announced that it will not issue more notes. This is a significant step towards controlling inflation.

MOTORIST DISGUISED.

Set Free in the Car.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
A motorist who had been disguised as a woman, was set free in his car today. The motorist was found by the police, and he was released without any charges.

CHARGES DENIED.

Regarding the Future.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
A man who had been charged with a crime, has denied the charges today. He stated that he was innocent of the crime, and that he was determined to prove his innocence.

NEW BUDGET.

Committee's Decision.

INCREASED TAXATION.

SHORT FINANCIAL SESSION.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The Committee has issued its decision regarding the new budget. It has decided to increase taxation, and it has also decided to issue a short financial session. This is a significant step towards balancing the budget.

CLOSING DOWN.

LYSAGHT'S WORKS.

900 Men Affected.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The works of Lysaght are being closed down today. This will affect 900 men who are employed at the works. The closure is a significant step towards reducing government expenditure.

GAINMAIN FIRE.

Third in Six Months.

BUSINESS PREMISES DESTROYED.

Calicut Fight with Flames.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
A fire broke out at Gainmain today. This is the third fire in six months at the works. The fire destroyed many business premises, and it is a significant step towards reducing government expenditure.

THE ELECTIONS.

Warning by the Premier.

IF AGREEMENT IS REPUDIATED.

"Financial Chaos and Disaster."

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The Premier has issued a warning regarding the elections. He stated that if the agreement is repudiated, there will be financial chaos and disaster. This is a significant step towards ensuring the stability of the government.

MR. LANG'S CAMPAIGN.

Big Meeting at Hounslow.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
Mr. Lang has issued a campaign for a big meeting at Hounslow. He stated that the meeting was for the purpose of discussing the future of the British Empire. The meeting is expected to be a very successful one.

CHALLENGE TO MR. BAYN.

Regarding the Future.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
Mr. Bayn has been challenged regarding the future of the British Empire. This is a significant step towards ensuring the stability of the government.

LOAN COVERAGE.

Regarding the Future.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The loan coverage has been discussed today. This is a significant step towards ensuring the stability of the government.

THE 14-DAY WEEK.

Regarding the Future.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The 14-day week has been discussed today. This is a significant step towards ensuring the stability of the government.

LABOUR REPORT.

ELECTIONS PROSPECTS.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
The Labour report has been issued today. It discusses the prospects for the upcoming elections. This is a significant step towards ensuring the stability of the government.

RABBIT'S ORdeal.

A DOG'S DEVOTION.

LONDON, Sept. 25.
A rabbit's ordeal and a dog's devotion have been discussed today. This is a significant step towards ensuring the stability of the government.

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all the type matter has been set out in readiness—he indicates to the stone-hands (as the compositors responsible for making up the pages are called) the exact position to be occupied by each item. With incredible rapidity, the pages of type are assembled, locked into the chases by means of heavy steel wedges operated by keys and screws like those of wire mattresses, and trundled off to electrically heated and operated Winkler moulding presses, where, under pressure of a thousand tons to the square inch, *papier-mâché* moulds, or matrices, as they are known, are taken of each page in succession. How these pliant moulds are passed on to the stereotyping foundry, where they are used for casting the semi-circular type-plates required for the cylinders of the rotary printing presses, will be found fully described in another chapter which deals with the mechanical processes involved in the production of the paper. Let it here suffice to say that all these final processes take longer to describe than they do to perform.

In thus hurrying on to the closing scenes that consign the paper to press, we have dealt only with the purely news sections of the *HERALD*. There are, of course, certain parts of the paper in which criticism and personal views are not only permissible, but necessary. Such are the Financial Editor's comments, criticisms of literature, art, music and the drama, certain sporting notes and descriptive articles, and so forth. But the reader can at once recognise and distinguish these from the ordinary news columns. The point is that news and comment are not intermingled and confused.

Before approaching the editorial department, which is concerned mostly with the didactic functions of the paper, it is opportune to emphasise the entire independence of the news columns of the *HERALD* from the political or other views propounded in its editorial columns, signed articles, or readers' correspondence. The whole of the news relating to every political party and every social, industrial, commercial, or other activity that can reasonably be said to interest the public, is published without bias, fear, or favour in the columns of the *HERALD*. The aim is to place the public in possession of the whole of the available facts, and leave them, if they so desire, to draw their own deductions and conclusions. If they so desire, they can turn to the editorial columns, signed articles, and letters for expressions of opinion that seem proper and reasonable to the Editor or to members of the public from whom they emanate. But the news itself is never twisted, tainted, or coloured to make it coincide with those views. That is one of the proudest boasts and most adamant principles governing the conduct of the *HERALD*, and undoubtedly it is one of the foundation-stones of its high standing and popularity in the public mind. In maintaining the unassailable purity of its columns as channels for all worth-while news, irrespective of editorial policy, the *HERALD* adheres to one of the finest traditions of British journalism, and in so doing has won a measure of public confidence that would otherwise be impossible of attainment.

The Editor, of course, has general oversight of the entire contents of the paper. The Financial Editor, Sub-Editor, Chief-of-Staff, and every leader writer and reporter, down to the newest cadet, is subject to his nominal or actual direction and control. But in practice he is not deeply involved in the hurly-burly of gathering and handling news. He gives useful advice and guidance to those so engaged, and he is consulted upon innumerable problems that arise, particularly when points crop up, as is necessarily often the case, involving consideration of the libel laws. As well as this, he receives proofs of all news matter as it is set in the composing room, and is thus kept in constant touch with what is occurring on the news side. Also he is immediately informed by the Chief-of-Staff or the Sub-Editor of any important occurrence. His principal pre-occupation is the control of the paper's policy. Entirely apart from the reporting staff, there is a staff of leader writers, some of whom have legal training, and these gentlemen

are exclusively at the disposal of the Editor. Each afternoon at 4.30 o'clock they attend a meeting of the Editorial Council, which is held in the Editor's room, and at which he presides. At this meeting, which is usually also attended by the Managing Director, the subjects and tenor of the leaders for the following day are threshed out, and the work is allotted to the leader writers most competent to handle the topics selected. Important events occurring after the conclusion of the Council meeting often call for a revision of the plan, and the Editor then has generally to act upon his own initiative in ordering or writing a leader and determining the views to be propounded in accordance with the general policy of the paper.

It must always be remembered that no newspaper with a proper understanding of its functions and its duties towards the public attempts or desires to force its views upon its readers. That is not the legitimate purpose of a paper's leading articles. In its news columns, as we have stated, it dispassionately presents all the available facts of public interest that it is able to muster, and readers may, if they wish, merely acquaint themselves with those facts and draw their own inferences and conclusions without any guidance from the editorial columns. Many people, however, find it interesting and helpful to have the salient facts affecting important issues weighed, considered, and crystallised into logical conclusions. For the benefit of those people, and them only, are the leading articles published. It is a service that the HERALD regards as being of high value to the community to present each day the considered opinions of its independent group of trained thinkers and observers, whose time is spent in dissecting and examining facts in the light of the world's sum of contemporaneous and historical knowledge and experience, and formulating conclusions that, upon lines of reasoning which are clearly indicated, point the way for public policy and opinion. Leading articles in the HERALD are never arbitrary nor oracular. By always setting out the material facts, presenting a case in all its main aspects, and drawing with judicial caution what seem to be the right and logical conclusions, they follow, in common with those of most of the great metropolitan and provincial newspapers of Australia, the best practice of British journalism.

Much of the Editor's time, also, is occupied in reading and selecting for publication great numbers of special articles and letters, on an infinite variety of subjects, submitted by contributors and readers of the paper. These, when published, represent the views of the individual writers, and do not by any means necessarily coincide with the policy of the paper. The object is to give a fair representation of public opinion on as many questions of the day as the space at the Editor's disposal makes practicable. The number of contributors to the HERALD, as may be judged by the casual glance at its columns day by day, is legion. At a rough estimate it may be said that in the course of a year over one thousand individual contributors (apart altogether from the staff of the paper and writers of letters to the Editor, and apart from all country or foreign correspondents and others supplying regular features) have matter published in the columns of the HERALD.

The style of the HERALD is bright and flexible. Within the bounds of clarity and dignity of expression it gives free play for such originality and genius as its many writers may possess. While silly facetiousness in ordinary news is not tolerated, there has all through the HERALD history been ample scope for the light touch of genuine humour, especially in articles of a descriptive nature. Examples of this are the Gallery Notes, on the leader page, which aim at giving a brief and readable sketch of Parliamentary proceedings for those who find the detailed report too long. Loose and hackneyed phrasing, trite expressions, and debased English commonly known as "journalese" are

not, however, permitted. One does not read in the *HERALD*, for instance, that "all roads led to the showground"; that under the glow of Chinese lanterns "the Terpsichorean art was indulged in"; that the "fiery sphere" made things uncomfortable for spectators at a cricket match, or that the "leathery sphere" was skilfully handled in a football match. "Nymphs and fauns," as far as the *HERALD* is concerned, do not "gambol" at harbour-side picnics. Writers of no greater subtlety and resource than these worn similes imply are enjoined to call a spade a spade. Proper restraint is observed in all headings and other matter, and from the heaviest poster to the smallest paragraph the guiding principle is service to the public. The resignation of a Premier, for example, would be announced on the poster as "Premier Resigns," and not by some such catchpenny suggestiveness as "Great Political Sensation." For the hurried tram, train, and ferry passenger, disinclined to open up a large broadsheet, the first column of the front page gives a complete summary of the day's news. All headings in the paper are required to be as informative and expressive as possible, so that the breakfast-time reader may, by casting his eye over them, acquaint himself with the essence of the day's news. For those who have a little more time, but not sufficient to make a thorough perusal of the paper, the cream of the news is concentrated in the opening sentences of each item, often, in the cable page, lifted into more distinctive type. Those who desire more may read down. In short, the aim of the *HERALD* is to provide a full, comprehensive, and responsible service to the minority whose tastes require it, while also giving it, in substance and form, suitable to the vast numbers of modern newspaper readers who demand a "popular" Press. The extent of its success may be judged by the figures. Serving the State of New South Wales, with a population of two and a half millions, its average daily net sales are at present 220,000; the bulk of which is in the city of Sydney, whose population is 1,200,000. This circulation is by far the greatest of any Australian daily paper. To put this in the language of England, the *HERALD* is *The Times* and *The Daily Mail* successfully combined.

So it will be seen that from the editorial and sub-editorial rooms two great and almost independent rivers of copy flow to the composing room. There is yet another, of course, from the Advertising Department. In a special chapter devoted to the subject, we have described the system, in charge of the Advertising Manager, under which anything up to 7,000 small classified advertisements are gathered together and inserted in a single issue of the *HERALD*. Each of these, together with the big display advertisements, is carefully scrutinised to ensure that it contains nothing objectionable or misleading, or of any nature whatever that would make its publication undesirable in the public interest.

Among those who proffer the tens of thousands of pounds' worth of advertising that is every year declined by the *HERALD* it has, doubtless, incurred some bitter criticism. Yet the exclusion from the paper of all advertising that can reasonably be regarded as improper, misleading, or undesirable from any point of view, either as to matter or weight of display, has helped materially in promoting its success and preserving for legitimate advertisers of every description a medium of extraordinary effectiveness in reaching the public. Deceits and subterfuges, such as paragraphs, and even columns, of advertising matter that are permitted in some of the world's decadent newspapers to masquerade as news, are not permitted in the *HERALD*.

The immense volume of advertising contributes enormously to the setting required to be done on the battery of fifty or so linotype machines, and to the work of the proof-readers. Reading the whole of the proofs of the *HERALD* is in itself a heavy undertaking. Under a Chief Reader there are thirty men at work. Readers work in pairs, each

pair consisting of a reader and his assistant. The reader has the proof in front of him on one side of a small table, and his assistant sits opposite to him with the copy. Generally the assistant reads the copy aloud and the reader checks what is read with what is printed on the proof. Mistakes in spelling, punctuation, type-setting, defective casting by the linotype machine, or in other particular, he corrects by marking the margins of the proof. For this purpose he uses a great variety of symbols, or readers' marks, with which the compositors responsible for effecting the corrections in the type matter are familiar. With fifteen pairs of readers in full cry, to borrow a hunting term that seems apposite, it may be thought that the large room, subdivided into cubicles, in which they are accommodated, must be a veritable bedlam. But such is not the case. Constant usage enables readers to subdue their voices to what are little more than rapidly articulated undertones, and the noise here, as in the reporters' room, and other chambers where the problem of conflicting sounds arises, is further minimised by lining the ceilings with a special sound-absorbing material, which almost entirely eliminates reverberation.

Having traced the production of the paper to the point at which the first edition is sent to press, we must now examine what happens subsequently. A lull of a quarter of an hour or so, after he has completed his work at the stone, enables the Sub-Editor to refresh himself with a little supper and be ready to examine critically a copy of the paper immediately it is received from the press room. It is too late to alter anything in the copies being printed to catch the Newcastle train, which leaves at 1.15 a.m., but any important alterations can be effected for the second and later editions. Provision also has to be made by the reduction in the space occupied by the less important news for such late cables and other matter as may have come in. A great fire may have broken out, or a tragedy may have occurred, necessitating a column or more of space being found for a report that is being rushed in by reporters on late duty. The various editions are so timed as to catch trains, trams, and other means of transport departing at different times for destinations in the city, suburbs, and country, and the object is to get into each the latest available news. Finally, often as dawn is breaking, the presses cease their urgent roar, the last bundles are tossed into waiting motor trucks; and journalists, machine-attendants, publishing hands, and the few compositors who have remained on duty to deal with late matter, don their coats and hats and wend their ways towards their homes and welcome beds.

Not for long, however, does a sleepy lull hang over the HERALD Office. By 8 o'clock day staffs arrive. New life infuses composing, reporters', and Sub-Editor's rooms, as well as all the many different departments incidental to the newspaper business. The day's news soon starts to flow in, and the day Sub-Editor is hard at work preparing for the evening editions, the first of which goes to press soon after noon. "What is the Evening Edition?" asks the city-dweller, who probably has never seen or heard of it. Certain trains to various country centres do not depart until the afternoon and early evening. For the benefit of readers in the districts that they serve the latest news—markets, cables, police court cases, political developments, sporting results, and so forth—is embodied in the paper as the day progresses, and each of the successive evening editions—there are five altogether—contains later and later news, so that it is virtually a morning and evening paper combined. No copies of the evening editions are distributed in the city and suburbs and other areas served by the morning editions, because the HERALD is primarily and essentially a morning paper, and the late news is incorporated in the evening editions only as a special service in the interests of people geographically so

situated that they would otherwise have to wait anything up to twenty-four hours longer than necessary before receiving a given day's news.

It is believed that no newspaper library in the world is more complete than the HERALD library; or, to be exact, the HERALD libraries—the main library in the heart of the literary department, the library in the conference room on the managerial floor, and the overflow library in the three-storied tower of the office, where also are stored a duplicate set of the HERALD files over the hundred years. There are, in addition, besides extensive collections of books for immediate reference in the Editor's and Sub-Editor's rooms, collections of books in the rooms of the Financial Editor, the Sporting Editor, the Agricultural Editor, the shipping reporters, and the school. In the combined libraries there are upwards of 15,000 separate volumes, and only in very rare instances has recourse to be made outside the office for any reference that may be required.

An important adjunct to the library is the "News-Index," which has been issued quarterly since the beginning of 1927. For many years the card system has been used in the library as an aid to the efficient working of the literary staff, and this system, of course, is still maintained, the printed index being a publication for general public reference, whereas the much fuller card index is intended only for staff reference. Every item that appears in the news columns of the HERALD and THE SYDNEY MAIL, from leaders to lectures, from commercial developments to the latest crime, from book reviews to billiard matches, and from finance to fatalities, is marshalled in this comprehensive review; and every quarter the "Index" is issued for the use of anyone who chooses to avail himself of the mine of information it contains. At the end of the year, as far as the office itself is concerned, the quarterly parts are bound together, and placed in volume form upon the shelves of the library, where already they form the nucleus of a reference library of their own that, with the years, must grow immensely both in interest and importance.

In the main library is housed a rare collection of Australian historical books and records (known to students of Australian history as the Fairfax Collection), the HERALD files for the century, contemporary newspapers from all parts of the world, every important reference book, and the mass of literature sent to the office for review, and this, of course, largely accounts for the great dimensions of the library. Pictures of historic interest and of the notable men who have been identified with the career of the HERALD adorn the walls, and glass cases shelter a collection of old office and other documents, old Sydney newspapers, woodcuts, and other treasures. Altogether, the room is rich in literary lore and the tokens of journalistic tradition.

Also associated with the library is what is facetiously termed the "morgue." This is the collection, each in a separate folder, of the biographies of most of the men and women in the public eye. From every source is collected such matter as will come in useful sooner or later. Some happening may suddenly bring a person into prominence, and it is the lot of all to die, and when either of these events occurs the Chief-of-Staff calls for the required folder, and in a few minutes a long or short obituary or other notice is available. Hence the term, the "morgue."

Photographs of prominent personages are collected and filed, and if the picture has ever been published the "block" of it, as it is termed, is preserved in a special cabinet kept for this purpose; and so, when the occasion arises, there immediately are available both the photograph and the biographical details obtained in the way described.

A limited edition of the HERALD on rag-made paper is published daily, being intended especially for libraries, both public and institutional, that wish to have files on paper of permanence. It had long been ascertained that the modern newsprint, made

from wood-pulp chemically treated, lacked the durability of old paper made from rags. The cost and difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply of this rag-made paper had made its use impossible for ordinary publication, and, on the other hand, the perishability of the wood-pulp paper caused—and is still causing—concern to librarians and other authorities, whose province, or desire, it is to keep newspaper files for record purposes. It had also caused considerable concern to the proprietors of the *HERALD*, some of their own files since the wood-pulp newsprint era being already in a disturbing state of disrepair. They decided, therefore, to meet the trouble by printing a special edition of the paper each day upon rag paper, and utilising it for filing purposes, both in their own office and in such institutions as were prepared to take advantage of the opportunity. This decision was first put into effect upon January 1, 1928, and the special rag paper edition has ever since been regularly printed. The *HERALD* is the only newspaper south of the line to adopt this course, and the advantages of it have been so great, and so self-evident, that the "rag" edition is now regularly subscribed for by a large number of public institutions. It may be added that, as an experiment in comparisons, a number of copies of the ordinary "wood-pulp" edition and an equal number of those of the "rag" edition were recently exposed together for a considerable period. At the end of a few months the wood-pulp papers had turned a dark coffee colour, and become hard and brittle, whereas the rag paper issues remained almost entirely unaffected. This difference in the lasting qualities is very clearly exhibited also by the actual files of the *HERALD* in the library. The old issues from the thirties to the seventies (when wood-pulp first began to be used) are still almost as clear and uninjured as when they were first printed, while the later ones are discoloured and badly frayed. The superiority of the rag paper and the value of the special filing edition have been thus conclusively demonstrated.

Mention was made on a preceding page of the many different departments incidental to a newspaper business. Just how numerous and important they are may be gauged by the fact that the direct and permanent employees of John Fairfax & Sons Ltd. number upwards of 650 persons—and the number of agents, contributors, correspondents, and others who derive their livelihood wholly or largely through their associations with the *HERALD* and *THE SYDNEY MAIL* is many times that total. The personnel of the regular staffs is divided up as follows: Literary and pictorial, 100; general business, advertising, and clerical, 113; mechanical, reading, and publishing staffs, 368; and, in addition, the office being almost entirely self-contained, a miscellaneous and general staff of 86, representing an extraordinarily wide range of vocations, such, for example, as carpenters, plumbers, chauffeurs, lift-drivers, storemen and packers, cleaners, cooks and waitresses employed in the office cafeteria, to enumerate but a few.

The comfort and well-being of the staff are considered in every possible way. Right round the clock, for instance, a spacious cafeteria on the top floor of the building is open for the provision of hot meals, and on the roof there is a well-equipped gymnasium, the conduct of which is entrusted to an athletic and social club. Rest rooms are provided for the numerous girls employed in the establishment, and first-aid appliances and restoratives are held in readiness for any accidents or illnesses that may occur—happily a great rarity.

Other organisations which exist for the benefit of the employees in various departments are the *HERALD* Benefit Society, to which reference has already been made,* and the *HERALD* Assurance Society, founded in 1864. Members of this Society pay their insurance premiums into a common fund by weekly instalments, together with an

* See page 194.

additional sum of 1/- per week to a guarantee fund which is maintained for the purpose of providing the premiums of a member who, through illness or other unavoidable cause, is unable to keep up his payments. Since the formation of the Society over £12,000 has been paid away in premiums to insurance offices, the receipts during the same period being over £15,000. The Society holds the unique record of having had only three secretaries in the sixty-seven years of its existence. The third was appointed in 1930, the two previous occupants of the office having each held it for thirty-three years.

Without attempting so close a survey of all the different departments in which the various staffs busy themselves as has here been made of those concerned with its literary activities, a glance at some of them may not be uninteresting.

Producing a newspaper is one thing—selling it another. Here again efficient organisation is the first essential. Every reader of the *HERALD* is assured of regular daily delivery of the paper, at an hour that can be adjudged reasonable, according to the locality of his residence, and any criticism he may have of the service he receives is subjected to rigorous investigation when represented to the Management. The distribution of the paper is in the hands of agents, each of whom, while he continues to carry out his duties to the satisfaction of the Management, is given almost exclusive rights for the sale of the paper within a defined area. These agencies are bought and sold like ordinary businesses, but each purchaser must be approved by the Management, and is given clearly to understand that he has no vested right in regard to the handling of the publications of John Fairfax & Sons Ltd. The agency may be terminated at any time upon a period of notice, specified in an agreement into which the holder is required to enter. Therein lies the authority exercised over agents by the Management in the interests of subscribers to the paper. While the agent carries out his duties satisfactorily, he is entrusted with a profitable monopoly, but if he fails in his responsibilities he is liable to deprivation. Complaints against agents are remarkably rare, considering that they are responsible for the distribution of over 220,000 papers every day, and it can be said that no city in the world has a more efficient and assiduous body of men engaged in this onerous task than has Sydney. A staff of inspectors is in constant touch with all the agencies, both metropolitan and rural, and they are responsible for seeing that efficiency is maintained. Over them is the Circulation Manager, who has oversight of the entire distribution of the paper. He is in close touch with the news-gathering side of the organisation. Circulation fluctuates from day to day according to the popular appeal of the news that each issue contains. Upon this officer's judgment thousands and sometimes tens of thousands of extra papers are sent out over the whole State, or over a limited area, according to whether the news happens to be of local or general interest. An event vitally affecting North Sydney, for example, may have but little interest elsewhere, and in that case only those agents serving North Sydney residents would have their supplies increased. Important new taxation proposals, or a political crisis, on the other hand, would interest everybody in the State, and it would be the duty of the Circulation Manager to assess its value, and increase supplies all round in accordance with his judgment—5 per cent., 10 per cent., or whatever he may consider would be justified. Error of judgment might mean either thousands of unsold papers or thousands of disappointed customers, but the assessment of the "pulling power" of news has been brought to such a fine art that such error seldom occurs. The great bulk of the circulation, of course, is a fixed quantity, because it consists of regular home deliveries, but remarkable increases often occur under the impulse of important news announced on the posters displayed outside newsagents' shops.

A newspaper staff, taken as a whole, is one of the most highly technical and carefully trained of any industry. So far as the *HERALD* is concerned, recruiting for almost every branch is principally done from young men trained within the organisation. On the reporting staff there are always several cadets, who are required to have passed either the Leaving Certificate Examination or one of equal standing, and who have shown themselves to possess the natural aptitudes of a journalist—keen observation and power of expression. In every technical branch there are apprentices or juniors. These, generally, are selected from a staff of carefully chosen messenger boys, who enter the office at about fifteen years of age, and attend the *HERALD* school for a certain period every day. The recommendation of the Schoolmaster carries great weight when a boy is being selected for a vacant apprenticeship. Attendance at the school continues throughout the period of apprenticeship. In the case of composing-room apprentices, attendance is also required at a special technical section of the school, which, under Ministerial authority, enjoys the status of a branch of the State Technical College, to the examinations of which its students are admitted. The newspaper business seems to be peculiarly prone to heredity, and in the *HERALD* Office there are representatives of the third and fourth generations of the same families. It is also a place of long service, many of the older men having anything up to half a century of service to their credit, while there have been others with records of service exceeding 60 years.

An unobtrusive department constantly engaged upon meticulous and important work is that of the Computer. Enter his large and airy room overlooking Pitt Street at any moment of the day except the luncheon hour, and one will find him and his staff silently and studiously at work. The mass of detail that they dispose of in the course of a day is amazing and little understood, even among the employees in the office. To begin with, in addition to certain basic payments and minimum guarantees, the linotype operators are paid according to the amount of work they actually perform. Each receives so much per 1,000 ens that he sets. An en is the printer's standard measurement for type quantity, a given number of ens being equal to line a column in width. The rate of payment varies according to the size of the type and the character of the matter—tabulated figures, for example, being paid at a higher rate than straightforward copy on account of the slower setting. Every factor that can affect the normal speed of setting is provided for in a somewhat intricate schedule of rates. No further explanation is needed to illustrate the complexity and magnitude of the task of calculating the payment to be made for every line that appears in the *HERALD*, with the exception of display types, which are otherwise provided for, and allotting each man his rightful portion. That in neither these nor any of the other of their calculations, have the figures of the *HERALD* and *MAIL* computing staff ever been successfully challenged, is remarkable testimony to their capacity for detail and accuracy. Then, again, contributors and correspondents are paid on lineage rates, and a complete dissection and calculation of all matter in the paper that has been received from them is effected every day. A complete check is also made every day of the transmission and other charges in respect of every telegram, cable, and radio message that enters the office. As some of the cable and radio charges have to be split up and recharged proportionately among other newspapers that receive the Australian Press Association's service, it will be realised that this again is an undertaking in which complete accuracy is essential. As thousands of words are dealt with daily, charged at varying rates, according to the distance covered and the rate (Press rate, full rate, or urgent rate) at which the different messages have been despatched, it is work that would baffle any but clear brains. As well as these and other calculations, the Computer is responsible for filing and preserving for at least

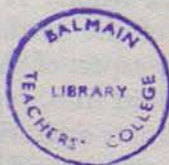
six months every scrap of manuscript from which the paper has been set, and every day he compiles for the use of the Management and Directors what is called a "marked copy" of the paper. In this the name of the writer of every article, report, and other item, large or small, is written in ink across it. This is made possible by a rule that every writer's name must be written on the first sheet of his or her manuscript. This guides the Editor or Sub-Editor, as well as the Computer. When engaged in copying these names into the marked paper, the computing staff also classifies the copy under various headings, preparatory to filing it in a huge nest of pigeon-holes covering the whole of one of the walls of the room. Parliamentary reports, market reports, law reports, the reports of company and public meetings, reports of lectures, and so on, are all bound together separately, so that when, as is often the case, the Computer is asked to produce the copy of any article or item of news published in the preceding six months, he is able to do so within a couple of minutes.

The Computer's department is only a small section of the huge accountancy system necessary to a great newspaper office. Thousands of accounts in respect of agents, advertisers, subscribers, contractors, etc., have to be posted up every day, and the Secretary to the Company, whose spacious office is to be found on the first floor, is responsible for the efficient working of the entire system. Under him are the Paymaster, Chief Clerk, and Chief Cashier, with their numerous staffs. In consultation with the General Manager and the Managing Director, the Secretary also handles huge contracts, running into hundreds of thousands of pounds a year, for paper, ink, and other supplies, the negotiations for which require great judgment and foresight. In many other matters, also, the Secretary participates in the highest and innermost councils of the Directorate and the supreme executive authority of the organisation, which we now finally approach.

Nobody who has stood at one of the opposite corners of Hunter Street and scanned the curved facade of the HERALD Office, like the prow of a ship, has failed to ask himself the purpose of that oval room, just above the granite pillars of the porch, with windows draped in graceful festoon blinds. Its central window, crowned with the Caxton keystone, looks out upon the city's bustling throng. Through Hunter Street to right and left and far away up Pitt Street, in sustained streams, ceaselessly, tirelessly, intent upon pursuits both great and small, flow by the people of the second most populous white city in the world's greatest Empire of all times. Trams, taxi-cabs, private cars, trucks, and drays, and even still occasional horse-drawn vehicles, are freighted up with the humanity and commerce of Australia's greatest seaport and parent capital. And tens of thousands pass on foot. Cheerful, healthy, and vigorous, infused with a youthful nation's boundless hope and will to win, the HERALD building rises from their midst, the symbol of a century's effort and achievement. And passing by are few who miss the oval room with festoon blinds, crowned with the Caxton head. There sits one man, and in his hands are gathered up, taut and responsive to his every touch, the strings that operate every part of the complex whole. A word from him, and action springs that may reach the uttermost ends of the earth. He is the General Manager—the supreme executive authority over every aspect of the paper's activities, literary, mechanical, advertising, and all else; and behind him, representing the family that owns the paper, is the Managing Director—ultimate authority for every vital decision on all matters whatsoever affecting the policy, contents, and conduct of the HERALD. Every week, in a series of separate conferences, they meet individually the heads of all the principal departments, and on Monday afternoons they confer collectively with the Editor, Sub-Editor, and Chief-of-Staff on matters appertaining to the literary side of the paper.

With knowledge of all phases of newspaper production and distribution, they sit in government. The Managing Director, as stated, usually also attends the daily Editorial Council.

Such, then, are some of the outward and visible signs of the intricate organisation and methods required to produce Australia's greatest newspaper, and such are some of the principles and ideals inspiring it. All must be co-ordinated and harmonised into one grand system, and must function with the regularity, smoothness, and diurnal inevitability of the constellations in their courses. But system and regularity are not all. A newspaper that can endure for a century must have soul as well as brain, brawn, and mechanism. To win a nation's faith, and a prestige ranking with the highest in British journalism, there must be a policy framed, and applied with patient care, of unremitting service to the public. A paper that a people trusts as a faithful vehicle of news, a fearless and conscientious mentor, and an honest and effective exchange and mart, must deserve that trust or perish. That the HERALD, far from perishing, celebrates its centenary as the leader of the entire Australian Press in circulation, in advertising, and in prestige, is gratefully accepted as testimony that the public, through these hundred years, have enshrined it in their hearts as a worthy trustee.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE "HERALD" AND OF THE FAIRFAX PROPRIETARY.

[A Number of Events in Current Australian History are included for purposes of comparison.]

Cook discovers Botany Bay	April 28, 1770
Settlement at Sydney founded	Jan. 26, 1788
Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land) first occupied	1803
John Fairfax born	Oct. 25, 1804
THE SYDNEY HERALD started as a weekly paper in Redman's Court, off Lower George Street, by Ward Stephens, F. M. Stokes and William McGarvie, price 7d., printed on hand-worked "Columbian" Press	April 18, 1831
McGarvie sells his interest to partners	May, 1831
HERALD Office moved to King Street	Nov., 1831
HERALD becomes bi-weekly, price reduced to 6d.	May 17, 1832
HERALD Office removed to Lower George Street (west side)	Jan. 30, 1834
HERALD increased in size, and price to 9d.	March 3, 1834
Stokes sells his half share to Stephens	Nov. 3, 1836
South Australia founded	Dec. 28, 1836
HERALD becomes tri-weekly	July 2, 1838
John Fairfax lands in Sydney	Sept. 26, 1838
Stephens sells HERALD to Stokes	Dec. 31, 1839
HERALD becomes a daily—price reduced to 6d.	Oct. 1, 1840
Stokes sells HERALD to Kemp and Fairfax	Feb. 8, 1841
Gas installed in HERALD Office	1841
HERALD adopts full title of THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Aug. 1, 1842
HERALD Office moved to Eastern side of Lower George Street	July, 1844
"Fuchs" press made locally and added to equipment	1848
HERALD price reduced to 3d. per copy	Nov. 24, 1849
Victoria becomes separate Colony	July 1, 1851
HERALD installs double-cylinder Cowper Press and becomes first paper in Australia to be printed by steam	1853
John Fairfax purchases Kemp's interest in HERALD (and takes son Charles into partnership)	Sept. 30, 1853
HERALD price increased to 6d. per copy	Oct. 1, 1854
Rev. John West appointed first Editor	Nov., 1854
HERALD Office moved to Hunter Street	June 30, 1856
Two additional—and larger—Cowper Presses installed	1856
HERALD Benefit Society founded	1856
John Fairfax takes son J. R. into partnership and firm becomes "John Fairfax & Sons"	Dec. 31, 1856

HERALD price reduced to 4d.	April 1, 1857
Electric telegraph first utilised in New South Wales	Jan., 1858
Sydney, Adelaide and Melbourne joined by telegraph	Oct., 1858
HERALD price reduced to 3d.	Feb. 20, 1859
Hoe 6-cylinder type-revolving press installed	1859
Queensland becomes separate Colony	Dec., 1859
THE SYDNEY MAIL first published	July 7, 1860
Additional Hoe four-cylinder press installed	1860
Death of Charles Fairfax	Dec. 26, 1863
Edward R. Fairfax joins firm	1865
HERALD price reduced to 2d.	Jan. 1, 1868
THE AFTERNOON TELEGRAM first published	Jan. 3, 1870
Last number of THE AFTERNOON TELEGRAM published	April 30, 1870
First illustrations published in the MAIL	July 3, 1871
First cables received by HERALD	July 1, 1872
John West dies; succeeded as Editor by Andrew Garran	Dec. 11, 1874
THE ECHO first published	May 1, 1875
First rotary stereotype web-perfecting Bullock-Hoe press installed	1875
John Fairfax dies	June 16, 1877
Hugh George appointed first General Manager	Jan. 1878
HERALD Office lit by electricity	Nov. 1882
Garran retires; succeeded as Editor by Wm. Curnow	1885
Hugh George dies	May, 1886
First process blocks used in MAIL	Oct., 1888
Samuel Cook appointed General Manager	1888
Charles B. Fairfax admitted to firm	1888
E. R. Fairfax retires and G. E. and J. O. Fairfax join the firm	April, 1889
HERALD price reduced to 1d.	June 26, 1893
Last number of THE ECHO published	July 22, 1893
Hattersley type-setting machines installed	1895
J. R. Fairfax knighted	1898
Federation of Australia accomplished	Jan. 1, 1901
Monoline machines installed	1901
Curnow dies; succeeded at Editor by T. W. Heney	Oct. 14, 1903
Linotype machines installed	1903
Wireless telegraphy first used in Australia	1903
C. B. Fairfax retires	1904
Cook resigns (1907), dies (1910), and W. G. Conley appointed General Manager	1907
Process blocks first used in HERALD	Aug., 1908
Present Hoe twin-combination stereotype web-perfecting press installed for SYDNEY MAIL	1912
Firm becomes limited company, with Sir J. R. Fairfax and G. E. and J. O. Fairfax as Permanent Directors	Oct. 16, 1916
Heney resigns and is succeeded as Editor by C. B. Fletcher	1918
Sir J. R. Fairfax dies	Mar. 28, 1919
HERALD price increased to 1½d.	Sept. 1, 1919
HERALD price increased to 2d.	May 10, 1920
HERALD School started	Jan., 1921

HERALD price reduced to 1d.	July 3, 1922
Present HERALD Office building commenced	1922
First of present Scott multi-unit presses installed	1922
W. O. Fairfax joins staff	Sept., 1925
Third Imperial Press Conference held in Melbourne	Sept., 1925
J. O. Fairfax knighted	1926
HERALD price increased to 1½d. (owing to ½d. Newspaper Tax)	Jan. 1, 1927
HERALD Index started	Jan. 1, 1927
First HERALD Financial Supplement	Feb., 1927
HERALD price reduced to 1d. (Newspaper Tax declared invalid)	Mar. 4, 1927
"Beam" Wireless messages first received	April 8, 1927
W. O. Fairfax becomes Director	1927
HERALD participates in first Empire Wireless Concert	Sept. 5, 1927
Special Rag-paper Edition of HERALD first published	Jan. 2, 1928
Sir J. O. Fairfax dies	July 18, 1928
J. F. Fairfax joins the staff	1928
Dr. E. W. Fairfax becomes Director	1929
Conley dies, and is succeeded as General Manager by C. T. Harris	Feb. 15, 1929
Present HERALD building completed	July, 1929
Telegraphic transmission of pictures first used in HERALD Office	Sept. 10, 1929
G. E. Fairfax dies	Mar. 27, 1930
W. O. Fairfax becomes Managing Director	1930
HERALD participates in first wireless conversation between England and Australia	April 30, 1930
HERALD price increased to 1½d.	Aug. 4, 1930
HERALD celebrates its Centenary	April 18, 1931

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